By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: Petition of common council of the city of Hammond, Ind., asking that a law be enacted granting to all soldiers, sailors, and marines who voluntarily enlisted or entered the Army or Navy by conscription be paid one year's additional pay at the same rate that they are now paid in the United States Army or Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Rotary Club, Lafayette, Ind., to change the name of the Panama Canal to the "Roosevelt Canal"; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *January 29, 1919.*

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 28, 1919.)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a further communication in the Newberry-Ford contest, which will be inserted in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The communication is as follows:

To the honorable THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

My attention has this morning been called to a communication to your honorable body signed "Truman H. Newberry, by J. O. Murfin, his attorney at law and in fact," in which are made charges of excessive and unlawful expenditures by or on behalf of Henry Ford in the late Michigan senatorial election and of irregularities.

I beg to say, in as emphatic language as parliamentary rules will permit, that these charges and insinuations are wholly false, and they only furnish additional reasons why an immediate investigation should be ordered, which Mr. Ford has been asking for ever since the primary, and which has been opposed by Mr. Newberry and his representatives from that time until this.

No money or other thing of value was expended by Mr. Ford either in primary or election, and no moneys were expended in his behalf in the primary. The expenditures made in the election were made by the nonpartisan Ford-for-Senator committee and by the Democratic State central committee, both of which committees have reported in utmost detail, under the oaths of their respective treasurers, their expenditures, which were all lawful disbursements.

We have the honor to again petition and request an immediate investigation by your honorable body.

HENRY FORD,
By ALFRED LUCKING,
His Counsel.

JANUARY 28, 1919.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Borah	Jones, Wash.	Page	Spencer
Brandegee	Kellogg	Penrose	Sterling
Calder	King	Pittman	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Kirby	Poindexter	Swanson
Culberson	Knox	Pollock	Thomas
Curtis	La Follette	Pomerene	Thompson
Fernald	Lenroot	Ransdell	Townsend
Fletcher	Lodge	Reed	Trammell
France	McKellar	Robinson	Underwood
Frelinghuysen	McLean	Saulsbury	Vardaman
Gay	McNary	Shafroth	Walsh
Hale	Martin, Va.	Sheppard	Warren
Henderson	Myers	Sherman	Wolcott
Johnson, Cal.	New	Smith, Ariz.	
Johnson, S. Dak.	Nugent	Smith, Ga.	
Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Smoot	

Mr. KENYON. I wish to state that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] is absent on official business.

Mr. McKELLAR. The senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] is absent on account of illness.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. My colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], is absent owing to illness.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I wish to announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is detained by illness.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] is detained on important public business.

Mr. POLLOCK. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is detained by illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Sixty-one Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 2784. An act to authorize the purchase by the city of McMinnville, Oreg., of certain lands formerly embraced in the grant to the Oregon & California Railroad Co. and revested in the United States by the act approved June 9, 1916;

S. 3384. An act to amend the public building act, approved March 4, 1913; and

H. R. 13708. An act providing for the relief of such populations in Europe, and countries contiguous thereto, outside of Germany, German-Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, as may be determined upon by the President as necessary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. WILLIAMS, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 197) authorizing the appointment of an ambassador to the Republic of Peru, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 670) thereon.

Mr. HITCHCOCK, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred Senate resolution 399, directing the Secretary of State to report to the Senate whether the claims for damages suffered by American citizens in the Republic of Mexico have been presented to the Government of Mexico, and what steps have been taken to prosecute such claims, etc., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 671) thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 5470) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Plymouth, Mass., one German cannon or field-piece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 5471) for the relief of John A. Gauley (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KING:

A bill (S. 5472) to establish within the Department of the Treasury a bureau for the regulation and supervision of the export of savings from the United States; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 5473) to amend an act approved March 3, 1891, incorporating the National Conservatory of Music of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 5474) to amend section 6 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the operation of transportation systems while under Federal control, for the just compensation of their owners, and for other purposes," approved March 21, 1918; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. SHERMAN:

A bill (S. 5475) granting a pension to William Campbell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 5476) granting an increase of pension to Caspar Hopp; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND:

A bill (S. 5478) granting the consent of Congress to the Fall Branch Coal Co. to construct a bridge across Tug River; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 5479) for the relief of lock masters, lockmen, and other laborers and mechanics employed by the United States Government in the locks and dams of the Kanawha River in West Virginia; to the Committee on Claims.

GILA RIVER DAM.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I introduce a bill providing for the construction of a dam across the Gila River at or near San Carlos, in the State of Arizona, which I ask may be printed and lie on the table. I give notice that next week I shall submit some remarks on the bill.

The bill (S. 5477) providing for the construction of a dam across the Gila River at or near San Carlos, in the State of Arizona, was read twice by its title and ordered to lie on the table.

RIVER AND HARBOR APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. SHAFROTH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the river and harbor appropriation bill, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. ASHURST (for Mr. PHELAN) submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $20,000 for the relief and care of nonreservation Indians in California in destitute circumstances,

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intended to be proposed by him to the Indian appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Mr. OVERMAN submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $2,000,000 to carry out the purposes mentioned in section 3 of the act of March 1, 1911, to enable any State to cooperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the protection of watersheds of navigable streams, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the Agricultural appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed.

AFFAIRS IN RUSSIA.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, recently I gave a wholly unnecessary notice, but the usual one, that to-day I would address myself to the resolution which I presented some weeks ago, and which it was my expectation on this occasion to call from the table and to have considered by the Senate. The pendency of the measure, however, that is before us now precludes me from taking up the particular resolution, but, nevertheless, the time being propitious, I wish to address myself to it and to the present situation in Russia.

On the 12th day of December last I introduced a resolution asking the State Department to define to us the policy of the United States toward Russia.

I was mighty lonely then, Mr. President, in the presentation of that subject matter. To-day, sir, I have my warrant here in the letters of mothers and fathers and wives of men who are suffering and who are dying in Russia. It became obvious to me that this resolution would not be acted upon by the Foreign Relations Committee, and subsequently I introduced the resolution, of which I speak to-day, expressing the opinion of the Senate that our troops should be withdrawn from Russia. Until the introduction of my first resolution, our relations with Russia, the activities of our soldiers there, and our policy in fighting, after the conclusion of the war with Germany, with another people against whom we never had declared war, had scarcely been mentioned publicly, and the subject, apparently, was one from which the supposedly popular branch of our Government timidly shrunk. In the last month and a half, however, a very healthy discussion has been stimulated within and without this body, and the American people have learned for the first time during this period a little, though not much, of American troops still battling on foreign soil. My original resolution was received, as I presumed it would be, in hot indignation and resentment by the part of the press which has rejoiced in its attitude of merely echoing approval of whatever the administration might do, but the subject matter has been taken up by that portion of the press of America which yet is free. Legitimate discussion has been stimulated, and our people, at last, by a modicum of free expression, have been faintly heard. What I sought to accomplish originally has in part been realized, and I think it no exaggeration to say that while the Senate, yet under the spell of the strange psychology of war, may yield its assent to a policy concerning which it was not consulted and about which it has not been informed, and which is at variance with our professions and violates our Constitution, the people of the country, emerging from this psychosis, and now far in advance of their representatives, with practical unanimity favor not only the original resolution but also the one now under discussion.

The peace conference recently has issued a formal statement concerning Russia, which, apart from its expression of esteem and love for the Russian people, asks all of the factions to meet in the Sea of Marmora on the 15th day of February. We are wholly in the dark as to what is contemplated when all parties meet upon an almost uncharted island in a distant sea; but we are becoming accustomed to the open diplomacy which in daily communiques with few words telling nothing soothe the perturbed spirits of the democratic peoples of the world. Because I assume that an address couched in such friendly language, specifically recognizing the revolution and disclaiming any desire to interfere in Russia's internal affairs, is but the initial step in a carefully prepared and thoroughly accepted plan of all the powers for the settlement of every question respecting Russia, I will not speculate upon the possibilities nor discuss the pronunciamento which has added to the case only the knowledge of the extraordinary affection in which the Russian people are held by the allies.

My interest has been in America's policy and in the soldier boys of the Republic, who, seemingly, for months were forgotten by their Government. My prime interest and concern yet are these American boys. The action of the peace conference thus far leaves these American boys where we discovered them a month and a half ago, and, so far as they are concerned, unless we take it for granted that they are to be withdrawn immediately after the 15th day of February, their situation is no different than when this subject first was broached. I ask for them nothing more than I ask for all American troops on foreign soil. I ask for us an American policy.

I am quite aware that there exist two distinct lines of policy for our country in the near future to pursue. I know that in this body the line of demarcation between these two policies is becoming increasingly plain. Recently the Republican floor leader, in an epoch-making speech, stated with clarity and precision his view of our future policy. With logical force and plainly he stated that he deemed it essential by the peace terms immediately to create the following:

1. A Jugo-Slav State.
2. A Czecho-Slav State.
3. The security of Greece.
4. Albania.
5. Montenegro.
6. Roumania.
7. Armenia.
8. Syria.
9. Palestine.
10. Poland.
11. The independence of Russia's Baltic Provinces, thus: 1, Finland; 2, Esthonia; 3, Lavonia; 4, Courland; 5, Lithuania; 6, Ukrainia.

And, in addition, that we must take and hold ample security from Germany and Austria.

I will not quarrel with his creation of the various new nations. But the distinguished Senator prescribes our future duty in this language:

> We must do our share in the occupation of German territory which will be held as security for the indemnities to be paid by Germany. We can not escape doing our part in aiding the peoples to whom we have helped to give freedom and independence in establishing themselves with ordered governments, for in no other way can we erect the barriers which are essential to prevent another outbreak by Germany upon the world. We can not leave the Jugo-Slavs, the Czecho-Slavs, and the Poles, Lithuanians, and the other States, which we hope to see formed and marching upon the path of progress and development, unaided and alone.

There is but one conclusion from the language used, and that is that after the creation of the 16 nations the duty devolves upon the United States, in part at least, to maintain these nations and aid them in establishing themselves with ordered governments by America's soldiers. I will not subscribe to this doctrine. I will not for one instant concede that it is the duty of the Republic to maintain order in a Jugo-Slav or a Czecho-Slav State, in Albania or Montenegro, in Roumania or Armenia, in Syria, Palestine, Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Lavonia, Courland, Lithuania, or Ukrainia. I am opposed to American boys policing Europe and quelling riots in every new nation's back yard. The perils of such a course to the Republic seem to me obvious. Aside from the material aspect—and you may ever keep in mind that the establishment and maintenance, in part by us, of these distinct peoples must be paid for by our already overburdened taxpayers—I would not shed the blood of American boys in the internal disturbances of an Esthonia, Lavonia, Courland, a Lithuania, or Ukrainia. I decline to be frightened now by the "German menace." Germany is whipped and thoroughly whipped. The central empires, in the language of the President, are in process of liquidation. The German Army has been practically demobilized; her ordnance has been relinquished; her means of transportation delivered; her fleets surrendered; her towns occupied. She is involved in such civil strife that it is doubtful if there will be a stable government with which a peace may be made. She has been so thoroughly disabled that she could not, a few days ago, resist a small advancing Polish army. She is suffering just retribution for her offenses. The central empires are incapable of aggressive action now. Our help, therefore, to the 16 nations which would be created "in establishing themselves with ordered governments" must be the aid which our arms would give to one faction or another in these new States, and I am not ready to shed American blood for any faction of any foreign State or in maintaining the government in any Baltic province. It is staggering to speculate upon the number of armies and the hundreds and thousands of American boys that would be required in these 16 nations. It is time for an American policy. Bring home American soldiers. Rescue our own democracy. Restore its free expression. Get American business into its normal channels. Let American life, social and economic, be American again.

I heard it said recently upon the floor of the Senate that the President had a most difficult task abroad. I recognize this, and wish that some real aid could be extended to him in the

one possible accomplishment which may be his. I listened with rapt attention to the scholarly and statesmanlike address of the junior Senator from Pennsylvania recently, the point of which, as I understood it, was that we should at once conclude our peace with our foes and bring our boys home, leaving to subsequent determination the formation of a league of nations. I take it that he is no more opposed to a league of nations than I am; and I am very frank to say that if the President can return to the United States with a league of nations which does not relinquish our sovereignty and which in reality will be a preventive of future wars, I shall welcome most gladly and enthusiastically this great accomplishment.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, would it interrupt the Senator from California if I should ask him a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. REED. If a league of nations is formed of the character defined by the Senator—that is, if we are to have a league of nations—I have forgotten the exact language which was so well expressed by the Senator, and will he kindly repeat it?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. The language I used was: "I am very frank to say that if the President can return to the United States with a league of nations which does not relinquish our sovereignty and which in reality will be a preventive of future wars, I shall welcome most gladly and enthusiastically this great accomplishment."

Mr. REED. I wish the Senator would tell us how we can have a league of nations that will not relinquish any part of our sovereignty and yet will prevent future wars?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I beg the Senator from Missouri will pardon me from entering into an intimate discussion of the subject this morning. At some future time I shall be glad to discuss it with him.

But America wants peace. It has achieved its great primal idealistic purpose and crushed a ruthless militarism. I reecho the words of the great commander of the Union forces in the Civil War immediately upon surrender of his adversary, "Let us have peace." Let us have peace and get out of Europe. On the 11th day of November the armistice was signed. Two months and a half have passed. The censored dispatches from Paris are conveying to us now the news that it is hoped the conference may conclude its labors in June and we are being prepared, apparently, for a second trip some time in the summer by our Chief Executive to Europe. I would not minimize, of course, the magnitude of his task, but I have a very distinct recollection that much of it has already been agreed upon. Because of prior agreement among our cobelligerents the idealism of the President is likely to be severely taxed, and his difficulties will be manifold. But the pitiless logic of events, the ironclad prior understandings of our allies, have lessened his labors and reduced to a minimum the subjects with which he must deal. He announced in January, 1918, and subsequently, fourteen peace points. The first of these—

> Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

we have had adequately demonstrated to us. The language of this covenant by bitter experience we have now learned is perfectly plain; in the interpretation it has been distorted and misunderstood. The senior Senator from Idaho has been insistent in his advocacy of peace point No. 1. For it, and for the other 13 peace points, we have been told that our soldiers gladly and cheerfully fought and died in France, but the senior Senator from Idaho, and others who thought as he did, with a singular obtuseness, have insisted "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at" mean what the words import. We should have known when we distinctly announced this particular point, for which our soldiers suffered and bled and died, we meant it in a Pickwickian sense only, and spoke the usual language of diplomacy. Anyone not affected with a mental strabismus ought readily to understand that when we say "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at," we mean "secret covenants of peace, secretly arrived at," and, after their arrival, doled out in homeopathic doses to an ignorant and ill-informed populace.

The second peace point was—

> Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

and is quite as plain to him who reads with intelligence as was peace point No. 1.

But we need not further discuss peace point No. 2. It has been lost for a considerable period now in historical mystery, and rests in oblivion with the unrealized dreams of the Akound of Swat and the Maharajah of Ruritania. Peace points three, for the removal of economic barrier; four, for the reduction of national armaments; and five, for the impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the interests of the populations concerned with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined, apparently have been submerged in weightier questions and no longer agitate the overburdened minds of statesmen. The sixth peace point, regarding Russia, I will mention hereafter. All of the other peace points, with the exception of the league of nations, deal with territorial adjustments, as does indeed No. 5. Now, the difficulty of the President in interpreting his peace points as to territorial acquisitions is that long ago England, France, and Italy reached their conclusions, and the President is up against the contracts, signed, sealed, delivered, and in the pockets of the allies. The secret treaties which were executed before our entrance into the war were quite definite in form, and apportioned territories to the three great belligerents, and also to Russia. These secret treaties, with the elimination of Russia, I feel sure, are deemed effective and binding; nor do I doubt that substantially the territory they embrace will be divided in accordance with their provisions. If the President can break through the traditions of diplomacy; if he can revive and have adopted his peace points apparently discarded with the opening of the peace conference; if he can effect a disregard of the secret treaties entered into for territorial dispositions and acquisitions by the three great powers; and if he can compel the altruistic and idealistic peace of which he has so often spoken his will be the greatest achievement of any statesman of any time. My hopes and my prayers are with him in his extraordinary task.

But Russia was the subject of the sixth definite peace point enunciated by the President. From the time of the Russian revolution until long after the control of Russia by the Soviets and the cruel administration of Lenine and Trotsky the President often spoke to Russia and the Russian people, and always in gentle, kindly, and friendly fashion. His policy, which, by our acceptance, became the policy of this Nation, was distinctly enunciated in the memorable address of January, 1917. Although this policy, apparently, has been forgotten in our dealings with Russia, whether it will ultimately be carried out may, perhaps, be determined by the fate of the other definite terms of peace prescribed by the President. The Kerensky government fell November 7, 1917, and the Soviets, with Lenine and Trotsky in command, came into power. On the 4th day of December we were asked to declare war against Austria, and, in the course of the address demanding a declaration of war against Austria, the President adopted the formula of the Bolsheviki of Russia, the formula under which they were making peace with Germany. He said:

> You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities." Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to right of plain men everywhere it has been made diligent use of by the masters of German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray and the people of every other country their agents could reach, in order that a premature peace might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

At this time the Russian armies had practically disintegrated and the Russian Bolsheviki were negotiating with Germany. On January 8, while Russia was in collapse, and it was obvious that those in control of her government were about to make a shameful peace, the President, with full knowledge of the situation, presumably, had this to say:

> There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

This was said after two months of government by the Bolsheviki and after they had publicly proclaimed to the world their mode of government and what it was their purpose to do.

And, lest ye forget, I quote again the sixth of the celebrated peace points, uttered January 12, 1918:

The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

On February 11, 1918, when the proceedings of the peace conference between the Germans and the Bolsheviki were fully known and understood, the President thus spoke to us:

Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected. Peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril.

Self-determination has fallen by the wayside with "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at." Or, perhaps, self-determination may have been used with the same delicate shades of meaning which have distinguished the use of "open covenants." All through our idealistic statements in this war runs the theme of self-determination and the rights of people for themselves to determine their own forms of government. It was the underlying principle which stimulated our judgments and aroused our enthusiasm. It is not the fault of those who coined the phrase, and those who have used it, that we may, perhaps, have misunderstood it, and that self-determination really means determination by ourselves of the kind of government others should have and then impressing that kind of government upon an unwilling and a rebellious people. With this possible explanation we may see with greater clarity the reason for our activities in Russia. During February the peace terms at Brest-Litovsk had been concluded and there remained but the ratification of those peace terms by the all-Russian congress of the Soviets.

I now deal with the historical events of the fateful month succeeding the President's address. So far as I am aware, what I now present has not been published in this country. I present it because it is the truth, and because upon us rests a heavy responsibility for what has since transpired in Russia. I will not be put in the attitude of defending in any degree the Soviet power or Lenine and Trotsky. Their fantastic theories no sane man, in my opinion, can indorse. But our dealing with Russia and the dealings of the allies with Russia have been not only an exhibition of the crassest stupidity, but have contributed to the awful tragedy there. Early in March the Soviet government officially presented to the allies certain questions, favorable answers to which every man then in Russia agreed would prevent a ratification of the Brest-Litovsk treaty by the all-Russian Soviet congress, and then there would have been a renewal of the war by Russia against Germany. A translation of the official document thus transmitted to the allies from the Soviet government is as follows:

In case (a) the all-Russian congress of the Soviets will refuse to ratify the peace treaty with Germany, or (b) if the German Government, breaking the peace treaty, will renew the offensive in order to continue its robbers' raid, or (c) if the Soviet government will be forced by the actions of Germany to renounce the peace treaty—before or after its ratification—and to renew hostilities—

In all these cases it is very important for the military and political plans of the Soviet power for replies to be given to the following questions:

1. Can the Soviet government rely on the support of the United States of North America, Great Britain, and France in its struggle against Germany?

2. What kind of support could be furnished in the nearest future, and on what conditions—military equipment, transportation supplies, living necessities?

3. What kind of support would be furnished particularly and especially by the United States?

Should Japan—in consequence of an open or tacit understanding with Germany or without such an understanding—attempt to seize Vladivostok and the Eastern-Siberian Railway, which would threaten to cut off Russia from the Pacific Ocean and would greatly impede the concentration of Soviet troops toward the East about the Urals—in such case what steps would be taken by the other allies, particularly and especially by the United States, to prevent a Japanese landing on our Far East, and to insure uninterrupted communications with Russia through the Siberian route?

In the opinion of the Government of the United States, to what extent—under the above-mentioned circumstances—would aid be assured from Great Britain through Murmansk and Archangel? What steps could the Government of Great Britain undertake in order to assure this aid and thereby to undermine the foundation of the rumors of the hostile plans against Russia on the part of Great Britain in the nearest future?

All these questions are conditioned with the self-understood assumption that the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet government will continue to be directed in accord with the principles of international socialism and that the Soviet government retains its complete independence of all nonsocialist governments.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I do.

Mr. KNOX. May I ask the Senator if he purposes to state what evidence there is of the authenticity of the document that he has just read?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I have a photographic copy of it, sir. I have the photographic copy on my desk, if the Senator cares to see it.

Mr. LODGE. Who signed it?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. The document was handed to Raymond Robins and a companion in what was known as the office of the council of the people's commissaries, Smolney Institute, Petrograd, by Commissaire of Foreign Affairs Trotsky, after a conference between Lenine, Trotsky, and Robins. It was transmitted to Washington and delivered to the ambassador of the United States.

The men who were then in Russia familiar with the situation, including the representative of England and the representative of the United States, advised their Governments to respond favorably. I have copies of the telegrams which were sent at that time to different Governments. But the communication was received, apparently, in indignant and contemptuous silence. I can hear the voices in this Chamber saying that this was right, that there should be no compromise with crime; that the allies were correct in their position in utterly refusing to deal, or to talk, or to communicate with this awful Soviet government. That it would have been in derogation of our dignity and would have been an affront to civilization to have responded, or to have united with this Soviet government in fighting Germany. I may think that you are entirely right in what I thus see passing through your minds. I may wholly agree with you that the civilized nations of the world could not without defilement touch this awful thing in Russia. And if this had been the attitude of our Government and other Governments, we might pass the incident as one of those unavoidable historical occurrences where idealism and civilization's champions must of necessity hold aloof from civilization's assailants. But during this period what was the Government of the United States doing? It could not, you say, have any dealings with these men who had set at defiance, in the language of one of the Senators upon this floor, the laws of God and man alike. In its virtuous indignation it could permit no communication of any sort, you assert, with cruelty, rapine, murder, and anarchy. But just before the Brest-Litovsk treaty was to be presented to the all-Russian Soviet congress the United States Government went to the city of New York, interviewed the socialists and extremists, and even anarchists, who preached lawlessness and destruction, and begged them for telegrams to be sent to Lenine and to Trotsky and to the Bolshevik government asking that the Bolsheviki continue the war. I read the headlines of one of the papers at that time:

United States lets "Reds" send messages to Bolsheviki. State Department cables their appeals to Russians to stand firm.

And in the body of the article appear these things:

The United States Government yesterday aided radical socialist and pacificist organizations in New York in sending to the Russian revolutionists cable messages urging them to resist the German invasion.

The messages were sent not only with the approval of the Government, but through the Government's agencies and at the Government's expense. * * * These messages were gathered by a person designated by the authorities and were sent to Washington to be forwarded through the State Department to Petrograd.

The socialists and extreme radicals in New York City were importuned for messages, and most of them responded. All of the messages were sent by the United States Government to the Bolsheviki at Petrograd. This, of course, is common knowledge, and has been common knowledge since its occurrence. I am not criticizing it. I am stating now something of the truth which we have carefully concealed during these months. You may say to me, of course, that this was a very different thing from communicating with the soviet government itself, and thus, in a measure, recognizing it. You may say that the exigency and the emergency justified the Government in using every means in its power to continue Russia's resistance to Germany. I may agree with you. But, if the emergency and the crisis justified the Government in using the anarchists of New York to communicate with the anarchists of Petrograd, it would have justified the United States Government answering the communication of the soviet government, without recognition of that government at all, and in encouraging it, by its answer, to

renew the war with Germany. A very different proposition, you insist, between the Government itself communicating with the soviet government and the anarchists of New York communicating with their comrades in Petrograd. Perhaps so. But, beyond this, what did we do? With an authoritative and an official communication before us, which we were advised meant if we replied favorably that the soviet government would make war upon Germany, we refused to respond at all. And yet just before the meeting of the Soviet congress which was fixed for the week of Tuesday, March 12, the President of the United States himself cabled the Soviet congress.

Oh, we could not touch this awful thing in Russia! We could not touch it, with the document before us by which war might have been renewed, and under which the Brest-Litovsk treaty might have been repudiated in the all-Russian Soviet congress in the week of March 12, 1918. We could not be contaminated by touching such a thing, even for so good an end. But on March 12 the Official Bulletin of the United States Government tells us this:

President assures Russia that United States will aid in restoring its sovereignty. Following message from the President of the United States to the people of Russia through the Soviet congress has been telegraphed to the American consul general at Moscow for delivery:

"May I not take advantage of the meeting of the Congress of the Soviets to express the sincere sympathy which the people of the United States feel for the Russian people at this moment when the German power has been thrust in to interrupt and turn back the whole struggle for freedom and substitute the wishes of Germany for the purposes of the people of Russia.

"Although the Government of the United States is unhappily not now in a position to render the direct and effective aid it would wish to render, I beg to assure the people of Russia through the congress that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs, and full restoration to her great rôle in the life of Europe and the modern world.

"The whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become the masters of their own life." (Woodrow Wilson.)

During that week the meeting of the Soviet congress was postponed for several days in the hope that from the allied Governments would come a response to the proposition submitted, upon which a repudiation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty could be obtained from the congress. I do not care to speculate upon what might have transpired if the appeals of the Englishmen and Americans who were then in Petrograd to their Governments had been successful. I am relating to you only the facts. During this critical time in Russia the Germans were advancing through Finland. Marching and fighting with them were the Finnish White Guard. The army of the Bolsheviki were called the "Red Guard"; that of their opponents in Finland, the "White Guard."

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator, of course, is familiar with the answer which was sent to the President's telegram. Does he intend to read it as a part of his remarks?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. No; I have not it here. I trust that the Senator from Colorado will put in the answer if he desires.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I would do so if I had it with me. I think the literal text should be placed in the RECORD, and I could only state the substance.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I shall be delighted to put it in the RECORD, too. I think the Senator does not mistake at all the point that is being made by developing this particular proposition; but if there are any other documents of any sort that the Senator wishes me to put into the RECORD in connection with these, I shall very gladly do it.

Mr. THOMAS. I shall be very glad to furnish it to the Senator later.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I will search for it and put it in myself as well.

We have been very tender of Finland, and a part of the hundred million dollars recently appropriated to feed Europe is to be devoted to Finland. The historical fact, however, is that the only soldiers who fought the advance of the Germans were the Red Guard of the Bolsheviki. They whipped the White Guard, representing the so-called government of Finland, and they were forced back only when that government and the White Guard called the Germans to their aid. It is a historical fact, as well, that wherever the Red Guard fought those of their own country opposed to their revolution they won. They were whipped only when their opponents called in German troops. This was so not only in Finland but in Ukrainia, too. During this period repeatedly it was stated that the allies would intervene.

Intervention was never predicated upon the score of guarding supplies until the disingenuous August announcement of our Government. Intervention was suggested early in the year, and throughout the early months of 1918 it was a matter of common rumor and frequent discussion. During March the men who were most familiar with the Russian situation on the ground vigorously protested against this intervention, and no one protested more vigorously then, and at subsequent times, too, than did the ambassador of the United States Government. At Murmansk, early in March, because of the advancing Germans, the situation was acute, and then what happened? A mutual arrangement was made between the French and British and the Russian Soviets for the defense of the district of Murmansk. And during this month of March, nothwithstanding the horrible doctrine of the Bolsheviki, notwithstanding with an iron hand they were suppressing opposition, there was cooperation between them and the representatives of the Allied Governments in Petrograd. I learned, incidentally, that Maj. Thomas D. Thacher, of the law firm of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett, New York, who was a member of the Red Cross mission to Russia, had been at Murmansk, and had seen the cooperation there existing between the French and British and the Bolsheviki, and on the 20th day of January I wired him, asking him succinctly to advise me of the facts. I received in response this telegram from him:

One company British marines, about 130, landed Murmansk March 5 or 6, pursuant invitation Murmansk Soviet, acting under telegraphic instructions Trotsky to accept all necessary aid from allies. Before landing supreme military command Alexandrovsk and entire Murman railway granted by Soviets to committee, composed of Bolsheviki sailors, French military officer, and British military officer. This committee subject, however, complete control Murmansk Soviet. From this time until my departure March 22, French, British, and American military authorities in daily cooperation and complete harmony with local Soviet. Seventeen guns fired by British ship *Glory* as salute to Russian flag. Only flag visible red flag. Salute answered same number of guns, Russian cruiser *Chesmar*. Red Cross received effective and invaluable assistance from Soviet authorities at Murmansk as well as everywhere else in protection and transportation of supplies. Five hundred Czecho-Slovak troops in Murmansk, assisted by Soviet authorities, returned to France. Sailed on my ship. I trust that this will give you the necessary information. I neglected to add a statement of the fact that the Soviet authorities cooperated with the allied authorities in the protection of supplies at Kandalaxia, as well as at Murmansk. The supplies at Kandalaxia were, of course, more exposed to the attack of Finnish white guards, who were then cooperating with the Germans.

I received yesterday a letter from Col. Raymond Robins concerning the closing paragraph in the story of George Creel recently published. That closing paragraph of Mr. Creel is as follows:

Russia was a hard fight to lose. It seemed for a while that we should surely win, and to this very day I believe that the people were with us then and are with us now. But the political control of Lenine and Trotsky abolished the freedom of the press and turned the power of the Government against us. Our men were the last to leave Petrograd and Moscow. Mr. Sisson stayed until the ultimate danger to secure the documents that proved Lenine and Trotsky to be German agents and then slipped out through the far reaches of Finland. Mr. Bullard and his force transferred to Vladivostok, from which point he began working back into European Russia with the allies.

One real result was achieved. Intensive work was carried on in the prison camps of Russia, and thousands of Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slovaks learned of the purposes and power of America, receiving thereby the courage and inspiration that had its climax in the march of the Czecho-Slovak legion from the Ukraine to Vladivostok.

Col. Robins writes me:

The inclosed clipping from the last page of George Creel's eight pages of self-laudation in February's Everybody's Magazine suggests that Mr. Creel is unable to relate facts. The facts are:

The President's speeches were printed on the Bolsheviki government presses by special permission of that government. They were distributed under government frank and posted on the dead walls of Petrograd by the Bolsheviki posting service.

The money for this work was drawn from the Petrograd State Bank by special O. K. of the Bolsheviki government. The President's speech of January 8 was sent over the private wire of the Bolsheviki government to Brest-Litovsk by order of Lenine, and I secured the order for its transmission in the presence of Mr. Sisson.

Mr. Sisson fled from Petrograd on the 4th of March, 1918, shouting that the Germans would take the city within a few days in collusion with the Bolsheviki. The American Red Cross was feeding starving children and evacuating war supplies from Petrograd under Bolsheviki protection in quantity until the 1st of May, 1918.

The allied military missions were helping to train the Bolsheviki Red Army on the 1st of April, and the American ambassador was seeking, with the consent of the allied embassies, the cooperation of the American Railway Mission with the Bolsheviki government weeks after Mr. Sisson had fled in terror from Petrograd.

Mr. Bullard and all the American members of the committee on public information in Russia fled from Moscow on the 5th of May, reaching Archangel and suffering from the worst case of "buck fever" in my observation. They telegraphed the American ambassador to get them the permission of the British high commissioner, still in Petrograd, to get on the English ice breaker, which permission I secured for them, and they were on this ice breaker dressed in English uniforms for several weeks, while the American Red Cross was doing business as usual in Moscow, and English, French, and Japanese were still working for their Governments under the protection of the Bolsheviki government.

The American Red Cross mission did not leave Moscow until the 5th of October and Petrograd on the 16th of October in the full protection

of the Bolsheviki government, some seven months after Mr. Sisson had fled in terror with his panic from reading some propaganda pamphlets and papers which were the amusement and contempt of honest and informed men.

Mr. REED. Will the Senator tell us why the Red Cross had to leave when it did?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I think that one unit just came out of there. I am not sure whether the Red Cross has wholly left. I do not know just its attitude, and I would not undertake to speak of it. I know I saw an officer day before yesterday who said he had just come across on a boat with a Red Cross officer who had just come out of Russia. In fact, however, I know nothing about it except the remark he made.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Will the Senator tell the Senate what the mission of Col. Robins was in Russia and how long he was there?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. He was on a Red Cross mission. He was there until May, 1918, and my impression is for about 10 months or a year prior to that time. I do not pretend to be wholly accurate, but he was there during the Kerensky government and until May, 1918.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Can the Senator state whether or not after his return here he discussed the situation that has been so ably discussed by the Senator with either the Department of State or the President of the United States?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I am very certain that he did not discuss the situation with the President of the United States. I do not know to what extent he discussed the matter with the Department of State. I am unable to say.

Mr. NEW. Will the Senator permit one more inquiry? Does he know why Col. Robins did not discuss it with the President?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I might give my personal opinion upon that subject, but I prefer not to do so. So I hope the Senator will excuse me. At any rate I think I am authorized to say this much, that the President did not discuss the situation with Col. Robins, nor did he ask to discuss the situation with Col. Robins.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Was it not for the same reason that the President did not discuss with Gen. Bullard, who had been sent to Europe to investigate the situation there?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President——

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I will ask the Senator if he is not aware of the fact that Col. Robins remained in Washington after his arrival from Russia——

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Oh, he remained here a long period of time.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. For several weeks?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Yes.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. And he had with him all the documents and waited here in the hope that he might have an audience with the President?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I think that is absolutely accurate, Mr. President.

When last I addressed the Senate upon this subject I asked certain questions of the Government. It is unfortunate that there is no method by which our Government may be interrogated and no means, except that of a majority vote here, by which information may be obtained for our people. I wish it were possible so to amend our system that upon this floor the appropriate official could be asked legitimate questions and compelled to respond. No answer has been made, of course, to the questions that I asked, because the implication in every question is known by the department to be true. Men are in this country to-day who can establish every single fact suggested, and if this body or the Foreign Relations Committee really desire information, if they wish to tell the mothers and the fathers and the wives of the men who are freezing in Russia to-day just what the facts are, they have at their disposal the evidence, and it can be brought before them upon the briefest notice.

Russia, Mr. President, is a marvelous country. It contains one-sixth of the earth's surface, with fertility of soil and wealth in mineral resources surpassing those of any other part of the earth. This Soviet government to which our President for us spoke so kindly, begged us for economic aid and wished to make us the most-favored Nation. We, in the rigidity of our virtue, though asking the aid of the anarchists in our midst, with the Bolsheviki over there, and though publicly proclaiming our friendship and our love, would not accept the proffer. Weak and vacillating, stupid, and ignorant has been our policy with Russia. We solemnly promised we would not intervene, and then, prating of our love for the Russian people, we did intervene. Prating about guarding stores at Archangel we advanced from 100 to 300 miles from that port, took and burned little Russian towns, and upset little Soviet governments. In the name of protecting military supplies, which were offered to us again, and again, and again, and which we could have had for the asking, we shot down Russian peasants and our boys are shot down by them. The Senator from Nebraska insists our only purpose in landing at Archangel was to protect the stores. Our only advance beyond Archangel was to prepare military bases. He is wrong. We were marching down from Archangel—and the facts will demonstrate it—that we might make conjunction with the Omsk Government and might perfect the ring of steel which we had thrown around interior Russia, and which was starving innocent women and children. The Senator from Virginia gravely speaks of the German menace. What German menace since November 11? Are our people children to be lulled into repose by such stuff as this? The very learned and logical Senator from Colorado tells us that we are not making war upon Russia; that Russia is making war upon us. Apparently his argument seems to be that if the Russians had not resisted when we advanced into their territory there would have been no conflict and no killing. What a strange and fantastic doctrine is this! If an army landed in New York, marched to Buffalo, and the people in central New York resisted and fought them, by that fact, then, New York was making war upon the invading army and the invading army was innocent of wrong. The French are under no illusions in this matter.

They are for intervention, and they believe they are intervening upon a small scale, too small, as they put it, now. They make no pretense that they wish supplies guarded. They wish Russians killed and another government set up. What hypocrisy upon our part to say to our people, and to the Russians, in our pronunciamento last year when we commenced our intervention, that we contemplated "no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs, not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military force may be obliged to occupy, and no impairment of her territorial integrity, either now or hereafter." No sooner had we landed at Archangel than we shot the Soviet government there existing out of town and set up a government of our own. No sooner did we go into the interior than everywhere we found a local soviet we shot it to death and set up our own mode of government. Then we tell our people that we intend no interference with the internal or local affairs of Russia!

What a commentary it is upon the power of this body and upon the power of our people that the State Department and the Government can not and will not answer concerning our troops in Russia. How the iron must enter the souls of those who have relatives there; of the mothers and fathers and the wives of men who were drafted to fight Germany, and then, when the war with Germany was ended, were forced to fight a war with Russia. Our Government can not answer concerning our troops, although the great preponderance of the forces at Archangel are American. Of necessity it must respond in indefinite and general terms. These troops are now under English command, and the Americans who are in the vicinity of Archangel, like good soldiers, are obeying their English commanders. I venture the assertion that in Washington, in the departments here, they know no more about what military action is contemplated or what our troops are about to do than the veriest novice upon the floor of the Senate. The American troops are under English command. Perhaps justly so, and I have no doubt well commanded; but it is because of that fact that no answer can be made as to the position of these troops or their military activities. An occasional belated story is given to us, the last of which we read on January 25, as follows:

"We have reports from Archangel," said Gen. March, "which were received here on January 24, and have been decoded. We had at Shenkursk a force which, at last reports, consisted of a detachment of British, two American companies, and two Russian companies. Manifestly this force has had out in that vicinity small patrols at times. The towns mentioned in the report are so small that we can not find them on our largest maps. The force at Shenkursk was attacked on three sides, and the report which was received at Archangel that day stated that they were forced to evacuate.

"The troops at a place called Ust-Pedenga, which I can not find on the map, were also compelled to evacuate under attacks by strong Bolshevist forces. Our troops took up a position midway between Shenkursk and Ust-Pedenga. Under attacks of 1,000 of enemy troops we retreated from Tania to a point 10 miles away therefrom. Tania is 18 miles west of Shenkursk.

"Under an attack from 200 of the enemy forces we retreated from Kodema, which is 25 miles from Shenkursk, to a point within 13 miles of that town. The enemy has strong patrols from Shegovari to Tania. Shegovari is 20 miles north of Tania, and to the right of Shenkursk.

"The Americans lost 10 enlisted men killed in action, 17 wounded, and 11 missing in the retirement. Near Ust-Pedenga, and later at Shegovari an enemy attack on the west was repulsed."

"Do we plan," was asked, "to reinforce the American unit in Russia in view of the fact that it seems to be retiring?"

"Shenkursk," replied Gen. March, "as scaled on the map, is apparently 190 miles from Archangel, and the allied forces representing four Governments, and the Russians, five Governments, have up there a force large enough to reinforce those men or have them fall back on them and hold the situation."

Gen. March was asked whether any recommendation had been received concerning the withdrawal of the American forces from the Archangel front.

The force now at Archangel—

He said—

was put in there by the allied Governments on the recommendation of Marshal Foch, and the military handling of that unit was thereupon turned over to the supreme commander; and whatever is done concerning reinforcing the unit will be done by him. The allies agreed upon a British commander in chief, and at the last reports he was in the front lines inspecting his troops, and I assume that the military part of it is in hand.

From this, apparently, all the roseate stories of the campaign in Russia may be discounted. Our brave boys had to retreat many miles through the ice and the snow and the rigors of an Arctic winter. They had to fight during this period in weather that few are accustomed to and none understand.

And what has been the result of it all? It is true we have a ring of steel that prevents food getting into Russia. It is true that we are starving women and children to-day in Russia, and that hands are lifted in supplication to God and in cursing this country for its activities. But is it not obvious to you that when we compel people in Russia to starve, who will starve? It will not be first the horrible Bolsheviki. It will not be your Lenines and your Trotskys. It will be the intellectuals and the bourgeois. It will be those whom we are pleased to term the very best people in Russia. As you contract this ring now, and as you prevent the natural flow of food from the granary of Russia, and you blockade her ports with gunboats, you are first starving the very people you do not wish to starve, and you are starving those who ought not to starve. If it had not been for this criminal policy of intervention, and this ring of steel that prevented food getting into internal Russia, Lenine and Trotsky, in my opinion, long ago would have fallen and the Bolsheviki would have been at an end. But by this foreign interference every base passion has been appealed to, every prejudice aroused, and even patriotism invoked. And the very act of intervention has enabled this grotesque government to last far beyond its allotted time, and to exercise its despotic sway in the name of public safety. How much have we contributed to the terror, to the rapine, plunder, slaughter, and massacre? There is a heavy reckoning some day for those who have been responsible for this wicked and this useless course in Russia. And the heaviest responsibility, the wrong which can never be atoned, is the shedding of American blood in Russia. It is to this phase I desire to arouse the Congress and to which, if I had the power and my voice would carry, I would arouse the people of the Nation. It is of American boys and American blood I am thinking. I would not give one American life in Russia for all the Bolsheviki spawned by centuries of tyranny and mad with the lust of a ruthless ephemeral power.

What I ask by this resolution is that our Government, which shrouds itself in mystery and which will not tell us or the people its intentions or its policies, may know our opinion that our troops should be withdrawn from Russia. I do not care how you view the situation, whether you favor armed intervention or whether you do not. If you favor armed intervention it is obvious that the scale upon which it has been undertaken is too small to accomplish lasting results. It has become painfully clear in the last few days that by the present intervention we merely hazard the lives of our men. It is equally clear that the people of England, and our own people, will not tolerate intervention upon a larger scale. Therefore, even if you favor intervention you should, for the protection of the lives of our soldiers, insist that those there, few in number and their position courting disaster, be immediately withdrawn. If you favor intervention, why do you not upon this floor, by resolution or otherwise, say so? If you believe in war with Russia, why not introduce an appropriate resolution and permit Congress to vote upon it in accordance with the Constitution, and permit our people to discuss it? Upon what theory can you justify war, without affirmative action by Congress? And that we are in an actual state of war at present in Russia the recent ominous news from there demonstrates only too plainly.

What a sorry spectacle we present! The distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee endeavors to make explanations of our policy with Russia, but hastens to assert that he does not speak officially or authoritatively. The chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs gravely gives his views but prefaces them with the statement that he speaks neither officially nor authoritatively. Both of these gentlemen say we are simply protecting supplies. I reiterate that England is under no illusion respecting our purpose in Russia, and that France frankly proclaims it. The court organ, the New York World, says we are in Russia for the purpose of maintaining order. The various Russians who have showered us with pamphlets of late understand the situation full well. The most recent of the propaganda which has come to me is from a certain Col. Vladimir I. Lebedeff, who says:

Just at this time, the allied armies being at Vologda, the allies advised the officers' organizations to revolt simultaneously against the Bolsheviki in Ribinsk, Vladimir, Yaroslavl, and Murom, so as to encircle Moscow as with an iron ring.

In the declaration published by the State Department of our intervention it was stated "whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk and Archangel, the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may subsequently be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their own self-defense." The charming naivete of this must have appealed to the Bolsheviki. We were landing troops for the sole purpose of guarding military stores which subsequently we would deliver to the Russians themselves. Of course, the intention of this utterance was to fool the people of the United States into believing American bayonets were necessary to protect Archangel stores from the Germans. It is never for an instant indicated nor is the language susceptible of any such meaning that these stores were to be protected from any kind of Russians who were not acting with the Germans. Our advance constantly into the interior, of course, makes it obvious that the guarding of supplies for Russians themselves was the veriest kind of pretense. In all of the months prior to our intervention daily the subject of intervention was hotly discussed.

In all these discussions there never was a question about protecting supplies except in the instance where the soviet government, in conjunction with the English and the French, at the very moment of the German advance in February and March, protected supplies at Murmansk. The distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee scoffs at the idea that any war exists in Russia now, or that we are there participating in war with the Russians. I take it what he means is that it is just a little war, and because it is such a little war, it ought to be disregarded. It is a little war. It involves the lives of something over 5,000 American boys only. It touches the hearts of perhaps three times that number of anxious relatives in the United States. It is true, perhaps, that it is such a little war it involves only a few hundred lives, a few hundred maimed, a few hundred American graves on Russian soil, but to me, sir, one of those lives in Russia and one of these hearts bowed in anguish in America are more precious than all of the pretense of diplomacy or the protection of any government from the just wrath of a righteous public opinion.

Opinion upon this subject has crystallized in England. You may have observed recently a delegation of soldiers called upon Lloyd George and expressed their fear that they might be sent to Russia. He assured them they would not be. I have been interested in following the discussion which has been going on in England, and a portion of it I wish to bring to your attention. Indeed, as evidentiary matter, I have selected two newspapers, one British the other American, because of their high standing and the accuracy of their statements. I have taken the Manchester Guardian, one of the few great independent newspapers in the world. It certainly will not be accused of bolshevism or sympathy with men like Lenine and Trotsky. I have taken as well from the sedate precincts of the Old Bay State the Springfield Republican with its recent reviews of the Russian situation, and, without at length reading either, I desire to refer to a few excerpts.

Perhaps, Mr. President, I would serve no good purpose in reading these excerpts, and, if the privilege will be accorded to me, I should like to put into the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, various articles from the Manchester Guardian, dated December 6, December 19, December 24, and December 27, 1918, and two articles from the Springfield Republican, one of them dated January 5 and the other dated January 12, 1919.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GAY in the chair). Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The articles referred to are as follows:

[From the Manchester Guardian, Dec. 6, 1918.]

THE RUSSIAN SCANDAL.

Our present relations with Russia are about as indefensible as can be imagined. The foreign office, or those who control the policy of the foreign office, can hardly be ignorant of that—how should they

be?—but, so far as appears, are preparing to cover one error with a greater error and to make bad worse. In the midst of the preoccupation of a great war the little war with Russia has received comparatively little attention, and it is hardly realized that, though the great war is over, the little war goes on, and, moreover, that if it is not stopped now or soon it is likely to become a very much larger war and a more and more intolerable and indefensible one, so intolerable and indefensible, indeed, that it is capable of producing grave reactions here, extending to the overthrow of a government. We originally embarked on this Russian adventure under wholly different circumstances, and for reasons, so far as reasons were given, which have no present application whatever. After the intervention by Germany in the civil war between the Reds and Whites in Finland and her virtual occupation of the country there was a real, if somewhat remote, danger that she might strike through Finland at the narrow strip of Russian territory which divides the north of Finland from the Arctic Ocean and establish for herself a naval station on the Murmansk coast, giving her access to the Arctic and a new outlet for her submarines. At a moment when the submarine war was at its height and Russia lay helpless and subservient there was reason, if not very urgent reason, since the district was extremely inaccessible and a long line of railway would have had to be built, for guarding against this peril. That was the extent of the danger and the extent of the need for our occupation. Its extension to Archangel, which is not ice free, and to a large stretch of country inland had no such justification. The occupation of Vladivostok, Russia's ice-free port in the Pacific, 5,000 miles away, followed by the advance with the cooperation of Japan westward into Siberia was, as a military measure, equally unjustified. Both these extensions of the original intervention were defended on quite other grounds. It was said that Russia had become the mere tool of Germany and that it was necessary, first, to prevent the further extension of Germany's influence and her increasing exploitation of Russian resources, and, secondly, to "reconstitute the eastern front." In this connection the happy discovery was made of scattered bands of Czecho-Slovak prisoners who, it was urged, must, in the first place, be rescued, and, in the second place, utilized in this process of reconstituting the eastern front.

So matters stood at the time of the collapse of Germany and the conclusion of the armistice. Obviously, every reason hitherto alleged, whether for the original occupation of the Murmansk coast or for the subsequent expedition to Archangel and Siberia had now disappeared. They were all in the nature of defenses against the attack of Germany, and there was no longer any attack or possibility of attack from Germany. Germany as a military power was dead; but were the defensive measures, the counterattacks, dead also? Not at all; they continue in full force. There is quite a prospect that they may be largely extended. For the moment, of course, there is a pause. Winter is no respecter of persons or of policies. Very soon Archangel will be frozen up and our army of occupation there will be frozen up also. In the east the Japanese have steadily and very sensibly refused to advance a mile farther. They have reached Lake Baikal, and beyond Lake Baikal they decline to go. So if we desire to extend our operations in this direction we shall have to do it ourselves, for America will certainly not assist us and will prudently follow the Japanese example. But there are other possible fields of operation. We have recently obtained access to the Black Sea. We are therefore now in a position to repeat in the extreme south of Russia our performances in the extreme north, and, as a matter of fact, it is credibly reported that the war office is now engaged in making a survey of the country. The Ukraine, under German and Austrian control, has become the refuge or dumping ground of a whole collection of Russian reactionaries of various sorts and sizes, and the same is true to a less extent of the Don country and other districts to the east. It would be easy to play into the hands of these gentry, as we have played into the hands of others of the same description in eastern Siberia, where a purely reactionary party has now dismissed the local popular (not Bolshevik) government and established a military government of its own.

But what conceivable justification, it may be asked, is there for any such proceedings? And how is it possible that any British Government should embark on so wanton and criminal an interference in the affairs of another nation? Such questions may, indeed, well be asked, but it is doubtful if they will receive any presentable answer; for the fact is that the real, though unavowed, reason for our previous interference is entirely different from the avowed reasons, and it is a little awkward, now that the avowed reasons have disappeared, to produce the real one—the more so as this is not a very nice reason or one which is likely to commend itself to reasonable people in this country or to our working class. That reason, of course, is that the war against Russia has from the first really been a war against that particular form of socialistic theory known as bolshevism.

We are no admirers of that theory. Applied to any western European country, we believe it would be disastrously subversive. Even in Russia we may doubt its permanence. But there it is; it has established itself; it has existed for more than a year. It is not weakening in power; all trustworthy information goes to show that it is gaining in power; that it has established order; that it meets with general support from some 80,000,000 people, whom it controls; that it is grappling successfully with the food problem; that it is promoting the popular arts, music, and the drama, and is preparing a great scheme of popular education—that, in fact, it is performing most of the normal functions of a government, and performing them with increasing success. These are the facts, but they do not suit the policy—the policy at least hitherto pursued—of our freedom-loving Government. The telegrams of the few British correspondents, including our own, who are still in a position to give authentic information, are ruthlessly censored or suppressed, and the Government goes on in its blind and foolish way, a way that can, if persisted in, lead only to discredit and disaster. This is the situation as we understand it. Bolshevism is to be suppressed by armed force, and in order to prepare people's minds for it and to lend it some color of justification, not only is truth as to the condition of Russia suppressed but currency is given to all kinds of wild statements and palpable exaggerations. The Bolsheviks are not angels from heaven. They have, like most revolutionaries, executed a good number of their enemies, but these executions have mostly taken place since the intervention of the allies gave encouragement to the counter-revolutionaries and made them more formidable. Mr. Litvinoff, who is an honest man and a Tolstoyan before he is a Bolshevik, puts the total number of executions since the Bolsheviks came into power at 400, half of them of ordinary criminals. That is probably an underestimate. If information were allowed to come through from other sources, we might get nearer the truth. This, then, so far as there is a policy, appears to be the policy. It has got to be changed. Perhaps the Government are already awakening to the fact, but find it difficult to get out of the mess they have themselves created. Let them take heart. It is easier now than it will be later. Every week, every month, that they stay in Russia and wage a war on Russia, which has lost every shred of avowable reason and has no justification, will make it more difficult to escape. If with the coming of spring they should see fit to resume or extend their military operations, it is well they should understand that it will not be tolerated in this country. The workers here are not going to send their sons to slaughter and be slaughtered against the workers of another country, against which we have never even declared war, and for the purpose of destroying a form of social economy with which some of them, at least, are in sympathy. If it is sought to check the progress of bolshevism and prevent its spread to this country, that is precisely the way to defeat the object. We prefer not to consider the possible further consequences of such reckless folly.

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[From the Manchester Guardian, Dec. 19, 1918.]

ADMIRAL KOLTCHAK AND LORD MILNER.

The campaign of Admiral Koltchak, the Siberian "dictator," against his old comrades in arms is developing. He has arrested another 27 of them, including M. Tchernoff, one of the foremost of the anti-Bolshevik socialists, and 12 other members of the constituent assembly. Their crime is that they do not accept him as dictator and that they proclaim him a sheer reactionary, a charge which has that sharpest of all stings—truth. The admiral's campaign against the Bolsheviks, however, is not moving equally prosperously. The chief Czech generals have resigned rather than do his work for him, and the whole Czech army is threatening to abandon the front and go home. That would mean the end of Admiral Koltchak's "dictatorship" and the whole miserable Siberian adventure. The admiral, however, expects the allies to induce the Czechs to stay on as his mercenaries (paid, of course, not by him but by the allies), to replace them, if and when they depart, by allied conscripts (thus doing their bit to make democracy safe), and to provide him liberally with the sinews of war. The finance of the "dictator" is characteristic. It will be remembered that the late Czar gained much credit at the beginning of the war by suppressing vodka. Vodka is the dictator's local financial stand-by. It brought in 1,000,000 rubles in August and 10,000,000 rubles in November, and its potentialities are "limitless," for there are a thousand million rubles of the stuff in stock. Thus, faithful to tradition, vodka is to be the rock on which the "dictator's" Russia is to be builded, just as it was of the Czar's Russia. Vodka and loans—for the "dictator's" foreign friends are to do most of the paying, though we should like somebody to tell us who is calling the tune. Koltchak is asking the allies to provide 60,000,000 rubles a month to keep him going. There is a further point. Many parts of Russia are starving. How many people realize that it is partly the allies who are responsible for starving Russia? We are blockading Russia so that no raw materials or machinery can enter the country or produce leave it. We are sustaining the blockade of Russia by the revolted provinces who used to supply her with most of her food and fuel. To what end this martyrizing of the Russian people? To what end this pouring out of British blood and British money?

To these questions, at long last, a British minister, Lord Milner, attempts a reply. Lord Milner does not say the Bolsheviks are German hirelings. He is not quite so ready as his colleagues to adopt, on the strength of forged documents, a theory which no competent authority sincerely believes. He says we went to Russia for two chief reasons—because the action of the Bolsheviks was assisting our enemies by releasing hosts of German troops and bringing Roumania down, and because we were under a moral obligation to save the Czecho-Slovaks. We are afraid that these reasons ignore a great many facts. We provided the Ukraine with money and arms to break away from Russia before the Bolsheviks made peace with Germany; indeed, our action was an important, perhaps the most important, factor in precipitating the treaty of Brest. Again, the Bolsheviks repeatedly expressed their willingness and their anxiety to let the Czecho-Slovaks leave Russia, and they contend that it was the allies who inspired them to stop in the hope of "reconstituting the eastern front." That, indeed, was the favorite argument for the expeditions to Russia—that it would bring Russia back into the war, whether the Russian people like it or not. We venture the assertion, in despite of Lord Milner, that the military adventures of the allies in Russia did nothing to bring defeat to Germany, but were in a military sense pure waste, to say nothing of the political loss. But be Lord Milner's reasons for intervention as good as they are bad, they no longer exist. The war with Germany is over. The Czecho-Slovaks can go home as soon as they like, or rather as soon as we let them, for it is the allies who are keeping them in Siberia when they want to go home. What then is our reason for maintaining war against Russia? Lord Milner says that we have induced some thousands of Russians—a very few thousand, in fact—to fight on our side and we can not abandon them to "the unspeakable horrors of Bolsheviki rule" until they can train, arm, and defend themselves. As the Bolsheviks have a large army and the anti-Bolsheviki parties are better at fighting one another than at fighting the Bolsheviks, it looks as though we shall be at war with Russia forever, on Lord Milner's principle. Would it not be cheaper to come to terms with the Bolsheviks, safeguarding the lives of our Russian friends, which would be perfectly easy? The Bolsheviks are begging for an armistice, but we will not condescend to listen to them. Why? The true reason peeps out at the end of Lord Milner's letter when he speaks of our duty to prevent "barbarism" spreading all over Russia. In Russia we are fighting neither against the Germans nor for the Czecho-Slovaks nor for the Russian anti-Bolsheviks. We are fighting against a form of the State and a conception of property which we dislike, and which we have good reason to dislike, but which it is not our business to overthrow by force of arms in another country. That is why we are in Russia.

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[From the Manchester Guardian, Dec. 24, 1919.]

THE OUTLOOK THIS CHRISTMAS.

The fifth Christmas since the war began is not yet the Christmas of peace. Fighting has been suspended between the original belligerents, nor is there any prospect of its being resumed. Turkey, Austria, Bulgaria, and Germany have neither the will nor the means to take up arms again before the final peace is ratified. All this is an immense boon, but we should not forget that the old war has either actually given place or is in danger of giving place to a new war. The allies are directing or sustaining several campaigns against the Moscow gov-

ernment, and the fragmentary States of the disrupted Russian and Austrian Empires are engaged in a conflict with one another, which is not the less ferocious because it is obscure. These, perhaps it will be said, are but small dark patches on an otherwise brilliant prospect. Nobody, however, knows what dimensions the war against Russia may take on, just as nobody knows what this war is about. Still more disturbing, nobody can foretell what vast explosive forces may be released and transmitted throughout the world by such a reckless enterprise. Old Europe was light of heart when it set out to extirpate revolution in France, and the end of it all was that old Europe collapsed in blood and fire under the blows of Napoleon. Of course, history may not repeat itself, but the statesman who stakes much on the chance that causes will not produce their probable consequences is not exactly prudent. All the miserable conflict in eastern and southeastern Europe between nation and nation has a very direct relation to events in Russia. Russia is girded round with primitive race passions, the fierce tyranny of intolerant pride and aggressive exuberance. That constitutes an immense mass of inflammable material. A cautious statesmanship would hasten to extinguish the war with Russia before it extends and consumes great part perhaps of Europe. When we see European statesmanship, on the contrary, planning to develop, instead of ending, hostilities against Russia, we can not think the outlook too comforting.

The moral flaw thus revealed is as unfavorable to excessive optimism as the intellectual flaw. The war against Russia has the two characteristic defects of the pre-1914 system—the secrecy of its inception, its conduct, and its aims, and the conviction that force is the best of arguments and can be trusted to prevail.

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[From the Manchester Guardian, Dec. 27, 1918.]

THE ALLIES AND RUSSIA.

The allies, according to M. Pichon, are desirous of extirpating bolshevism in Russia, but they are not going to expand their military intervention. If the allies were united in extirpating poverty outside Russia, it would please the allied peoples and benefit them much more. Bolshevism inside Russia is the concern of the Russian people, not of the allied governments. We can not imagine anything more reckless than an adventure of this kind at a time like this. Some perception of this fact seems to have dawned upon the allied governments, perhaps with the help of President Wilson. That explains, presumably, the decision to resist the pressure of the Russian exiles anxious for an unlimited allied expedition. But the policy of a limited military commitment is a worthless compromise. No man knows where it will end, no man knows what result it will produce, no man can safely predict of it anything except that it will prolong civil war in Russia indefinitely, and delay indefinitely the ending of the starving of the Russian people by the blockade and the restoration of tolerable conditions. The allies can either have war with Russia or be at peace with Russia. There is nothing between. The allied governments must choose the one or the other. They would be wise to choose peace quickly.

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[From the Springfield Republican, Jan. 5, 1919.]

FRENCH AND RUSSIAN SITUATION.

It now seems settled that France, at least, intends to persist in the unhappy half-way course which has worked such disaster in Russia. Last week mention was made of the reported abandonment of the great project of sending armies into Russia to overthrow the Lenine government. But apparently while the allies could not agree on this "thorough" method of dealing with bolshevism by attacking it at its supposed source, France can not make up its mind either to abandon intervention. Foreign Minister Pichon last Sunday flatly contradicted the inference of a Socialist deputy that this was what he had meant, and made the further statement that while intervention was inevitable its purpose "was not offensive for the time being but defensive." Later an offensive might be necessary to destroy bolshevism, but such an operation must be carried out by Russian troops, of whom there were at the present time, he said, 100,000 at Odessa.

By "defensive" operations he meant, of course, not defending French territory, but preventing the spread of bolshevism that is to-day preventing the extension of the Lenine government's power over those parts of the former Russian Empire, which it does not yet control. Yet this professed purpose hardly covers the case of the present intervention of the French, apparently without the cooperation of their allies in the Ukraine. For the Republican forces, which the French seem after some hesitation to have decided to attack are not pro-Lenine, and it is doubtful if they can be called Bolshevist except in the extended sense in which that term of opprobrium is coming to be applied to revolutionists in general. It will be recalled that a fortnight ago we had word of the sweeping progress of the Republican forces under the popular leader, Petulra. They took Odessa and other Black Sea ports and also occupied Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine. Apparently it was they and not, as an earlier muddled or censored dispatch indicated, the White army of Gen. Denikin that overthrew the Cossack hetman, Gen. Skoropadkin, who with German support had carried on a counter-revolution in the Ukraine. On the contrary, Skoropadkin appears to have gone over to the allies after the collapse of Germany, and to have acted upon their advice in declaring for a reunion of the Ukraine under the government which he was to set up, with the Russian governments organized by the reactionary dictators, Gen. Denikin and Admiral Kolchak.

This was wholly contrary to the will of the people of the Ukraine, but a Pole of high rank, who lately escaped from Kiev, is probably mistaken in attributing the popular revolt which followed to this declaration for union. A much more probable cause is that Skoropadkin, Denikin, and Kolchak all represent the propertied interests and aim at undoing the work of the revolution, especially in regard to the distribution of the land. In the Ukraine, which takes in most of the famous "black-earth" belt, in which the great landlords stuck tighter to their vast estates than in northern Russia, the agrarian question is specially acute, and this issue seems to have united the peasantry and the lower and middle classes of the cities to a degree not found in Russia proper. The movement headed by Petlura, in short, has all the marks of a genuine popular movement, and the way in which it burst out everywhere all at once shows that it had gained much headway before the censors allowed mention of it.

When the new tidal wave of revolution swept down on Odessa and the other seaports the French, who had no adequate forces on hand, contented themselves with protecting the docks and wharves with their naval vessels, and later landing a force were said to have regained about a third of the city. Now we are told that a French army is to operate from Odessa, and that another army, under French command, but presumably in the main Roumanian, is marching from Roumania to attack Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine.

Of the military side of these operations it would be premature to speak, because so little is known of the force involved. But politically it can at once be said that the adventure inspires serious misgivings, if only because the French foreign office, in some ways the most reactionary now left in Europe, has shown such unlimited capacity for blundering in its dealings with the revolution. It is now supporting a reactionary "unionist" government, yet last year the Ukraine had hardly declared its independence when the French recognized its Government, lent it $35,000,000 (surely the worst bet ever made), and sent a military mission. The theory was that since the Ukraine was against the Bolsheviki, and since the Bolsheviki were pacifists and pro-Germans, the Ukraine must be proally and eager to go on fighting for the entente. But that military mission got to Kiev just in time to see the Ukraine break faith with the Bolsheviki and negotiate a separate treaty with the enemy. M. Pichon has a reason to feel sore about that $35,000,000, but it should be noted that the hasty advance of cash to a Government simply because it was revolting from the Bolsheviki showed a too rigid and fallacious logic. In real life things do not arrange themselves as this or that; they may be something else, and Ukraine was the something else. It may be added in extenuation that French policy in Russia has from the beginning of the revolution been under inconceivable pressure from the half-crazed investor. For people whose hard-earned savings are menaced by a social cataclysm in a remote country the utmost sympathy may be felt, but there is no worse influence for a statesman than a panic over investments.

It is in France, for this reason, that we must look for the bitterest hostility toward the revolution, and strange as this may seem in view of the preeminence of France in revolution. Of exceptional interest, now that France has drifted into war with Russia, is the frank account given by the historian, Ernest Lavisse, when the revolution was but two months old, of the friction between the two countries:

"If we have misunderstood the Russian revolution, the revolutionaries, on their side, have not been fair to us. We looked for some expression of warm sympathy toward France, who first proclaimed the rights of man, and whose successive revolutions have contributed so much in the downfall of the old régime in Europe. But the Russian revolutionaries have greeted us with black looks. They reproach our Republic with having made too easy a pact with czarism and with having permitted and even supported the very equivocal activities of the Russian police in France. On this last point they are only too well justified. But they don't appreciate in a spirit of fairness the reasons for the alliance between the French Republic and the Russian Czar. France lived under perpetual threat of a German attack. * * * Certainly this alliance was repugnant to our traditions, but sheer necessity forced it on us."

Hardly less serious than the situation in Ukraine is that in western Siberia, where a new danger is revealed in a dispatch from Carl Ackermann, who has been at Omsk, in which he states on November 24 the Czech soldiers "voted against an offensive against the Bolsheviki which had been planned and ordered." This is striking in the first place because it shows the Czechs, whose prowess and good conduct have won admiration, as having absorbed in Russia the Bolshevist idea of the referendum to the army of the orders issued by the high command. This detail gives point to what has been said of the infectiousness of bolshevism and its influence upon all the armies that are sent to fight the Bolsheviki.

But for the Czechs there is the justification that they feel, says Mr. Ackermann, that they have been betrayed by the allies. Their feeling may be unjust, but at all events the allies exploited the accidental presence of the Czechs in Russia without having worked out a plan or even having agreed on a general policy, and the Czechs, like the Roumanians and the Serbians, have been left in the lurch. When the decision to have them stay in Russia was announced attention was called in these reviews to the danger of making so immensely important a decision as invading Russia, a matter to be determined on broad lines, turn on the mere accident that a small force of foreign soldiers was occupying a good strategic position thousands of miles into the interior of the empire. There were 60,000 Czechs getting on very well in a land of 160,000,000 people, because there was no serious hostility; they were Russia's allies leaving Russia. Why should there be hostility? Here and there German agents stirred up trouble, but it is now tolerably clear that there would have been no difficulty in getting the Czechs out of Russia, if that had been desired. Even the treacherous hostility of Trotsky seems to have been due to the threats of intervention and his belief that if the Czechs got to Vladivostok they would join the invading entente armies.

Of the part played by the United States Government in this sorry affair it is too soon to speak, but it is certain that its action was taken in the supposed interest of the Russian people. But the fear that its action would be misunderstood in Russia has been borne out by the result, and is illustrated in a telegram sent by the president of the soviets of central Siberia, which Mr. Ackermann quotes:

"From Russia to Vladivostok are moving 60 echelons of Czecho-Slovak troops at the disposal of America, ostensibly on their way to France. In view of the hostile attitude of international imperialism and the threats of a foreign landing at Vladivostok the central executive committee of the Siberian soviets considers a concentration there of forces dangerous and inadmissible."

The American official shares in commitments which the allies did not in fact carry out is shown in a dispatch from Consul General Poole at Moscow to the Czechs at Samara:

"You may inform the Czecho-Slovak leaders that pending further notice the allies will be glad, from the political point of view, to have them hold their present positions. On the other hand, they should not be hampered in meeting the military exigencies of the situation. It is desirable, first of all, that they should obtain control of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, and, secondly, if this is assumed, at the same time, if possible, retain control over the territory they now dominate."

Is not this a curious dispatch to send—from Moscow? Has the Lenine government had altogether a square deal, to say nothing of the Czechs?

Their vote against another offensive fits with all that we have had from Siberia and helps to explain the hostility toward them shown by the London Times correspondent, who was specially angry at them for protecting the members of the constituent assembly from arrest by the new dictator, Kolchak. By their aid the delegates were able to escape to Ufa, in European Russia, where the all-Russian government had its capital before it went to join the Siberian government at Omsk. At Ufa, said the correspondent of the Times, they "continue to fulminate against the Omsk government," though their power for mischief there was limited by lack of the support of the Czechs. But this week the Moscow government claims the capture of Ufa. Was it a

military victory, or have the leaders there abandoned the allies because of the Kolchak coup d'état and gone over to Lenine? If the allies have not been fair to the Czechs, have they been fair, either, to the Russian moderates who have been willing to cooperate in restoring Russia? There is much excuse for them if, after narrowly escaping arrest by a czarist military dictator, they have finally joined forces with the Bolsheviki; but why should the allies have let them be forced into that dilemma?

The refusal of the Czechs to attack the Bolsheviki also helps to interpret the announcement made to the French Chamber of Deputies by M. Pinchon last Sunday that Perm had been captured by an anti-Bolshevik army of Russians. It may be so; and it may even be that it was, as he declared, a tremendous victory, with 16,000 Bolsheviki killed or captured, though all news from Russia has to be scaled down. The victory, it is true, was suspiciously timely with a new adventure in the Ukraine being floated against protest, and M. Pinchon has not shone as an authority on events in Russia. But for the present we have no evidence one way or another. Vladivostok doubles the number of prisoners, but is a remote source. The point of interest is that the French foreign secretary made a virtue of the Russians acting alone and hid from the French Parliament the news, undoubtedly barred in France by the censorship, that the Czechs had been disgusted by the setting up of a dictatorship and had refused to fight for it. When the people of the entente countries learn how they have been tricked we must expect a strong revulsion of feeling, not in favor of the Bolsheviki, but in favor of stopping stupid interference of this sort and letting Russia settle for itself what its people want.

One of the unfortunate consequences of the French Government to continue to harass the Bolsheviki with minor military operations is that it gives excuse for a continuance of the censorship which has made possible the blundering policy of the allies. In our own country, now that the war has been won, we may look for a quick return to the publicity that Americans like. The only possible reason for secrecy would be that the allies were managing things badly and antagonizing the Russian people, and if this be true the fact should not be hidden, but set right. If the Bolsheviki are too strong to be overthrown, the question will arise how they are to be treated. Are they to be declared outlaws or recognized as representing Russia or put on the waiting list? These are questions depending on facts, and the democracies of France, Great Britain, and the United States are perfectly competent to decide when a foreign government has earned recognition. The public approved of the refusal to make a commercial treaty with the Czar while the passports of American Jews were dishonored; it can be trusted to judge Russia fairly if the facts are fully and impartially presented. We may confidently expect the administration soon to take measures to that end.

It was suggested last week that to get a coherent policy the allies would have to decide whether the menace of bolshevism was a matter of force or of ideas. Confusion upon this point has been growing since then, for the reason that as soon as the rumor got about that the allies had decided not to invade Russia the interventionists began to "play up" the dire peril of a Russian invasion. While they still hoped for intervention Trotzky's army was derided as fit only for Falstaff; as soon as the allies decided that it was indiscreet to attack the Bolsheviki the opposite tactics were adopted; the scarecrow Red Guard became overnight a superb army, millions strong, officered by German generals, and setting out unprovoked to conquer Germany and France by sheer force. One day Trotzky was packing up and a corporal's guard of allies, one might think, would do to take Moscow and save civilization; the next day the allies were invited to beat back countless Muscovite hordes, warlike, disciplined, well armed, well clothed, fanatically devoted to the propaganda of bolshevism.

For this mystery it is hard to find a parallel except in Russian finance. Financial history contains nothing more entertaining than the theory that the inexplicable strength of the Bolsheviki is due to German gold and that they are now using this ill-got wealth to bribe Germany in turn, a financial operation equaled only in the town where the people lived by taking in each other's washing. But the past week has seen a diverting addendum to this theory in the explanation that the strength of the Bolsheviki is due to their control of the printing press. With that remarkable engine, it seems, they can produce money in unlimited quantities, whereas Dictator Kolchak at Omsk is repining because many bales of paper money, neatly printed in America, are held up at Vladivostok pending developments. Apparently, then, the only hope of the anti-Bolsheviki is that the printing press at Moscow may break down from overstrain. For, while that operates, they are able to bribe all Russia and to maintain a huge army by paying in paper rubles, to be sure, fantastic wages to private soldiers, with surplus enough to bribe Germany, too.

No labored explanation of the hold of the Bolsheviki on Russia is needed, however, if we assume (1) that despite denials it has steadily been growing in strength, and (2) that the allies by a wrong policy have played into the hands of the Lenine government. Of the actual facts we as yet know little, but by inference from known conditions we may correct some of the wildest distortions of the truth. We may conclude off-hand that as an offensive force the Bolsheviki are not formidable. They have small arms enough, but no such equipment of artillery and other elaborate apparatus as would nowadays be required for such a crusading war as the French Revolution waged when goaded into it by attacks very much like those which the French are now making. Nor have the Russians, who got thoroughly weary of the war, shown an aggressive spirit. Whatever the danger of bolshevism may be, it is not at present the danger of a march to the Rhine.

It is to be assumed, too, that Russia is weak because it is a tightly blockaded country. It can produce food enough and can manufacture certain articles, but it is industrially backward and has long been cut off from foreign trade. It must therefore be progressively impoverished and the less capable of attacking the right and well-equipped nations of the west, even if the Russians should be seized with a warlike spirit, which at present they fortunately do not show.

The military peril, then, may be dismissed except as it affects Russia itself, including, of course, Siberia and the territories which the enemy seized and are now evacuating. Of these the chief is Ukraine, and there, as we have seen, the French are combating a separate revolution, which is at present anti-Bolshevist, though under attack by foreign armies supporting the dictator, Denikins, it might in self-defense join forces with the Lenine government.

Next in importance to Ukraine come the Baltic Provinces, from which the German armies are retreating, followed by a wave of bolshevism. This is not wholly Russian in character, however, because the Bolshevist movement in Russia has found no stronger supporters than the great number of revolutionists, specially Letts, who were driven out of these Provinces by the Government, and having no home or job in Russia, very naturally entered the Red Guard; to suppose them to be mere mercenaries, as has been alleged, is part of the bribery myth already referred to. They are, in fact, ardent revolutionists, and it is to be presumed that they make the main force of the armies which are recapturing their countries as the Germans retire.

The case of Lithuania is specially interesting, because the issue there is complicated by Polish imperialism. Poland in its grand days held Lithuania in a manner curiously like that in which the Austrian Empire held the old kingdom of Bohemia, and great Russia the Ukriane, a union for defense was perverted by successive encroachments into subjugation. Now that the Poles have won their own freedom, at which we are all delighted, they are seeking also to reclaim their lost empire, and their plea for invading Lithuania is the necessity of defending it against the Bolsheviki. It is a convenient plea, but the Russian doctrine of self-determination has got so strong a hold in eastern Europe that a Polish invasion of non-Polish territory is sure to make mischief. Moreover, we are beginning to hear that the Poles, too, are being "infected."

This infection of all the armies, not excluding the Czechs, which have fought the Bolsheviki, is a very curious phenomenon, yet not inexplicable. It can be understood if we assume (1) that the common people in all countries are averse to further slaughter for imperialistic ends, and (2) that the allied Governments by their intense secrecy as to what they are up to have left the people at the mercy of Bolshevist propaganda. For the Bolsheviki have a very definite propaganda. They assert that the Germans and the allies are two of a kind, that both have been fighting for conquests, for annexations, for indemnities. They have, moreover, certain documentary evidence in the shape of the treaties found in the Czar's archives. This sort of propaganda, taken with the predilection of the allied diplomats for supporting czarist and reactionary Russians, is very unsettling to the average soldier, so long as his own Government keeps him in the dark. It is the issue of imperialism, therefore, which at present makes bolshevism a menace. The menace would be greatly reduced by a just peace.

—

[From the Springfield Republican, Jan. 12, 1919.]

The feeling grows that the whole problem, in fact, of dealing with the revolution has been badly handled, and no great surprise was caused by the announcement Tuesday of the decision of the British Government against further military intervention in Russia. Assurance was given that there was no purpose of sending more troops, and that steps had been taken toward recalling part of the 20,000 men already in Russia. No statement of the reasons for this change of policy or as to the course to be followed in the future has yet been made. To some extent the decision may have resulted from the discussions held while Mr. Wilson was in London, for Russia was uppermost at that time, and it was understood that the general question of intervention was to be among the first topics to come up. But weight must also be given to the strong feeling in Great Britain against a protraction of the war; victory has been won and the people want peace. In particular the men who were conscripted to fight Germany are clamoring for demobilization. They do not want to police the continent indefinitely, and still less do they want to be ordered abroad for a war against Russia, which is what intervention means at the present time. We need not overstress reports that fear of the spread of bolshevism in England led to the decision, but unquestionably it is now realized that intervention as the allies have actually applied it has been a potent means of fanning the flames of revolution—fanning them, be it noted, toward the west.

What might, perhaps, have been accomplished by really adequate intervention there has been no occasion to discuss in these reviews, because at no time have the allies had resources and facilities for adequate intervention. While the war lasted they were restricted to roundabout routes of access, and when victory opened the Black Sea and the Baltic revolution had spread so widely as to make what might happen at Moscow or Petrograd an affair of minor moment. At present, with the temper of Europe what it is, even a strong international campaign against the Russian soviets might involve more risk than a statesman would care to run. Even France, where feeling is most bitter against the new régime in Russia, there is no willingness to send an army to Moscow, though the French Government persists in its fatuous course of fighting the revolution in Ukraine.

To say that intervention has failed is not to say that the Bolsheviki have won. Their government may collapse any day; and though unverified, the report is not incredible that Lenine has been arrested by Trotsky on the charge of readiness to compromise. Of the two Trotsky appears to be the more violent and the more vindictive; there seems to be some ground for the assertion from Russian sources that the savage reprisals for the attempt on Lenine's life would not have been made if he had not been laid up with his wound. Lenine is extreme enough in his theories, but seems less energetic in action than Trotsky, upon whom has devolved a great part of the executive side of the revolution, including the organization of the new army. Control of that would give him an obvious advantage over his colleague if there has been, as rumored, a clash between them. In any case the fall of the Lenine government is more likely if the allies leave it alone than if by invading Russia they rally millions of ignorant people to support against a foreign foe.

When a bad military policy has decisively failed it is well to go back and examine freshly the reasons assigned for undertaking it. For the Russian campaigns no better statement can be found than in an article by the Russian, Paul Vinogradoff, resident in London, which was published last June, and which not improbably had a decisive and unfortunate effect upon entente policy. He argued:

"The first requirement is to create a basis for operations by establishing points d'appui for military stores and opening up lines of contact with the Russian people. Convenient centers are indicated by geography and are partly equipped even now. I mean, primarily, the Murman line and Archangel; in a lesser degree Vladivostok and the Manchurian railway; in the future possibly the Persian front. As the Germans are taking advantage of their proximity to Russia by foraging freely in the cornfields of the south, Great Britain and her allies should take advantage of the command of the sea to establish military centers in the Murman and in Archangel; nor could there be any suspicion of selfish encroachment if the Japanese acted in conjunction with the Americans and British on the Siberian front * * * it would certainly be a grievous mistake on the part of the allies if they did not use the short summer season to create a strong base in northern Russia * * *. If Great Britain and France are able to spare men and material for Salonica, surely they ought to be able to send a few thousand volunteers to secure and develop their line in contact with Russia."

Two months later the allies seized Archangel by force, and the test of these theories began. It can now clearly be seen, and was suspected by close students of the war at the time, that the theories on which intervention was based were unsound in every particular.

To get at Germany the allies had to get through Russia. To get through Russia they had either to work through the de facto government or set up another; they refused to work through the de facto government, even had that been possible, therefore they could not get at the Germans until they had set up a new government in Russia. But this meant a new Russian revolution, simply as a preliminary to a new campaign against Germany, and while one may disturb an enemy by starting a revolt in his country, it is not so easy to get help from an ally by starting a civil war as a preliminary. But this was precisely what the allies undertook to do in Russia. Whether it was a legitimate thing to do or not is beside the point; it failed, because it was based on false assumptions. Not even the censorship could long hide the fact that conditions in Russia were not in the least as they were depicted in the international press, and that instead of raising Russian armies to fight Germany, the allies were rapidly drifting into war with the Russian people. That insane adventure is well abandoned; peace just now is the greatest need.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in hot resentment recently replied to the strictures of the Senator from Iowa upon the corporation termed the "War Trade Board of the United States Russian Bureau." I listened with interest to his remarks then. The organization was incorporated November 6, 1918, for the purpose of accomplishing, as the Senator from Nebraska said:

The economic penetration of Russia for the purpose of bringing relief to a country that was fairly weltering in distress and misery, many of whose social and political crimes were growing out of that misery.

Five million dollars was put aside for the purpose described by the Senator from Nebraska as—

Friendly penetration, by the sending of American products into Russia and the bringing of Russian products out of Russia in exchange for them, to promote trade and create a prosperity that could not come about from natural causes.

All efforts ceased with the signing of the armistice, because, as the Senator from Nebraska said:

We have come to the end of the war substantially.

What a marvelous situation! We prepared in the early days of November last to supply Russia with what she needed and to take from her what she could sell—a friendly economic penetration—and to aid the Russian people. How could it be done except in conjunction with the very people who were in control of Russia? We see, therefore, an elaborate scheme initiated by our Government, without consultation at all, apparently, for economic cooperation with Russia; and yet, when the offers in writing for economic cooperation were made again, and again, during 1918, by the very people with whom we would have to deal in November, our Government, apparently, would not respond or reply or have aught to do with the offers, because of the wickedness of their authors; and then, after repulsing these offers with contemptuous silence, prepares itself with $5,000,000 to do the very same thing. It ceased its efforts with the armistice. Just think of it! On the 6th day of November, 1918, in the language of the Senator from Nebraska, we had started on the enterprise with Russia of "bringing them shoes and food and clothes and the things they were without." Five days later we ceased our efforts and brought the Russians instead starvation and bullets and bayonets. Our efforts at charity and benevolence ended, because, as the Senator said:

We have come to the end of the war substantially,

and I presume, for the same reason, because we had come to the end of the war substantially, and would not deal in friendliness and charity, we began to invade and to shoot and to starve and to kill. We "had come to the end of the war substantially," and we could not, therefore, economically penetrate Russia, but we could shoot Russians after we "had come to the end of the war substantially."

Mr. President, no one has less sympathy than I with the Bolsheviki of Russia, who there ruthlessly control with a hideous class tyranny. None will more scornfully reject their grotesque doctrine. But I will not permit my feelings for the men or their formulæ to blind me to our own wrongdoing, nor will I cloak our wrong with hypocritical denunciation. During the war it became fashionable to call all who disagreed with any governmental policy pro-German. Now the fashion has changed; and any man who will not accept the wrongful edict of intrenched power is by that token a Bolsheviki. In making the world safe for democracy we have put our intellects in chains; and one of our first tasks with ourselves is to unlock the prisons in which we have confined our brains. I read of great statesmen of ours saying "Shoot them down" and others "Hang them." You can not shoot or hang a state of mind. When it becomes by open expression treasonable, under the law of the land you may punish it. But if men in high places imagine by invoking lawlessness against lawlessness they can make the world better, all history denies them. I think too well of my country to believe for one instant the doctrine of Bolsheviki Russia can ever find a foothold here. My faith in the Republic and in our people, in our democracy, will not permit me to be frightened by the fantasy of madmen elsewhere. I think I can with equanimity observe the servile part of the press apply to me for this speech the now familiar epithet of Bolsheviki. Its indiscriminate application is illustrated by a New York administration paper designating prohibitionists as the Bolsheviki of America. My appeal to-day will find no response with those newspapers and great men who preach anarchy when they demand killing and hanging out of hand; but it will have its answering approval with the inarticulate mass who ask but justice and the same honesty in governments as in men, it will find its echo in the hearts of the common folks whose sons and husbands in frozen Russia are paying the price of our Government's wrong and broken faith, and I am content.

Why did we enter Russia? I answer, for no very good reason; and we have remained for no reason at all.

What is our policy toward Russia? I answer we have no policy. We have engaged in a miserable misadventure, stultifying our professions, and setting at naught our promises. We have punished no guilty; we have but brought misery and starvation and death to the innocent. We have garnered none of the fruits of the victory of war, but suffer the odium and infamy of undeclared warfare. We have sacrificed our own blood to no purpose, and into American homes have brought sorrow and anguish and suffering.

Bring the American boys home from Russia.

Mr. POLLOCK and Mr. STERLING addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. POLLOCK. I merely desire to make an announcement, if the Senator will indulge me.

Mr. STERLING. Very well.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. President, when I announced on yesterday that I would address the Senate immediately after the morning business to-day I was not aware of the fact that the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] had already given a similar notice. In view of the lateness of the hour and the desire of the committee having charge of the bill which is now before the Senate to press the consideration of that measure as rapidly as possible, out of consideration for the committee, I shall postpone the remarks I had intended to submit at this time, and I shall ask the indulgence of the Senate for a short time to-morrow immediately after the morning business.

FRANCE AND THE BOLSHEVIKI.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I do not desire to occupy the time of the Senate in speaking upon the subject of our duty toward or in Russia. I may at a later date ask the indulgence of the Senate for that purpose; but I find in the last number of the Outlook cable correspondence from Paris by Ernest Hamlin Abbott, giving the attitude of France toward the Bolsheviki. It is an official statement, and I ask that it may be read by the Secretary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

FRANCE AND THE BOLSHEVIKI: AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

[Cable correspondence from Paris by Ernest Hamlin Abbott.]

The officially authorized statement following, expressly prepared for The Outlook, gives the position of the French Government concerning the situation of Russia in the peace conference:

"The French Government is of the opinion that Bolshevism is a permanent danger to peace and civilization, and that the government of the Soviets is actually at war with the allies. It is therefore impossible to renew diplomatic relations with that government, even taking it as a government de facto. The French Government feels justified in its attitude, because in fighting against Bolshevism France is not in the least interfering with the home politics of a foreign country but merely endeavoring to eradicate a system which is based on nothing but disorder and crime.

"Bolshevism can not be reasonably called a system of government, but the tyranny of a very small clique over the bulk of the nation. Fighting Bolshevism means, first and foremost, protecting Russia against a régime which all those who have escaped from Russia are unanimous in condemning. It also means protecting civilization in Europe, as the activity of Bolshevist propagandists is a menace, not only to the immediate neighbors of Russia but also to the allied and neutral countries, one of the conditions of the very existence of Bolshevism being its expansion abroad.

"For the allies to remain passive, therefore, would mean to lose ground and leave whole countries, especially those in which over four years' disturbed political and economic conditions may have created a certain nervousness, the prey of a propaganda which has nothing in view but disorder and, as far as can be ascertained, is unable to find a basis of normal government.

"Bolshevism has already endeavored to promote anarchy in neutral countries, such as Sweden, Spain, and Switzerland, and in Berlin. Bolshevist money and literature are not spared to create in foreign countries a favorable atmosphere, while arms are ready to be sent into countries shaken by the propaganda. Bolshevist troops are already

invading the countries which all the allies are desirous of bringing into existence, such as Poland, and thus to prevent the organization of nations that have long been kept under the yoke of Germany, which is determined to accept the help of Bolshevism to prevent their emancipation. The true statesman is he who has not only in view the immediate future, but especially he who foresees the further development. It would be a short-sighted policy to abandon Russia and to prolong anarchy. This would only tend to absolute disorganization of the country and to leave her an open field of German expansion and colonization. Crushing Bolshevism does not mean for the French Government a return to Czarism and reaction. In fact, the French Government has refused to accept the help of the reactionaries in Russia and has even required guarantees from the influential organizations which France has helped that they are only collaborating in a common program of fighting Bolshevism as the enemy of democracy.

"And the French Government has done this because it realizes that the restoration of anything like the old régime in Russia would be a calamity. There is a whole world between Czarism and Bolshevism, and what France wants is what all the allies want, a true democracy compatible with the new order that has come out of the war, and which President Wilson has helped so much to create. France has always been ready to fight for the liberty of others; in fact, her great revolution opened the door to democracy in Europe. Bolshevism is not democracy, but a régime of terror and tyranny.

"France welcomed, and still welcomes, the revolution in Russia, and to such an extent that she has always refused to support the reactionary element, which, although desirous of restoring order in Russia, has not given sufficient guarantee for free development of democratic ideas and institutions in that country. Accusations that France lent money to Russia while she had a despotic government and now wants dividends from Russia while she is still suffering from reaction against the old despotism apply equally to all nations that have lent money to Russia or other despotically ruled countries, such as Turkey. But it must be remembered that France's object in lending money to Russia was to reinforce the economic, moral, and military strength of her ally against the German menace to the world. While it is in the interest of the world's stability that governments should observe their obligations, France's interest in the restoration of order in Russia under a democratic government is altogether apart from any financial considerations.

"It is the interest of preserving in Russia and her neighbors, including all the allies, liberty as against anarchy. France on this point, as on others, is at one with her allies, with whom she will always collaborate in order to promote sound democracy in Russia against Bolshevism.

"The only divergences that may exist are merely on questions of ways and means, but not principles."

PARIS, FRANCE, *January 16, 1919.*

REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN obtained the floor.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. NEW. Like the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. POLLOCK], I had given notice of an intention to address the Senate on the subject of the reorganization of the Army, taking advantage of the first opportunity. I had expected to proceed to-day, but the hour has grown so late that I am unwilling to take further time from the consideration of the very important measure which is now before the Senate. Following the Senator from South Carolina to-morrow, if there be sufficient time remaining during the morning hour, I shall speak for a few minutes; if not, then on the first day following, at the close of the morning hour.

CONSTRUCTION OF SHIPS ON FOREIGN ACCOUNT.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. JONES of Washington. It will only take me a moment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield, then; but I am very anxious to get this bill up.

Mr. JONES of Washington. It will take me just a moment.

A few days ago I submitted to the Senate some remarks in reference to the policy of refusing our shipyards the right to enter into contracts for the construction of ships on foreign account. I had given a copy of the report of the Shipping Board, made pursuant to a Senate resolution, which set out the applications that had been made and the action taken upon them, to Mr. H. P. Wilson, of the Foundation Co., the company to which I referred as having built some yards in this country for the French Government. I have a letter from Mr. Wilson with reference to this matter, and also some copies of letters written by him and received by him to and from the Shipping Board bearing up this subject. There are some very interesting facts set out in these communications, and I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK, *January 23, 1919.*

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR JONES: I have analyzed the memorandum you gave me last Saturday, which was a reply from the United States Shipping Board to Senate resolution 334, "Construction of ships in American yards for foreign account."

The statement of the Shipping Board verifies my representations to you that the construction of steel ships in American yards for foreign account is one squarely up to the President, and that the present and future policy appears to be solely and entirely in his individual hands.

The list of applicants for permits, as set forth in the memorandum, does not appear to include certain applications of the Foundation Co., as per correspondence hereunto attached.

In talking with you the other day, I was under the impression that no official application had been made by our company for the conversion of our Portland and Tacoma yards from wood to steel, and for the construction therein of a large number of steel ships for French account. I find, however, that on December 4, as per copy inclosed, we filed with the acting chairman of the Shipping Board an application in writing, and that on December 7, as per copy likewise inclosed, we received official reply rejecting our application.

We also find that our application of last July for the construction of wooden ships at these yards is not listed in this memorandum. To what extent the list may be in error beyond the instances cited is a matter for conjecture. These specific applications of our own cover larger contract items than any of those appearing on the list, hence the omission thereof makes a very radical change in the showing as presented to the Senate.

Our yards at Portland, Oreg., and Tacoma, Wash., were started in July, 1917, and while at that time no official permission from the Shipping Board for the construction of yards was necessary, the said board was made fully cognizant of our plan, and verbally approved our construction program.

We also filed with the Shipping Board full correspondence in connection not only with the yards but with our French contracts which we proposed to execute therein. These contracts called for 20 wooden ships to be built in each of the two yards, with an option to the French Government to build 40 more in each yard, and with the consent and full approval of the Shipping Board the French Government invested their money in the construction of these two yards.

During 1918 these two yards turned out as many wooden boats as all of the other wooden shipyards on the Pacific coast. I am attaching hereto a newspaper clipping showing the number of boats actually delivered from the Seattle district, and indicating that the Tacoma yard alone turned out 20 of the 50 boats delivered, both wood and steel. I mention this latter feature more particularly to show you that these yards were operated under the highest efficiency during the period that tonnage was most seriously needed.

In due course the Shipping Board was notified that the Franch Government had elected to exercise its option to build more ships at these yards. Notwithstanding the fact that the yards had been constructed with French capital under the full approval of the Shipping Board, and with full understanding of the contract with us under which the said yards were constructed, and notwithstanding the fact that at the time the said notification was made the Shipping Board had adopted a policy of constructing as few wooden vessels as possible, the application for the building of further ships under said option was denied.

This meant the laying off of approximately 8,000 men, and the closing up of these two yards, and it was this refusal on the part of the Shipping Board that necessitated our going to Victoria, British Columbia, for the construction of additional boats under our said French contract.

After the armistice was signed and the construction of these boats had been started at Victoria the Shipping Board issued a general permit for the construction of wooden ships for foreign account. In so far as this particular contract was concerned, the relief came too late, and the net result is that our being compelled to go to Victoria required a large additional investment in construction of plant and threw out of work in our yards at Portland and Tacoma not less than 4,000 men who would otherwise have been employed for a period of 18 months, and the closing down of two of the most efficient shipyards in the United States.

The general permit to build wooden boats for foreign account came too late to be of material benefit to American shipyards. You are, of course, aware of the fact that wooden seagoing vessels are purely an emergency proposition, and that had ample steel been available for steel construction the probabilities are that construction of this character would have been reduced to the minimum, if such construction had occurred at all. At the time, however, that the permit for the construction of wooden vessels was issued, when permits covering steel construction were withheld, there was available in this country all classes of materials, including steel and labor, for the carrying out of a comprehensive steel construction program for foreign account. As an example, we were given, almost immediately following the signing of the armistice, a permit from the War Industries Board to purchase 100,000 tons of steel, plates and angles, for ship construction. Having this amount of steel immediately available we made application to the Shipping Board, as above, for the conversion of the Portland and Tacoma yards for the purpose not only of constructing such steel ships as the French Government were willing to purchase from us, but to prevent the original investment in these yards from becoming a loss to the French Government. Nothwithstanding, however, this availability of labor and materials, and the moral obligation on the part of the United States Government, after permitting the French Government to invest its money in these two yards, to allow them to make adequate use thereof to the extent, at least, of justifying the said investment, the application for the conversion of these yards was denied.

Other Governments had signified their willingness to contract with us for the construction of additional steel ships, but owing to the policy adopted by the Shipping Board, although evidently under the instructions of the President of the United States, these foreign Governments have been compelled to establish yards in their own countries, and our company is now engaged in negotiating contracts for the establishment of no less than four foreign yards and the operation thereof in the construction of steel merchantmen.

During this time, when labor's demands are so insistent for employment and we are threatened with an army of unemployed skilled labor, it seems almost incomprehensible that the shipbuilding industry in this country should be forced into foreign fields, more particularly so when ample materials for all requirements are immediately available here.

Due to this policy contracts are now being placed in foreign countries, and as soon as the present acute demand for steel ships is over this country will be unable to obtain prices commensurate with anything approximating costs of labor and material as at present existing throughout this country, and it will mean that American shipyards will be totally unable to take orders for long deliveries in competition with foreign yards.

At the present time foreign governments are willing to pay for quick delivery prices within the possibility of American shipbuilders, but the attitude of the Shipping Board compels the latter to hold their hands in idleness and to see this vast business go elsewhere.

You may be interested in knowing that the Foundation Co. has constructed and put into actual service about 65 per cent as many wooden ships during the period of the war and up to December 1, 1918, in four shipyards, as the Emergency Fleet Corporation has produced and put into actual service during the same period from 81 yards. The Portland and Tacoma yards alone have turned out 40 during the last year, which is approximately the same number as the Emergency Fleet Corporation has built in all of the wooden yards on the Pacific coast.

Only prompt action on the part of the Shipping Board will save the shipbuilding industry in this country, in so far as it applies to foreign account, from utter disaster. Relief at the end of a further waste of material time will be without benefit to the American shipbuilder, as was the case in the matter of wooden construction.

The actual condition existing to-day in the steel-ship building industry is that many yards are idle, due to cancellation of contracts made with the Shipping Board. While American builders are permitted under present rulings of the Shipping Board to take contracts for private owners under United States registry, private owners are dubious about placing contracts in advance of some definite policy being established by the Shipping Board. This, of course, leaves many yards and thousands of men idle. From our viewpoint it is difficult to explain why the Shipping Board, proceeding under a limited construction program, should continue to spend public moneys in the construction of merchant ships without a fixed shipping policy, and why, after the emergency which created it has ceased to exist, it should be permitted to exercise arbitrary control over privately owned yards, forcing them into idleness, in the face of ample business being offered to them.

The subject is a big one, and I could write on indefinitely regarding it, but I think you are sufficiently familiar with it to make unnecessary further comment on my part.

In conclusion, therefore, permit me to say that the memorandum from the Shipping Board is, to say the least, vague and indefinite, to say nothing of its inaccuracies in the figures furnished.

Permit me to subscribe myself,

Respectfully, yours,

H. P. WILSON.

[From the Daily Commercial News, Wednesday, Jan. 8, 1919.]

LAUNCH 50 SHIPS—TACOMA SHIPBUILDING RECORD FOR 1918 COMPRISES VESSELS VALUED AT $27,900,000.

TACOMA, *January 7.*

Tacoma closed 1918 with its greatest shipbuilding record.

The total cost of vessels constructed can be approximately placed at $27,900,000, with the tonnage at 185,000, and the number of vessels launched for the year at 50. This included 8 steel vessels, 20 auxiliary schooners, and 22 Ferris type ships. In 1917 there was an average of 4,540 men employed in the Tacoma shipyards; in 1918, 14,896.

Name.	Yard.	Tonnage.
Quinault	Seaborn	3,500
Wahkiakum	do	3,500
Mahaska	Babare	3,500
Mojave	Seaborn	3,500
Gerbeviller	Foundation	3,500
Yakima	Wright	3,500
Cheron	Seaborn	3,500
Beloit	Tacoma	3,500
Noyon	Foundation	3,500
Chebaulip, ex-Tacoma	Todd	7,500
Masuda	do	7,500
Roye	Foundation	3,000
Eyota	Wright	3,500
Mazama	Seaborn	3,500
Dannermarie	Foundation	3,000
Reims	do	3,000
Arras	do	3,000
Chimo	Seaborn	3,500
Bourneville	Wright	3,500
Coloma	Tacoma	3,500
Dunkerque	Foundation	3,000
Anacortes	Todd	7,500
Thann	Foundation	3,000
Puget Sound	Todd	7,500
Fassett	Tacoma	3,500
Toul	Foundation	3,000
Amiens	do	3,000
Wakanna	Seaborn	3,500
Democratic	Foundation	3,000
Fraternite	do	3,000
Republique	do	3,000
Dungeness	Seaborn	3,500
Bowesmont	Wright	3,500
Verite	Foundation	3,500
Bellingham	Todd	7,500
Bottineau	Barbare	3,500
Souchez	Foundation	3,000
Wica	Tacoma	3,500
Egalite	Foundation	3,500
Fort Riley	Seaborn	3,500
Vailly	Foundation	3,500
Yukon	Todd	7,500
Justice	Foundation	3,000
Fort Russell	Seaborn	3,500
Givenchy	Foundation	3,000
Liberte	do	3,000
Jacona	Todd	7,500
Cascade	do	7,500
Electra	Wright	3,500
Fort Harrison	Tacoma	3,500

THE FOUNDATION CO.,
New York, December 4, 1918.

JOHN A. DONALD, Esq.,
Acting Chairman United States Shipping Board,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the Foundation Co. I respectfully ask permission of the Shipping Board to build steel ships in the yards of the French Government located at Portland, Oreg., and Tacoma, Wash.

I am sailing for France to-morrow and would like to be in a position on my arrival at Paris to negotiate with the French Government for the construction of a large program of steel ships in the United States.

I expect to meet strong English competition, but I feel confident that on account of greater speed in building we can bring this business to this country if we are given a permit to build the vessels here.

I respectfully urge that the matter be given immediate consideration by your board.

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) FRANKLIN REMINGTON,
President.

[Copy.]

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD,
Washington, December 7, 1918.

FRANKLIN REMINGTON,
President the Foundation Co.,
Woolworth Building, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of December 4 requesting the permission of the Shipping Board to construct steel ships in the yards of the French Government located at Portland, Oreg., and Tacoma, Wash.

In reply, you are advised that at a meeting of the Shipping Board held yesterday a resolution was passed permitting the construction of steel ships in our yards for the account of private owners or corporations having their domicile in the United States, and therefore with United States registry when completed.

For certain reasons, which it is not possible for me to define at present, the construction of steel tonnage to be owned by foreign interests has for the time being been held up.

I am not in position to say when the restrictions on building for foreign registry will be rescinded, but should any change take place in the policy of the board you will be duly advised. Meantime the policy of permitting foreigners to construct wooden ships in this country is unrestricted.

Very truly, yours,

(Signed) JOHN A. DONALD,
Acting Chairman.

[Copy of telegram.]

JANUARY 31, 1918.

Mr. E. REMINGTON,
Room 525, New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Piez turns down 30 schooners account of difficulty in getting timber and because corporation considers auxiliary schooners unsuited. Suggest you sound them on English steamer type.

THE FOUNDATION CO.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 7, 1918.*

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD
EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION,
Washington, D. C.

(Attention of Mr. Carey, director of operations.)

GENTLEMEN: Complying with your request, I inclose herewith outline plans of the ships which we are building for the British and French Governments, and also information covering tonnage, cost, etc.

Should the Shipping Board desire it, we can build either type of vessel in large quantities. We are at present building 40 ships of the French type and expect to turn these out at the rate of one every four days, beginning next month. We have already launched one of the British type of vessels.

French ships: This ship is an auxiliary schooner 3,000 tons dead-weight. She is equipped with twin screws, 700 horsepower engines, and will steam at the rate of 7 to 9 knots. Under steam and sail the speed will run as high as 12 knots, depending on the velocity of the wind. This ship carries only lower sail; has big hatches, and needs a crew of only 12 to 15 men to operate it. It is especially well adapted for the coastwise trade, the South American trade, the Australian trade, and for carrying bulk cargoes, such as coal, nitrates, etc. It is a practical ship, good for "after-the-war" conditions. It is a small coal consumer, which, at this time, is an important factor. The ship can be operated to advantage where the submarine danger does not exist and can be used to replace ships which are more desirable for the trans-Atlantic service. The ship can be built for $475,000, and we can build 30 of these vessels at the above price and deliver the full number of 30 boats within 21 months' time.

British ships: This ship is a straight steamer, 250 feet long, with a dead-weight capacity of 2,800 tons; speed 9½ to 10 knots, equipped with 1,000 horsepower engines. This vessel is designed by one of the best British architects, and is a very fine ship in every way. She is classified A-1 under Lloyd's. She has a heavy steel keelson running the length of the vessel. This ship is an all-around practical boat, and can be used to advantage in any part of the world not frequented by submarines. We can build a large number of these vessels if the Shipping Board desires them, at a cost of $550,000 each.

Lumber and labor conditions on the Pacific coast: I inclose herewith a letter written by the West Coast Lumber Emergency Bureau regarding the lumber conditions on the coast to-day. From this letter you will note that the cut of fir this year will be approximately 4,000,000,000 feet, of which about 15 per cent, or 600,000,000 feet, will be suitable for shipbuilding. The vessels I have described above each take about 125,000,000 feet of lumber. It will be seen therefore that the lumber output for this year should be sufficient to build about 500 ships. I call your attention also to the last paragraph in his letter, in which he states: "I believe we can furnish all the firm timber for all the wooden ships that our shipyards on the Pacific coast can produce and still have a large amount of big sizes left suitable for the shipbuilding on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts." This information checks up with our own investigation. The representative of the Shipping Board at Portland—Mr. Wentworth—if requested to do so, will certify that there is room at Portland, so far as lumber and labor is concerned, for 10 additional

ways, and that 30 ships can be built on these 10 ways without affecting existing construction.

We feel, therefore, that, by adding 10 ways to the amount of shipbuilding we are now doing in Portland, we can turn out 30 vessels for the Shipping Board, of either the French or British type, more rapidly than any other shipbuilders in the country can do, and we are positive that we can get the lumber and men for this work without upsetting in any way existing conditions.

Trusting that this gives you the information which you desire, we are

Very truly, yours,

THE FOUNDATION CO.,
By ——— ———, *President.*

—

THE FOUNDATION CO.,
New York, August 21, 1918.

Mr. M. D. FERRIS,
Manager Contract Division, Emergency Fleet Corporation, 120 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: Referring to our conversation of yesterday regarding construction of wooden ships for the Emergency Fleet Corporation in yards operated by us for the French Government at Portland and Tacoma, beg to advise we have a complete 10-way yard at both Portland and Tacoma for turning out a complete ship, and we are now closing a contract with the French Government and completing the deliveries of 40 complete ships for them. We have idle ways at both yards at the present time

We have received word from the French commission that they desired to place additional boats in these yards, but they advise us they have received word from the Shipping Board that they will not be permitted to complete any further boats in this country, and they ask us what arrangements can be made for the disposal of the yards.

We propose to build for the Emergency Fleet Corporation 10 boats in each yard, making arrangements with the French Government for a yard rental or a depreciation charge for the use of the yard for this construction, and we would like to close contracts with the Fleet Corporation on a basis proportionate to that arranged for for barges in our Newark yard, as they will be operated under similar conditions and would occupy the yard at the same time with the French boats we are already constructing on a similar basis.

We would be pleased to discuss this matter with you in detail at an early date.

We have understood in conversation with Mr. Schwab that he desired what additional wooden boats the Fleet Corporation would build, to be built in the Northwest, and we believe we have two of the most complete and efficient yards in this territory, employing in the neighborhood of between 5,000 and 6,000 men.

Yours, very truly, THE FOUNDATION CO.

—

[Copy of telegram.]

AUGUST 28, 1918.

M. D. FERRIS,
Contract Division, United States Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Can you give us any further news regarding contract with the Fleet Corporation for wooden ships in our Portland and Tacoma yards as per our proposal of August 24?

THE FOUNDATION CO.,
W. C. HEBARD.

—

[Copy.]

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD,
EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION,
Philadelphia, Pa., September 4, 1918.

THE FOUNDATION CO.,
Woolworth Building, New York City.

GENTLEMEN: Receipt is acknowledged of your telegrams of August 28, relative to your proposal of August 21 to construct for the Shipping Board 10 vessels each in your Portland, Oreg., and Tacoma, Wash., yards upon ways erected and operated for the French Government.

In reply you are advised that our present program includes only a sufficient number of vessels of the type that you desire to construct to keep the ways busy in those yards which are now building for the corporation.

It is regretted, therefore, that we can not at this time consider the construction of vessels at the plants above named.

Yours, very truly,

HOWARD COONLEY,
Vice President.

—

[Copy of telegram.]

NEW YORK, *September 18, 1918.*

Mr. JOHN W. DOTY,
The Foundation Co., New Orleans, La.:

Hebard phones from Washington just had final conference with Schwab, with result nothing for the French. Tacoma must be closed up. Portland will be given work for the Fleet Corporation. Hebard writing you full particulars to San Francisco.

THE FOUNDATION CO.,
A. R. MURRAY.

—

THE FOUNDATION CO.,
New York, September 9, 1918.

Mr. CHARLES M. SCHWAB,
Director General United States Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR: We wish to call your attention to the 10-way shipyards at Portland and Tacoma owned by the French Government and operated by us. The French Government closed a contract with us for forty (40) wooden vessels in these yards, with an option of two lots of 40 more, and at the time of the expiration of their option with us they expressed a desire to exercise this option and build additional wooden vessels, but they were advised by Mr. Hurley that no more wooden vessels could be built in this country for France. Naturally our thought and the thought of the French Government was that the output of these yards was to be utilized by the United States Government, and with their consent we proposed to the Fleet Corporation to build boats in these yards for the United States Government.

We were informally advised by Mr. Ferris yesterday that it was not the policy of the United States Government to build any wooden vessels in these yards, but suggested to us that we secure contracts to build for private account.

If the policy of the Emergency Fleet Corporation now is to cut down on further wooden-ship construction, and the Fleet Corporation for this reason has no use for our Portland and Tacoma yards, can we not in this case be given permission to build ships for the French Government and in this way keep these two organizations going?

We understand from the French Government officials that they are in most urgent need of ships. We have established for them on the Pacific coast these two yards, which are among the most efficient wooden yards in this country.

We have launched to date 25 vessels and have delivered 17 finished ships to them. We have eight vacant ways at the present time, and are launching and delivering two vessels about every 10 days.

We have built up an efficient organization of some 6,000 men, experienced in the construction of wooden vessels, and the people at Portland and Tacoma have all given us their earnest support in the matter of accommodations, with the understanding and desire that this venture be made as permanent as possible, and the question of closing down of these yards, in the face of the fact that our allies are in such urgent need of additional tonnage, seems worthy of your earnest consideration.

We would respectfully ask, therefore, that we be permitted to build 20 wooden steamers of about 3,000 tons dead-weight capacity in each of these two yards for the Government of the Republic of France, and would be pleased to know what your views are on this matter.

Very truly, yours,

——— ———,
President.

VALIDATION OF WAR CONTRACTS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13274) to provide relief where formal contracts have not been made in the manner required by law.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, at the time the Senate took a recess last evening there was pending before the Senate a proposed amendment to this bill offered by the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] had proposed an amendment to it, which was accepted by the Senator from Nevada. I am willing to accept, so far as I am able to do so, the proposed amendment and let it go to conference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection?

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, before that amendment is adopted I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment offered by the Senator from Nevada.

On page 2 of the amendment offered by the Senator from Nevada, as printed, on line 7, I move to strike out all of the remaining portion of the paragraph, beginning with the word "the"—that is, I move to strike out the words "the production of which was requested or demanded by the War Industries Board, the Shipping Board, the Department of the Interior, or other agency of the Government"—and insert in lieu thereof the matter which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware offers an amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Nevada, which will be stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. In the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Nevada it is proposed to strike out the words "the production of which was requested or demanded by the War Industries Board, the Shipping Board, the Department of the Interior, or other agency of the Government," and to insert in lieu thereof the following words:

the production of which by any claimant or claimants was requested or demanded by personal solicitation of or personal inducement to such claimant or claimants made by the War Industries Board, the Shipping Board, or the Department of the Interior.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. President, I realize the urgent necessity for early action on this bill by the Senate. I agree with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] that the Senate should take quick action and get this bill passed and to conference. Therefore I am not going to delay the passage of the bill so that it may go to conference, and I will accept the amendment offered by the Senator from Delaware in order that we may get to conference with it.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, in a matter of this importance, involving, as this amendment does, several millions of dollars, it does not seem to me that it should go through the Senate merely upon acceptance on the part of the Senator who offers the amendment. I should like to have the Senator who offers this amendment explain what his amendment accomplishes and how it changes the pending amendment.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, I had not expected to make any remarks on the amendment offered after I learned that the Senator from Nevada was willing to accept the amendment. My opinion was that the amendment as introduced by the Senator from Nevada was entirely too broad in its scope. The thought occurred to me that under the language of the amendment as submitted by the Senator from Nevada certain cases could be compensated for which have no standing in law or equity entitling them to any compensation.

I will illustrate my thought by putting a case. Let us suppose that somebody embarked upon a plan of business expansion and laid out money, not as a result of any inducement

offered by any Government department or any Government agent but simply in response to some sort of general propaganda that was carried on by the Government in the form of publicity, advertisements urging people to produce and work and get busy to help win the war; and let us suppose that a person induced by that very indefinite solicitation embarked upon that program, as I say, of business expansion and lost by the operation. It occurs to me that that individual ought to receive no remedy under this bill. Therefore it seemed to me that the amendment as drawn was entirely too broad, and the amendment which I have offered to the amendment is designed to limit the remedies which might be availed of under the amendment offered by the Senator from Nevada.

I will say to the Senator that my purpose was not by any means to extend this remedy, but rather to restrict it, and I think the language that I have drawn to an extent undoubtedly does restrict it.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I shall not make any objection to the amendment of the Senator from Nevada; but I simply want to point out to the Senate that attaching to a bill an amendment of this character, which is not germane to the subject of the bill, is a practice which should be stopped. Matters of this character delay the progress of a bill, because they involve additional controversy in the conference committees.

Here is a bill which affects the business interests of the country to a far greater extent, I think, than the Senate realizes. For two months we have been considering this measure in committee. It is nearly three months since the armistice was signed. At that time the business interests of the country and the manufacturing interests of the country had to face a reduction in production and had to face the cancellation of orders, and for that period of time they have been awaiting the adjustment of the Government contracts. Now, the business man or manufacturer desirous of converting his factory or his house to the civilian trade can not do so while the payments for the large contracts he has made with the Government are in abeyance.

It is necessary, therefore, that this bill should be passed, in order that relief may be granted these business men and manufacturers in the country. Two billion dollars are involved in the bill. There are several billion more involved in contracts that are lawful contracts awaiting settlement. Let us assume it is $7,000,000,000 that must very soon be released to the manufacturers and business men in this country or else we will have an industrial panic, and it is imminent. I do not believe there is a Senator on this floor who is not directly interested in the bill who has not some manufacturer or business man in his State or community who is striving now to get a settlement with the Government for the goods he has sold to it or manufactured for it.

The Assistant Secretary of War told me this morning that the passage of this bill is imperative, because the failure to pass it will increase the idleness that now exists in the country. He said these manufacturers can not continue the employment of labor unless these contracts are settled.

I was also informed this morning that there is such a surplus of labor that 800,000 soldiers who have been discharged by the Army are roaming the streets seeking employment and can not find it. They have been in many of the cities assembled by the Bolsheviki, and through that sympathy they have been induced to form soldiers' societies to protest against the treatment of the Government in bringing them back here and discharging them and not providing employment for them. You can readily see that the most beneficent thing we can do for these men is to release these funds to the manufacturers of the country so that they may continue the employment of men who have been thrown out of employment by reason of the suspension of the activities of these manufacturing concerns. The situation is imminent. There is trouble ahead, and we will have been fiddling here while Rome was burning. I think there ought not to be one moment's delay in passing the bill. I feel that we should not put an amendment on the bill which is entirely foreign to the subject matter which is contained in it as a contract bill.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. President, I am not going to take up the time of the Senate to reply. The men who come within this amendment and will be granted relief are just as loyal and as patriotic and need the assistance just as badly as the contractors referred to by the Senator from New Jersey. I would not think of introducing this amendment and asking for its passage if I thought it would seriously interfere with the passage of the bill now before the Senate. But I do not believe it will. I am not going to take the time of the Senate, because I realize the urgency of quick action on the measure.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. In this connection I am going to ask the chairman of the committee in charge of the bill whether he believes this amendment would delay the action of the conferees on the bill?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not think so, Mr. President. If it does, of course if the Senator desires to make a point of order, that course is open to him. I want to agree with the Senator from Nevada in his statement that the men who are affected, while not numerous, will be just as seriously affected as the larger contractors of the Government. As a matter of fact a number of the governmental institutions which are mentioned in the amendment have asked men in the West to contract for manganese ore, for instance, and for chrome ore, and they have gone to a good deal of expense in undertaking to do so. They complied with all the demands the Government made upon them. I do not think it will interfere with the proceedings under the bill itself.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. With that statement, I am perfectly willing to have the amendment agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FLETCHER. I should like to ask unanimous consent to correct what is plainly an error, as I think the RECORD will show. There ought to be a comma after the word "profit," on line 9, page 11. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] was the author of that amendment, and I believe he agrees to the correction. I ask unanimous consent, therefore, that that amendment, page 11, line 9, be corrected, so that there will be a comma after the word "profit." I am using the reprint of the bill. Then I ask that the words "so canceled," the last words in line 12, on page 11, which are unnecessary and somewhat ambiguous and confusing, be eliminated, so that the sentence would end with the word "order," in line 12.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have no objection to that amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Can the Senator refer to the original bill and not to the reprint?

Mr. FLETCHER. It does not appear in the original bill. It is an amendment. I am referring to the reprint which was laid on our tables this morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair inquires if the Senator refers to the last two words in section 2?

Mr. FLETCHER. Precisely. The words "so canceled" should be eliminated, and a comma should be inserted after the word "profit," in line 9.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so amended.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, with reference to this same proviso, the reprint does not show a proviso I offered that was accepted by the Senator from Tennessee, reading as follows:

Provided further, That the foregoing proviso shall not apply to any contract executed in compliance with all statutory requirements.

I looked at the RECORD, and I think the Senate did adopt it, but I will reoffer the amendment to clear it up inasmuch as it does appear. It was accepted by the committee yesterday.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I ask if the Senator is offering that to the reprint or to the original?

Mr. LENROOT. To the reprint, on page 11.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state it.

The SECRETARY. On page 11 of the reprint of the bill, after line 12, insert:

Provided further, That the foregoing proviso shall not apply to any contract executed in compliance with all statutory requirements.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. LENROOT. I wish to call the attention of the chairman to what seems to me requires a verbal amendment on page 9 of the reprint, line 9. The word "to" should be inserted after the word "as" so as to read "as to the interpretation."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think that suggestion is proper, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that change will be made.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I wish to ask the chairman of the committee about the situation as developed in our State to see whether or not the bill covers it. I ask the chairman whether the bill would cover contracts made with the United States Spruce Production Corporation for the production of spruce in connection with airplanes?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. If there was an agency of the War Department——

Mr. JONES of Washington. I understand there was.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think the bill is broad enough to cover it. The Senator is referring to a telegram he received from the West this morning?

Mr. JONES of Washington. No; I did not receive any telegram this morning, but I received a letter the other day setting out that certain firms in our State were directed to get out spruce for the Army. I will read an extract from the letter of one of the attorneys who has been representing those people. He names the parties, and he says:

Each of these parties cut spruce logs to short noncommercial lengths upon written orders from Gen. Disque. The logs were ordered stored and not sold on the general market. In some instances the logs were removed by the Government. Shortly before the armistice was declared a general order was made releasing all such logs, so that the owner could sell in the general market. Owing, however, to the logs being of short length and the general market having been closed by Government orders for so long, the logs were not and are not merchantable except at a great loss.

Then he says further:

A large amount of spruce logs was cut to Government order in logging camps under the actual direction of the Government at wages fixed by the Government. When under these circumstances the owner is forbidden to sell in the general market, and the market is thus destroyed, I consider that there is a legal obligation, as well as a moral obligation, upon the Government to take the logs so cut.

Further he says:

The War Department has appointed a contract board, to whom claims based on contracts are to be presented. But this board takes a position that it has no authority to allow any claim where there is no written contract.

This letter was referred to the War Department by Representative JOHNSON of our State, and he received a reply from the War Department under date of January 28, 1919, signed by Paul D. Elgin, second lieutenant, A. S., A. P., in which he says:

In this connection please be advised that all spruce operations were under the auspices of the United States Spruce Production Corporation, which was formed for the purpose of getting out spruce in the Pacific Northwest. There has been organized by this corporation a regular contract board, the functions of which are to make decisions and awards in such cases. It therefore appears as though, should the decisions of this board not be satisfactory to claimants holding contracts, that these claimants would have recourse to the courts, as in the case of any corporation, and the United States Spruce Production Corporation has a separate entity from the United States Government.

In case of intangible claims it is believed that there is no authority of law to pay on same. However, it is the principle of the officers of the United States Spruce Production Corporation to submit a list of worthy claimants to whom it is believed the Government owes a moral obligation.

Your letter has been referred to the United States Spruce Production Corporation and no doubt will receive due consideration.

That second lieutenant seems to take the position that this United States Spruce Production Corporation is an entirely different entity, and I suppose that that is true, although it must have certainly been an agency of the War Department; and he takes the position that if its award or action is not satisfactory these people have a right to go to the Court of Claims. I understood that this bill was to cover situations like that. I really did not know that a corporation had been organized to get out spruce. I am satisfied that a great many people out there thought they were acting directly for the War Department. This writer says in the letter that a great deal of this work was done under the orders of a general officer—Gen. Disque—who was a general in the Army.

I want to be sure that the legislation proposed here would cover cases of that kind, and I desire the opinion of the chairman, because, of course, he has gone into the subject very carefully.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I am inclined to believe that the bill is broad enough to cover it, but no man can guard any legislation against the decisions of the Comptroller of the Treasury. He might rule that such a claim as that did not come within the provisions of the bill. But assuming, as the Senator has said, that the corporation was formed under the law providing therefor, which was suggested by Mr. Ryan, former Assistant Secretary of War, while he was head of the aircraft production, I do not see anything in the bill which would preclude claimants from pursuing their remedies in the civil courts to establish a claim against the Government for the damages that they suffered; and if a claim were established against the corporation it would really be a claim against the Government, and it seems to me that there would be no court which would decline to order the payment. If the claimant preferred to pursue the remedy provided by the present bill, I think he could do so.

Mr. JONES of Washington. These people are needing the relief just as much as anybody else covered by the bill. If the other people are not sent to the Court of Claims and to the almost endless operations of the court, these spruce people ought not to be sent there.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. This corporation was simply an agency of the War Department, Mr. President.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think so.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It was duly organized; and taking that view of it, it seems to me these persons would come within the provisions of the bill where they had contracted with a governmental agency. And it was a governmental agency; it was established at the request of the War Department.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That is true.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes.

Mr. LENROOT. May I suggest to the Senator that if the corporation he speaks of is a separate entity, then there can be no question as to the invalid contracts that are taken care of by the bill? Their contracts with a corporation would not be subject to the statutory requirement, and the corporation would settle at once. If they are not a separate entity, then of course they do come under the provision of the bill as an agency of the War Department.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I want to call the Senator's attention to the statement contained here in the letter that these people furnished spruce logs at the direct request and under the orders of Gen. Disque, and that a board of award of this corporation is taking the position that they can not recognize any contract that is not a written contract.

Now, I do not want these people to be left out of the provisions of the bill if they are not covered by it because they were getting this spruce, of course, for the War Department, directed to do so by the Government of the United States. They were acting directly under the orders of the Army officials, although those Army officials may have been officials of a corporation that was organized under legislation passed by Congress.

Mr. LENROOT. May I ask the Senator whether Gen. Disque, in any of those orders, was acting as a member of the corporation or as a member of the War Department?

Mr. JONES of Washington. They dealt with him as Gen. Disque, of the War Department, but I presume that really he was an official not only of the War Department but of this corporation that was organized apparently within the War Department. I do not know very much about the organization of the corporation. I did not know that it had been organized until I saw the letter from this second lieutenant of the Army.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will look at the first paragraph on page 4 and the first paragraph on page 5, he will see they are very similar and broad enough to cover the case he mentioned. On page 4 it reads:

That whenever during the war emergency and prior to November 12, 1918, any individual, firm, company, corporation, or foreign government has made an agreement with the Secretary of War, or with any officer or agent acting under his authority.

If this Spruce Corporation is an agent of the Secretary of War, and unquestionably it is, it comes directly within the provisions of the bill beyond the shadow of a doubt.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I wanted to get some expression like that from the members of the committee having the measure in charge. It seems to me that the language of the bill clearly covers this corporation.

Mr. McKELLAR. Absolutely.

Mr. JONES of Washington. As an agency of the War Department?

Mr. McKELLAR. Absolutely.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I hardly know how language could be made very much plainer, but I wanted to get some expression from members of the committee.

Mr. FLETCHER. There would seem to be no question about it, under the policy referred to by the Senator from Tennessee, because the very next clause reads:

Or with any agency of the Government authorized to procure for the War Department.

This was certainly an agency authorized to procure this spruce.

Mr. POMERENE. I wish to offer an amendment to section 4.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Before we proceed with that the Chair announces that the amendment to section 2 as amended will without objection be agreed to.

Mr. POMERENE. May I have the attention of the chairman of the committee? In section 4, line 15, and I am referring to the reprint of this morning, after the word "construed," I move to insert:

To validate any agreement, contract, or order procured by fraud or.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. After line 26, on page 14, I propose the following amendment:

And provided further, That the names of such contractors and the amounts of such partial or final settlement shall be filed with the Clerk of the House for the information of Congress and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or as a public document 10 days before the confirmation and payment is authorized by the board.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, it does not seem to me that it ought to be necessary to tie up these claims further by the publication of information which can be obtained at any time. I can not say too often and insist too strenuously that this measure is of very vital importance to the industrial and economic life of the country at this time. Here are $2,000,000,000 of capital that ought to be liquid which is absolutely tied up, and many of the industrial corporations that complied with the demands of the Government and came to the relief of the Government at a time when their assistance was needed are in practical bankruptcy now.

Mr. McKELLAR. In view of what the Senator says, if he will allow me to interrupt him, I will perfect the amendment by changing the last line. I will strike out all after the word "document" and add "within 10 days after such confirmation." That is not going to hold up anything at all.

Mr. President, this is a provision of the House bill, and its purpose is to provide for publicity as to these contracts. It is a very valuable provision and it ought to remain in the bill. I do not want to tie them up, and I have changed the language so as to prevent tying up payments at all. What it will do will be to furnish publicity, which after all is the greatest deterrent in the world against fraud and in the matter of deception on the Government.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I still do not see the necessity of putting that amendment on the bill. The information which it is sought to give and the publicity which it is intended it shall give can be obtained at any time by a resolution of the House or Senate or by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses or upon the demand of any Senator or Member of the House, who can call upon the War Department every day or every week if he wants to know the progress of these adjustments. It simply ties up the payment of these claims.

Mr. McKELLAR. It does not.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I take a little different view, possibly it is the wrong view, from the Senator from Tennessee. I believe there is still some honesty in the War Department and in the officials of the Government. I believe that the great mass of men are honest. I believe that this law will be administered honestly and I believe it will be administered efficiently under the stringent provisions of the bill as it has been so far agreed upon. I do hope the Senator will not undertake to further encumber the adjustment of these accounts, which it is absolutely necessary to settle as quickly as possible.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Will the Senator from Oregon yield for a question?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Certainly.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I have not been able to be present at all the discussion or much of it on these two bills. I am as heartily in sympathy with an early adjustment as possible of these accounts as can be had. I know the necessity of it. I want to ask the Senator from Oregon if he can tell me in a few words the difference between the Hitchcock bill and the committee bill?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] is going to offer his amendment and he will point out the differences, I think, from his viewpoint, and I shall be glad to make a statement in reply.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Very well.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I assume the Senator from Nebraska is going to do that now.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is my intention.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am sure the Senator from Michigan will have the differences pointed out.

Mr. TOWNSEND. That is very satisfactory.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, with reference to the pending amendment, I will say I am in accord with the Senator from Oregon. I wish the Senator from Tennessee could see his way clear to omit the amendment, because, as the Senator from Oregon has pointed out, it is information available to any Senator or available to Congress at any time. To provide in the law that the whole detailed statement, giving the names of all the contractors and the amounts of the partial or final settlements, shall be filed with the Clerk of the House and published for the information of Congress in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD within a limited time, 10 days after the confirmation of the settlement, seems to me to be an unnecessary requirement.

I have no objection to the publicity idea, and I think perhaps all this information will either actually be called for, and it can be called for; but why put in a provision of that kind and impose upon the board and the machinery here organized for the adjustment of these claims all this work and require them to do it within a limited time after the confirmation of the settlement? I think it is unnecessary, and it will simply impose additional work and a lot of details that the situation does not call for.

I would be glad if the Senator from Tennessee would withdraw the amendment and let us vote on the bill. His amendment requires that within 10 days after the confirmation of any of the settlements or adjustments a detailed report must be made. Does not that hold up the entire work?

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator did not read the amendment. It does not apply to that at all. It provides that they shall merely report within 10 days after the confirmation. I have changed the language of the House.

Mr. FLETCHER. I know that.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will wait until the Senator gets through.

Mr. FLETCHER. I understand the change the Senator made was not to strike out "ten days" but to strike out the word "before" and insert the word "after."

Mr. McKELLAR. No; it is very different; it strikes out the word "payment." The payment can be made just as it is under the bill. It does not interfere with payment at all, but merely gives the country and Congress information as to what is done.

Mr. FLETCHER. But it must be all furnished 10 days after confirmation.

Mr. McKELLAR. Absolutely. I take it the Senator would not believe that it would do any good if furnished 10 years after confirmation.

Mr. FLETCHER. Of course not, but it is to be furnished 10 days after the confirmation of such contracts. You can not make a settlement with A; you can not make a settlement with B; you can not close any transaction at all; you have got to wait until all the contracts are adjusted and then make the settlement.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator does not understand the amendment. It does not provide any such thing. Those words have been stricken out. I ask the Secretary to read the amendment, and I am sure the Senator will find that his objections to it are wholly without any ground.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. At the end of line 26, page 14, of the reprint, following the word "agreement" and before the period, insert:

And provided further, That the names of such contractors and the amount of such final or partial settlement shall be filed with the Clerk of the House for the information of Congress and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or in the Official Bulletin or as a public document within ten days after such confirmation.

Mr. FLETCHER. That means exactly what I said, that we have got to take the names of all the contractors and the names and amounts for such partial or final settlement, and all those must be filed with the Clerk of the House or otherwise be disposed of according to the amendment within 10 days after such confirmation. In other words, it seems to me that you can not close with one contractor or with two or three contractors, but you must wait until you are prepared to file this statement, and it must be done within 10 days after all the adjustments are made.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I think the criticism of the Senator from Florida and the Senator from Oregon applies to the part that is stricken out of this amendment. This is a House provision, and it is reasonable to suppose that the House had some purpose in adopting it. It is a very wise amendment.

The Senator from Oregon says he still believes that there are some people who are honest. I do, too; but we are providing for those who may be dishonest, and there may be some. There have been some in the past. We are enacting this kind of a law every day. If all people were absolutely honest we would not need laws of this kind; we could just proceed without them.

This is a reasonable provision, and I will say to the Senator that it is a very necessary provision. It will take very little time to put in the names of the contractors, and the amounts that contractors have received at the hands of the Government, and have it published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or in the Official Bulletin. I want to stop here long enough to say that I struck out the words "Official Bulletin," because I do not think that they ought to be there. I do not think that publicity would be sufficient, but it will be the simplest matter to comply with it. It puts no hardship on the contractor, and surely no contractor in the country is going to object to publicity as to the amount paid him.

I am standing by the contractor. I do not believe that any honest contractor in this country will for a moment object to having his name put in the RECORD with the amount that has been paid to him. I know they will not do it, and I am sur-

prised at Senators saying that it is a reflection upon the contractor. They should be delighted to have the amount published and their names published showing what they received. No honest contractor will object to it.

Mr. FLETCHER. May I ask the Senator if he means that adjustment and settlement be made with contractors, say one, two, three, four, or five, and then that communications be sent to Congress giving the lists of names, the amounts, and so forth?

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, that is all it is.

Mr. FLETCHER. Then, that would mean that the department must be continually sending down lists of contractors with whom the department has settled?

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course; and that is what the departments are for.

Mr. FLETCHER. And that may either be published in the shape of a public document or in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD?

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly. I am sure when the Senator comes to think about it he will not object, and that no other Senator will object to a provision which is so manifestly right and proper when we realize how much money is going to be paid out upon these contracts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR]. [Putting the question.] The noes seem to have it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask for a division, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A division is called for. Those in favor of the amendment will rise and stand until they are counted. [A pause.] Those opposed will rise. [A pause.] The amendment is lost.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask for the yeas and nays, Mr. President.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER] to my colleague, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH], and vote "nay."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I ask if the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not.

Mr. WARREN. Then I withhold my vote, as I have a pair with that Senator.

Mr. WOLCOTT (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN], and vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I have a pair with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS]. In his absence, I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BAIRD], and vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. STERLING. I have a general pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], which I transfer to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], and vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. POLLOCK. I desire to announce the absence of the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], who is detained on account of illness. I should like this announcement to stand for the day.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] are detained on official business.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY];

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM] with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH];

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN];

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD]; and

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED].

The result was announced—yeas 41, nays 12, as follows:

YEAS—41.

Ashurst	Curtis	Hale	King
Bankhead	Fernald	Hardwick	La Follette
Beckham	France	Henderson	Lenroot
Borah	Gay	Hitchcock	McKellar
Brandegee	Gore	Jones, N. Mex.	Martin, Ky.
Cummins	Gronna	Kellogg	New
Nugent	Smith, Ariz.	Townsend	Weeks
Page	Spencer	Trammell	Wolcott
Pollock	Sterling	Vardaman	
Pomerene	Sutherland	Wadsworth	
Sheppard	Swanson	Walsh	

NAYS—12

Calder	Frelinghuysen	Moses	Sherman
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Penrose	Thomas
Fletcher	Kirby	Robinson	Williams

NOT VOTING—43.

Baird	Kendrick	Norris	Simmons
Colt	Kenyon	Overman	Smith, Ga.
Culberson	Knox	Owen	Smith, Md.
Dillingham	Lewis	Phelan	Smith, Mich.
Fall	Lodge	Pittman	Smith, S. C.
Gerry	McCumber	Poindexter	Smoot
Goff	McLean	Ransdell	Thompson
Harding	McNary	Reed	Underwood
Hollis	Martin, Va.	Saulsbury	Warren
Johnson, Cal.	Myers	Shafroth	Watson
Johnson, S. Dak.	Nelson	Shields	

So Mr. McKELLAR's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry. I have been detained from the Senate on business and do not know whether or not the amendment to this bill proposed by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON] has been adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been adopted.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I offer to add, as an amendment at the end of that amendment as adopted, what I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arizona will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the amendment submitted by Mr. HENDERSON it is proposed to add—

That the importation of Egyptian long-staple cotton into the United States is hereby prohibited for the term of six months from the date of the passage of this act.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, we see in the adoption of the Henderson amendment, as I will call it, and the amendment which I have proposed, the ramifications of that injustice which has been done under the cry of necessity for instant preparation for the greatest war in the history of all time. I am not here complaining of any mistakes which have been made; I only wonder that more have not been made, when we stop to consider the enormous responsibilities which have been resting on the Government and on the country.

Take the question which my amendment is supposed to cover—and it is not a part of the Henderson amendment, but is a mere addition at the end of that amendment in the pending bill. The United States commandeered, as I understand, all the spindles that were used in the weaving or the spinning of long staple cotton. The growth of that commodity is limited to a small point in the State of South Carolina, I think; to the southern part of the State of California; and to a large part of the irrigable lands in Arizona. Agents of the Government from the different departments went to the people of Arizona who were raising this cotton and insisted that it was just as important to raise long staple cotton as it was to contribute to a liberty loan. They were told that they were standing there doing nothing while their boys were fighting for their country in Europe; that they could raise cotton there which it was necessary for the Government to have. That cotton has been proven to be the strongest-fibered cotton in the world; it is not of the highest grade in some particulars, but in fiber it is the strongest cotton in the world. Those people were told to put in every acre of that cotton they could; that the Government would need it for gas masks which were found to be superior to any other in the world; and that the Government would need it, especially on account of the strength of its fiber, in airplanes, in balloons, and in all of those aerial necessities which became so important as the war advanced.

Acting under that suggestion, the people of my particular locality—the people of Salt River Valley—almost quintupled, and certainly quadrupled, the planting of this variety of cotton. That was done under the influence of those who had come from the United States Government, putting the argument in the terms I have already stated, but, as I believe, in a much stronger way.

Now, the question arises as to the commandeering of the spindles which afforded the only market for this cotton. There was the persuasion of the agents of the United States to those people to put more and more—every available acre—of their land into this cotton for Government purposes, with the assurance—I can not say there was any absolute guarantee, but with the assurance—that they could not lose on it.

But the armistice came; the war stopped, and these people are now left with the cotton crop of two years on their hands, which was selling, before the Government commandeered these

spindles, at 70 cents a pound. Since then, with the cotton there, the cotton weavers have concluded that they will not pay 70 cents, or any other number of cents, per pound for the cotton. The result is that the owners of the cotton are subject to any reduction in price which the cotton spinners may now impose upon them.

This proposed inhibition of the importation of Egyptian cotton is not in any sense the imposition of a protective duty. It is the only way I can conceive whereby these cotton raisers can obtain redress from a condition which the persuasion of the agents of the Government brought upon them, which induced them to put all they had into cotton. However, it means bankruptcy if this remedial legislation is not adopted. They have been placed in their present position by an effort to help the Government in the hour of its need. I think there are some 35,000 bales, probably 70,000 bales, being imported from Egypt for the very purpose of enabling the spinners to take advantage of this condition and thus bankrupting these men; and yet the Government of the United States stands aside and permits the introduction of this competing cotton into the United States. This is evidently wrong. It seems to me that some obligation rests on the Government to protect these cotton growers from that calamity.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. It seems to me that the Senator from Arizona makes out a pretty strong case, but would the Senator be willing to incorporate in his amendment a nonimportation clause for wool also?

Mr. GAY. And for sugar?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. No, I would not, for I do not know that wool, according to the prices, has suffered any and I do not know that sugar has suffered any.

Mr. BORAH. But here is the situation with reference to wool: The Government took over the wool, has possession and control of it, and now is not only selling its wool at auction to the manufacturers but is permitting the importation of wool from other countries, which destroys entirely the wool market of the western woolgrower.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That may be very true; but there was no effort made by the United States Government to induce the growing of wool in one particular part of the country where only a certain peculiar kind of wool could be grown, a kind that could only be used for certain articles essential to the Government. The Senator's illustration is much too broad for him to attempt to apply it to the remedy that I am now seeking.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I know the Senator from Arizona wants to be correct in any statement that he makes. I desire to say to him that the Government of the United States bought every pound of wool that was produced in the United States during the year 1918, and it finds itself now with 400,000,000 pounds of wool on hand. The program at first was to throw the wool on the market and sell it for whatever it would bring, or, in other words, to salvage it. The woolgrower had been encouraged in every possible way to produce every pound of mutton and every pound of wool that he could produce, without guaranty as to prices. So far as last year's clip was concerned, the prices paid were satisfactory under conditions existing, although if they had been allowed to sell at the world's market prices they would have received much more than they did.

Mr. SMITH of Ariozna. Now, will the Senator permit me right there to ask him what relation that bears to the matter I am discussing? Why, in the argument that I am attempting to make for the relief of suffering people, should there be injected the question of wool or of wheat? Whatever was done with them has been done. The wool has been bought under guaranty, and it is held under guaranty, which applies to the whole production of the United States. There was not a separate distinct quality of wool that the Government had to have in order to carry on the war itself, as was the case with the long-staple cotton to which I have referred.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Government did not only have to have one grade of wool, but it had to have every grade of wool.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I understand that; and that wool was grown everywhere.

Mr. SMOOT. That makes no difference where the wool was grown.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. If it does not, the Senator and I can not see an argument when it faces us.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator asked me what relation the wool had to the cotton. This is the relation: They are both used for the manufacture of cloth——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Long-staple wool and short-staple wool are grown in every State of the Union. They have no relation at all to the particular kind of cotton to which I am referring, grown nowhere in the world except in Egypt and in certain small areas in the United States, and an absolute essential to the Government.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, long-staple wool is not essential in war any more than the short-staple wool; in fact——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I know that, and neither one of those commodities has anything to do with this case. They are both like the "flowers that bloom in the spring."

Mr. SMOOT. If they have nothing to do with the case, I do not see why there should be any legislation to affect any of them.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I am not asking for any legislation in regard to short-staple wool, or any of the other matters of which the Senator speaks.

Mr. SMOOT. I am speaking of short-staple cotton and long-staple cotton.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. My amendment has not a thing to do with short-staple cotton. I would not have a word to say if it was the short-staple cotton that was affected.

Mr. SMOOT. No; I presume not; but I can not see a particle of difference between cotton and wool.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Well, I can; and that is the difference between us.

Mr. SMOOT. The Government owns 400,000,000 pounds of wool, and they are going to sell it in competition with the woolgrower the coming year. The domestic production of long-staple cotton, what little there is of it raised in the United States, will only answer the demand of America to a limited extent; whereas the 400,000,000 pounds of wool on hand will be about all domestic wool that will be consumed within the coming year.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. How does the Senator know what the Government proposes to do with the wool?

Mr. SMOOT. I know, because the sales have been advertised, and some of them have already taken place.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Well, then, I presume the wool which the Government bought at a good high price has been sold at a good high price, for I have not seen any very serious decline in that market.

Mr. SMOOT. It is not a question of what the Government owns now; it is a question of what effect the prices obtained at forced sales of wool will have upon the wool that is yet to be grown and clipped this year.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I understand that; but I am not talking about wool, which, I repeat to the Senator, can be grown and sold in every State of the Union and imported from practically every country on earth. I am talking about a specific commodity, the production of which is confined to a limited number of acres and which the Government has simply set aside for its own use.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator if it is not a fact that the price fixed for wool was with the consent of the woolgrowers?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Unquestionably.

Mr. FLETCHER. And under agreement with the woolgrowers?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Unquestionably.

Mr. SMOOT. I wish to say, in answer to the Senator, that if the Government had not controlled the price of wool, wool would have advanced to a dollar a pound.

Mr. FLETCHER. I am not questioning that; but I am saying that an agreement between the woolgrowers and the Government was reached as to the price. That is how it was adjusted.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I thank the Senator for his suggestion.

Mr. FLETCHER. I wish to say further, as the Senator from Utah speaks about the domestic production of long-staple cotton being only sufficient to supply in a limited way the demands of the country, that, as a matter of fact, the sea-island cotton growers, the long-staple cotton growers, have last year's crop largely on hand and this year's crop in the warehouse. The demand for cotton here is not equal to the supply; there is produced in this country more than the country needs, and to some extent it is exported; but not only is the home market for our home product taken away from us by the importation of Egyptian cotton but the price is reduced to a point where the grower can not produce it. That is the situation with

reference to long-staple cotton. When we were short in tonnage, when the world was crying and begging for ships, the ships were used to bring in 90,000 bales of Egyptian cotton, 750 pounds to the bale, last year, to take the market away from the long-staple cotton growers in our country. That is the fact about it.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in answer to the Senator from Florida——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I have the floor, Mr. President, and I decline to wait until this debate is ended.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator yield to me to answer one of the statements made by the Senator from Florida?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes; I will yield to the Senator once more.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I simply wish to say, in answer to the Senator from Florida, that so far as the wool growers of this country are concerned, they were asked to send representatives here and agree upon a price with the Government. No objection was voiced on the floor of the Senate to the Government compelling in a way the wool producers to accept the price put upon wool, but when the question of putting a price upon cotton was raised in this country there was an objection from every cotton State in the Union.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. What has that to do with this argument? The Senator insists on putting all the objections and criticisms he can possibly find into my contention for an absolutely just and equitable provision.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I yield.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, without regard to the cotton end of this colloquy, I wish to say that the RECORD should show a correct statement about wool. The Senator from Florida is mistaken in supposing that the Government entered into an agreement with the wool men that was satisfactory to them. The Government insisted that the woolgrowers should handle their wool in a certain way, but did not make any price. The Government insisted that the most it would do would be to act with the dealers, that there would have to be licenses for them to sell any wool; that growers could ship the wool to the commission men, and that the Government would then examine the wool, grade it, and pay whatever the price was supposed to be on the 30th day of the previous June, which was 10 to 25 per cent less than the market was on the day that this proposition was made.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Now, Mr. President——

Mr. WARREN. If the Senator will let me finish——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. But I care nothing about the wool situation.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I presume the Senator does not.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Well, we raise as much wool in my section of the country as is raised in the Senator's section.

Mr. WARREN. I wish that were true, but it is slightly incorrect. I shall finish my remarks unless the Senator requests me not to do so.

Now, so far so good. The wool of last year went to the Government, the cessation of the war prevented the use of the larger share of it, and the Government was overstocked.

The Senator states that there was no encouragement offered the woolgrowers to increase sheep and wool. On the contrary, the Agricultural Department of the Government has been urging repeatedly and insistently, month after month for more than two years, that there should be more sheep and wool grown; the matter has been advertised, and inducements and enticements have been given for men to raise more and more.

I have not said anything about cotton, and I am not going to do so; that stands by itself; but I want the RECORD to show the wool situation correctly. The wool men have been in exactly the same condition as are the long-staple cotton growers, so far as being encouraged to grow a great crop is concerned. That crop is now a surplus, and is not only being sold to-day at auction but it is understood—in fact, the Government has stated positively—that it will be sold from time to time at a rate as nearly as possible like that which wool brings in foreign countries.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I hope there is no man with better temper or with more patience than myself, but I give warning now that I will not be interrupted by any other woolgrower nor anyone else who seeks to apply to wool the argument that I am attempting to make. Everybody in the two Houses of Congress knows the history of wool for the last 60 years, and everyone knows, coming to politics, that as soon as the miserable prohibitory tariff was taken off of wool that commodity went up. That is going to settle the wool argument so far as I am concerned.

Mr. President, let me get back to my argument. The growers of long-staple cotton, to whom I have referred, acting under the impetus given by the Government and under the implied promise of the Government, exerted themselves to produce this cotton. It was at the time selling for 70 cents a pound, and to-day in the open market it is worth 70 cents a pound; but the gentlemen who do the spinning, relying on an importation from Egypt through England, are disposed to wait until they can supply themselves with the cheaper Egyptian cotton, after the farmers in the Salt River Valley and those in southern California spent as much as $5 a day for a man to pick cotton, and an inexperienced picker at that, on land that would pay them $200 an acre for hay alone. They responded to the plea made to them, quadrupled the planting of cotton, and now, following the armistice, they find themselves left without a market, with two years' cotton on their hands, and with the prospect of being absolutely ruined by the importation of Eyptian cotton through England.

My amendment only goes to the question of stopping that importation for six months, to squeeze the gentlemen who are trying to beat these men down to a price that they will pay, the legitimate price, for that sort of cotton in the industries that they are now conducting. That can be done by stopping the importation for six months, and then they will come and give the usual price for this cotton. If you do not do it, they will stand and absolutely be smothered by the Egyptian-raised cotton imported into the United States, I should like to say to my friend the Senator from Utah, imported without any duty on earth, and that against men paying $5 a day for labor to pick it alone.

I ask that that importation be prohibited for six months. A limited portion of South Carolina, probably one of the other Southern States, and every one of the western-southern growers of cotton, as I said, quadrupled the amount of their land devoted to it for the purpose of meeting the Government's demand; and when the armistice is declared they get notice that the Government does not want it and will not take it! I am simply asking that that importation be stopped until these men have a chance at the market; and these gentlemen will sell their woven long-staple goods at just as high a price with the Egyptian product as they will sell them with the Arizona product paid the legitimate 70 cents a pound.

So, Mr. President, it seems to me that if we are adjusting the rights of people we should look a little to those in my country, who have gone away beyond every demand of this Government in every liberty loan, who have gone away beyond every demand of the Red Cross, who have gone beyond every demand of any people asking money for the purpose of protecting our wounded or caring for our sick on the battle fields of Europe. I am asking for this measure of relief for those induced by the Government to plant this cotton, and then ruined by the Government through the importation of English cotton.

My friends, it seems to me that no stronger appeal could be made under any sort of case than is made by these people, who, under what they call the hottest sun in the world, are striving every day of their lives to convert the desert into habitable homes. And now, when they have contributed liberally to every relief the Government ever asked, and have made an oversubscription, and a large oversubscription, to liberty bonds—I think probably exceeding, taking it county by county, any State in the Union—when we come to the staple product of all those men, who contributed largely, many of them borrowing the money on their cotton crops, to buy great amounts of Government bonds, they are to be told: "Your market is to be killed, your money to be taken from you, that the Egyptian cotton grower or the American spinner may use your disaster to his own advantage."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I wish the Senate to understand distinctly the difference between long-staple cotton and cotton as it is ordinarily termed.

The amendment of the Senator from Arizona applies to long-staple cotton. It is as different from the ordinary lint cotton, the great southern crop, as wool is different from long-staple cotton. It is raised largely in southern California, in Arizona, somewhat upon the coast of South Carolina, a small amount—probably 20,000 bales—in the coast counties of Georgia, and some in Florida. The total production of long-staple cotton in the United States amounts, I think, to about 200,000 or 250,000 bales.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not think it is quite that much.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Probably about 200,000 bales; and this amendment does not apply to the great cotton crop of over 11,000,000 bales. This amendment proposing to protect long-staple cotton comes from the Senator from Arizona. It does not

come from the southern cotton growers, seeking protection for their crop. But I want to mention to you a few facts about long-staple cotton, and the just complaint that the people of Arizona and southern California and other long-staple cotton growers have with reference to it as compared with other cotton.

Ninety thousand bales of Egyptian long-staple cotton, 750 pounds to the bale, have been admitted to the United States by the War Trade Board this year already. They admitted freely Egyptian long-staple cotton, while they were refusing licenses and restricting licenses for the exportation of our great short-staple crop. The War Trade Board, as late as the latter part of November, was rationing even Spain in its consumption of cotton, limiting exportation to 35,000 bales a month and requiring the shipper, before he could obtain a license to export, to show the name of the manufacturer to whom he had sold the cotton and to further show that the manufacturer was not receiving more than his pro rata of the amount that was being rationed to Spain.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, does not the Senator think he should say, on behalf of the judgment of the War Trade Board, that the enormous demand was for cargo space going to Europe for export, and it was difficult to find any space in export cargo but a comparatively easy matter to find space in ships coming to the United States?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If there was not cargo space going to Europe, why did they restrict the licensing of cotton going abroad? If we could not get the cargo space to go to Spain, why refuse to permit our cotton growers and our cotton merchants licenses to export if they could get the space? I do not think the Senator from Nebraska is right about it. I think it was a deliberate purpose to restrict shipments of short-staple cotton.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator does not deny that our exports are enormously in excess of our imports, and have been for the last three or four years, and that it has been a much harder matter to find cargo space for export purposes than cargo space for import purposes?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That was undoubtedly true before the armistice, but not since; but when the cotton merchant found his space and had his ship there was no reason why he should not have been given a license to ship his cargo; and my complaint is that when cotton merchants had the ships and were prepared to export, the War Trade Board restricted the trade and suppressed exportation without just cause, to the damage of one-fourth of the country at least and, indirectly, to the damage of the entire country, because the exported cotton sold abroad at liberal prices would help make our international balances and bring back gold to enrich and give vitality and life to all the industries of the country.

I do not know that this amendment would help much the people of Arizona now, because 90,000 bales of 750 pounds each of long-staple cotton have already been brought in; but the rationing of Spain in November to 35,000 bales a month, and requiring the party shipping to show a manufacturer as purchaser before a license would be issued, and that the manufacturer only had his pro rata portion, was utterly indefensible. Why?

The excuse was given that they were afraid Spain would accumulate a large amount of lint cotton and, after the blockade was raised and the war was over, sell it to Germany. Well, why should they not do so? If the blockade was raised and the war was over, and, according to the agreements settling the peace terms, Germany or Austria was entitled to buy cotton, if Spain wanted to buy it in the meantime and accumulate it, why should she not do it?

The trouble is that whenever you suppress an exportation of an American product by regulation, while you may injure an enemy abroad or you may interfere with somebody's foreign trade, you certainly strike a blow at your American producer as well. I view this subject from the standpoint of American interests. I view the right to do an export trade, not in the interest of the foreign country that buys but in the interest of the American exporter who sells; and, again, when we buy from a foreign country we buy because we believe the product will help our own country; and, again, if our citizens desire to buy I view it from the standpoint of the interest of the American citizen who desires the product, and if the product is needed here you injure our country by hindering importation.

The Senator from Utah said that the suggestion of fixing a price on cotton raised objection from all over the country. I wish he would mention the exact time to which he refers. Does the Senator refer to the proposed price-fixing by the War Trade Board last fall?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish to reply, then, briefly.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator does not deny the fact that there was a discussion as to the fixing of a price?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Undoubtedly there was; and I wish to make a few remarks on that subject.

Mr. SMOOT. And the Senator objected, and I had no objection to his objecting.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish to make just a few remarks upon that subject. I wish to show that it was right to object and protest against the proposed price fixing referred to by the Senator from Utah.

The War Trade Board had as much right to fix a price on cotton last fall as the man in the moon had, and no more, and it had no more power to maintain the price if fixed.

Mr. SMOOT. And they had just the same right to fix it on cotton as they had on wool.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The relation was entirely different. They had no right to fix the price on wool.

Mr. SMOOT. That is what I say.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. They did not. They agreed with the woolgrower as to what the Government would pay for the wool that the Government bought. They did not fix the price on wool except in that way.

Mr. SMOOT. Why, Mr. President, they demanded that they buy every pound of wool produced in the United States; and not only that, but no one was allowed to buy a pound of wool unless he was licensed by the Federal Trade Board, nor could he sell a pound.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Was there any act of Congress authorizing such a procedure?

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, I have not said that they were authorized.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. They had no more right to prevent you from selling where you pleased than I have, as a private citizen, if no act of Congress controlled the subject.

Mr. SMOOT. But they did say to every dealer and to every person in the United States, "You can not buy a pound of wool unless you hold a license for it, nor can you sell a pound of it unless you are granted a license."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Government traded with the woolgrowers and agreed on a price.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I know the Senator wants to be right.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do.

Mr. WARREN. That is not quite correct.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. What was the price they agreed on?

Mr. WARREN. No price whatever was agreed upon, except that, as the Senator said a moment ago, they first said that unless the United States Government's proposition was accepted by the wool men they would provide that nothing could be done in the wool business except under license. That was the first proposition. The second proposition was that if the woolgrowers could find ways to raise the money by shipping their wool through commission houses the Government would then grade that wool, or have it graded, and have it appraised, and would pay then, as near as could be on each grade determined, the rate of the year before on the 30th of June. The wool men, after a few days' consideration, said that although there was no law for it, they understood the power of the Government to destroy the market; and while they felt that it was too low, they were willing to accept it if the Government would protect the market until it became normal again, which the Government, of course, has not yet done. They discovered a willingness on the part of the War Industries Board to support the market for another year by asking Congress to continue the powers of the War Board through the year to enable them to do it, which I believe was finally considered unconstitutional, and it has fallen to the ground, and wool with it; and the wool will have to go on to the market for whatever it will bring.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. What I am really interested in doing just at this time is protesting against any authority placed in the Government anywhere to take any private citizen's goods at an arbitrary price. I deny that the Government can legally do it, or that Congress can give them the right to do it.

Mr. WARREN. The Senator is right about that; but under the circumstances, with the war on, they could during active war indirectly accomplish exactly what they sought to do; and the growers of wool, as patriotic as the cotton growers and as all other people in the country, simply accepted the situation.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I regret to have an impression go over this country that we live under a Constitution that allows Congress or the administration to take the property of a private citizen at an arbitrary price. It "riles" me to have the suggestion made.

Mr. WARREN. I want to agree with the Senator just as emphatically as he has stated the matter, but I think the Senator will remember that we sang very low and whispered rather

than shouted and did pretty much as we were commanded to do during the stress of war, and I do not know that we regret it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes; and it is a marvelous record of patriotism by the people of this country—their willingness or their readiness, without complaint, to submit to things that I do not think ought to have been done in many instances.

Mr. WARREN. High and low, without regard to parties, vocations, or circumstances.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. But I just did not wish to let the opportunity pass without expressing my protest against the view that the Government can arbitrarily take any man's property by a price fixed either through Congress or through the President.

Mr. WARREN. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It may be valuable in the future to have it known that no such power is vested in our Government.

I wish to say that one of the most remarkable occurrences of this character happened with regard to linters in connection with cotton. Linters were selling at about 6 or 7 cents a pound. Linters are the small fibers scraped at the cotton-oil mill from cotton seed, left on the seed by the cotton gin. The gin takes off the spinnable cotton; and this substance, called linter, is a very small, fine fiber that is not removed by the gin and can not be spun.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Just a fuzz on the seed.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. They were selling for about 6½ or 7 cents a pound when the Government determined, with the war inaugurated, that the Government needed linters to make munitions. The Government went further. It determined that it wanted more linters than the seed normally scraped would produce, and desired part of the hull scraped off, adding a sharp fiber, which made the linters more valuable for munition purposes, and the oil men put in machinery for the purpose. They agreed first with the War Industries Board on a price of 4.62 cents per pound, substantially less than the market price. They at once put in the machinery preparatory to producing these additional linters, and they made a sort of a contract for the sale of their linters. After the armistice came about it was really an amusing thing to see the kind of contracts they had made. A little organization had made the contract for all of it for the Government. They had no contract with the Government that was worth anything, and the little concern that had made it could not have financed any of it; and yet these splendid business men just absolutely took anything they were told to take and did anything they were called upon to do, and the explanation of it was, "We did not consider our rights. We were told by our Government that something was needed of us, and we proposed to carry it through"; and I have no doubt the wool men were moved in very much the same way.

Mr. WARREN. It was all "the war." Everything in the last two years up to the time of the armistice has been "the war." The swing of the small whip, the words "it is for the war," have been all that was necessary to carry through almost anything, no matter how absurd or expensive, and have it become the law of the land for the time being.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Now, I have come down to the remark of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], to which I wish to refer and which I desire to distinguish from all these other conditions.

The wool was needed by the Government, and the wool men gave it up for whatever the Government called on them to give it up for. The cotton linters were needed by the Government, and the oil men and the cotton men gave it up, under contracts that were worth little, after expending large sums of money to fit their oil mills to handle it, and I approved their patriotic course; but when the proposition was made for the War Industries Board to raid the ordinary lint cotton the Government was not using a bale of it. The Government did not want a bale of it. The Government never has taken a bale of it. The Government had bought its supplies of cotton manufactured goods by contract from cotton manufacturers. They bought the cotton. The entire Government consumption would not amount to 10 per cent of the cotton crop. The Government consumption, I am informed, would not amount to 10 per cent of the lint cotton raised in our country. Now, when they proposed for the War Industries Board to fix the price of lint cotton the Government did not intend to buy it and stabilize the price. It did not offer to. It did not have any need for it. There was no act of Congress authorizing the Government to underwrite the price, and I want the Senator from Utah to follow my distinction.

It occupied an entirely different situation from the linters. The Government wanted none of it. It did not intend to buy a bale of it. It had no authority to underwrite the price of a bale. It was in the market for none of it; and for the War Industries Board to undertake to fix a price upon a commodity which the Government did not need nor wish to use, which the Government was not authorized to buy, and which, if the Government fixed a price upon it, it had no authority to maintain, was arbitrary and indefensible. I said at the time that the Government could not fix a price on cotton that anybody was obliged to take or that anybody was obliged to pay. The Government itself needed none of it and was not going to buy any of it, so the Government was not in the market to maintain the price at all; and the whole suggestion and the whole movement was inexcusable. I knew that if they fixed a price nobody would be obliged to sell at it and nobody would be obliged to pay it.

As to the linters, the situation was entirely different. The Government needed them, and I helped induce and advised those producing linters to do whatever the Government wanted and let the Government have them; but the lint cotton proper occupied an entirely different situation, and therefore I did without hesitation say that the suggestion was preposterous. If the Government had wanted 10,000,000 or 6,000,000 bales of the cotton, then the situation would have been entirely different.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KIRBY in the chair). Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WEEKS. I am not sure that I see the connection between the proposition which is pending and this bill; but I want to ask the Senator from Georgia, who knows so well about the cotton situation, if we import any long-staple cotton from any other locality than Egypt?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think not.

Mr. WEEKS. The reason why I am led to ask that question is that we have a rather serious trade complication pending now relative to action taken by Great Britain prohibiting the importation of shoes into Great Britain. That was taken as a war measure, I understand. The United States in the past has sold very considerable quantities of shoes to Great Britain. At least half a dozen of the large manufacturers have maintained stores there, some of them several stores, and they feel materially the effects of this prohibition. If we prohibited the import of long-staple cotton, does the Senator believe that it would have any effect on this prohibition of the importation of shoes into Great Britain?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think that the brightest traders in the world live on British Isles, and they will always take care of themselves; and if they have something that they wish to sell you that you will not buy unless they give you a chance to sell to their people what you wish to sell, I think they could undoubtedly be reached by action of that character.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I presume this may sound a little like a foolish question; but I presume the Senator would object to a prohibition of the exportation of our cotton to Great Britain for 30 days, or thereabouts, until some arrangement was made about the shoe question?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I certainly would, because that would do a great injustice to our people.

Mr. WEEKS. But the Senator does think that if we prohibited the importation of long-staple cotton it might have some influence in adjusting the other question?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think the suspension of the exportation of short-staple cotton would have a tremendous influence upon it.

Mr. WEEKS. I suppose it would.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think that to suspend the shipment of foodstuffs to Great Britain would have even a controlling effect. I think we are in a position absolutely to make Great Britain treat us fairly in all matters of trade if we have the nerve and force to do it. I would think it improper to pick one product of the United States, to the exclusion of all others; but if it were deemed advisable to say that no American products should go to Great Britain until she admitted our shoes and other products fairly, I would be willing for cotton to take its place among all the others and bear its part of the burden. I would not be willing for it to be singled out to be deprived of a market unless we followed the same course as to other commodities.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. KING. I have listened to a portion of the argument of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; I have not been making an argument.

Mr. KING. I think the Senator has been making a very persuasive one. It has been so persuasive and so eloquent

that I am inclined to think that perhaps other products ought not to be overlooked, and I suggest to him the advisability of including in the amendment the words "potash, manganese, and pyrites," because those products are in substantially the same situation as the products for which the Senator has been contending. I ask the Senator if he will consent that those words be added to the amendment, after the word "potash"?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. This is not my amendment. It is the amendment of the Senator from Arizona. I have not been speaking in behalf of the amendment. I have been speaking really as the result of a remark made by the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] that the suggestion of putting a price on cotton raised great objection from all over the country. I wanted to take this opportunity of drawing a distinction between the status of cotton and many other commodities which the Government handled, and to justify the position which I took last September, when the President and the War Trade Board broke the price of cotton to the injury of the South of $500,000,000. Cotton was selling at 38 cents a pound when they undertook to interfere with it. They announced that they were going to fix the price or stabilize it or regulate the sale of it or create a single purchasing agent who should buy for our allies and all purchasing supplies in our country, thereby eliminating all competition among purchasers in the United States, and thereby forgetting that the Sherman Antitrust Act was ever passed. When that was done they broke the price of cotton. They broke the market and drove it down to a loss on the crop of over $500,000,000.

Then, finally, when they announced at the end of about six weeks that they had nothing to do with it, that they had no power to fix the price, no power to maintain a price, no money with which to buy any of it, no desire to buy any of it, the War Trade Board stepped in and was restricting the issue of licenses and checking the export of cotton.

I condemned, then, the talk of price fixing for cotton, because, really, they had no power to do it. I knew they would not buy it. I knew the Government did not buy it. I knew the Government had no money to buy it with, and it could not make anybody use it, and could not make anybody buy it, and that the suggested manipulation of the crop would break the market down, as it did. I was not discussing the merits of the amendment of the Senator from Arizona. I have pointed out the unauthorized interference with cotton, to the damage of the cotton grower and our entire country.

Mr. BORAH. I understand the Senator from Arizona is willing to include wool.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. No; I have told three or four Senators that I am not. I should like to have a vote on the amendment. I expect in the heat of debate, as we often do, I may have referred somewhat roughly to the fact that I would not be interrupted any more in this particular argument by the question of wool. If I have any number of friends anywhere in the world it is among the woolgrowers of Arizona. If I have political friends anywhere in the world, even my attitude on free wool never broke them down in their kindness to me. So no accidental or unthoughted remark of mine in debate could be construed by the Senator from Wyoming, with whom I have been acquainted in public life for over 30 years, or my friend from Utah, who knows my kindliness toward him, to be any lack of appreciation of my friends. I publicly express my apology, if such is necessary, and disclaim any intent of ever having alluded in any but the kindliest and the pleasantest terms to either of the friends I have mentioned.

Mr. SMOOT and Mr. BORAH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah is recognized.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, while this discussion is intensely interesting, I do hope we may be able to get a vote on the bill to-night so that it may go to conference. Therefore I ask that we may have a vote on this amendment.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I did have the intention of referring to some statements that have been made here to-day, but I do not think any good would come from a discussion of the merits of the protection of the wool interests and the long-staple cotton growers of the country. We know that both of them find themselves in a rather precarious situation. I do not know what is going to happen to the woolgrowers of this country in the coming year. Nobody can tell; nor can I say what is going to happen to the long-staple cotton growers of the country; nor, Mr. President, can I say what is going to happen to the general business of the country. I have taken a little of the time of the Senate in the past to call attention to facts and to express the opinion that it will not be long before there will be a great deal of suffering not only among the growers of wool and cotton but among the laborers of the country as well. Conditions are such that it could hardly be otherwise.

So whatever has been said here to-day I know that the Senator from Arizona will not claim that it has been said in any spirit of criticism. The statement made by the Senator from Arizona in relation to long-staple cotton embraced facts that I am fully aware of. I know what an important crop it is. I have bought hundreds and hundreds of bales of it and used it in the manufacture of what we term tricot longs, sold in this country from one end to the other.

I think the Senator from Arizona perhaps will remember that upon this floor I have stated time and time again that a thousand times rather would I as a manufacturer use long-staple cotton than the mungo and shoddy that is used so much by manufacturers of woolen goods in the United States, and not only in the United States but in all the world.

So, Mr. President, when the amendment was offered I immediately thought, as I stated, of the condition of the woolgrower. I immediately thought of our potash producers in the State of Utah. I immediately thought of the manganese miners of the country, who by the Government were pleaded with and almost commanded to open their properties and who borrowed money and erected plants to produce it because it was wanted so badly by the Government for carrying on the war.

Mr. President, I know men who have not only put every cent they have on earth in the plant, but they have borrowed every cent they could from their friends and put up everything in the way of security they had for the loans they had to make. I wish to say that those same men had scarcely produced the first carload of manganese ore before the armistice was signed, and they were closed down.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I know three men in my State who put up $200,000 that they had of their own and borrowed $500,000, and now unless the Government accepts it as a burden upon all the people they will lose it.

Mr. SMOOT. That is only one case out of hundreds.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. They did it at the earnest request of the Government for immediate action, stating that the legislation was going to be passed and that they must not wait until the legislation which authorized the contract was passed.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. BORAH. The wool situation and the long-staple cotton situation, of course, are both very serious. I think, aside from all humorous remarks, we all concede that to be the case. But could it not all be remedied by appropriating $100,000,000 and purchasing the wool upon hand and keep the people of Europe from freezing to death? It seems to me that while it is yet difficult to get through a nonimportation clause we would not have any difficulty in passing an appropriation bill to buy the wool and the long-staple cotton, and why not buy the manganese and potash? There is no bottom to the Treasury.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Does the Senator think the destitute of Europe require it?

Mr. SMOOT. I suppose the Senator asks that as a general question.

Mr. BORAH. I ask it as a general question, and I ask it as a serious question, because the precedent in that respect has been established.

Mr. SMOOT. I think there is quite a difference between buying food—for a person has to have food or starve to death—and giving a man a new suit of clothes where he has an old suit to keep him warm.

Mr. BORAH. Suppose he has no suit at all?

Mr. SMOOT. Then I think the country in which he lives should take care of him and clothe him.

Mr. BORAH. It is not only a question of humanity, but a question of decency.

Mr. SMOOT. I know exactly how the Senator from Idaho feels in relation to the $100,000,000 appropriation, and I want to say, as I said the other day, that I sympathize with him a great deal in what he said.

Mr. BORAH. I am trying now to invoke the precedent. I want the benefit of the combined wisdom of 53 votes. I am perfectly willing to surrender my judgment and have the precedent carried to its lawful conclusion and take care of the wool men, because they will be ruined, there is no doubt about it, and to take care of the cotton men, and to take care of the potash men. There is one way to do it, and that is to appropriate money and buy the product.

Mr. CUMMINS. I desire to suggest that the Senator from Utah ought to include the hog men as well. They may suffer because the price of hogs may go down presently.

Mr. SMOOT. They will not suffer in the price of hogs, at least for the month of February, because I notice in the morning press that the price will be 17½ cents for the month of February.

Mr. CUMMINS. They will want it after February.

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, yes; but I say there is quite a difference between financial ruin and death. I would a thousand times rather lose every dollar I have on earth than to lose my life. I take it for granted that the $100,000,000 that was appropriated was for the purpose of saving lives. Nobody will lose his life if the Government does not appropriate for the purchase of wool and nobody will lose his life if we do not purchase the manganese or the potash. That is the difference.

Now, I ask the Senator from Arizona if he wants a separate vote on his amendment without putting potash and manganese and pyrites and wool upon it?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I should very much prefer a vote on my amendment, because I believe——

Mr. SMOOT. I am perfectly willing, as far as I am concerned, to have the Senate vote on the amendment. Then if the Senate agrees to it, I wish to say to the Senator I shall reserve the right to offer an amendment to the amendment, because that certainly can not hurt, and the whole question then will be in conference.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I appreciate that.

Mr. BORAH. I do not think it is a fair way to treat long-staple cotton, to compel it to make this fight single handed and alone. We ought to give it what support we can, and therefore it ought not to be permitted to die in isolation and without assistance from those who are in like condition. I wish the Senator from Utah would put in wool.

Mr. SMOOT. I reserve the right to put it in if the amendment of the Senator from Arizona is agreed to. If the Senate adopts the principle of it, then I want, of course, to offer my amendment; but I think it is fair to the Senator from Arizona to comply with his request.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I simply request a separate vote on my amendment. I appreciate the humorous efforts of my distinguished friend from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. He does not seem to treat it with the seriousness he displays when advocating other matters. When it comes to the question of bringing men to ruin by reason of the action of the Government itself he treats it humorously. And this is not a prospective ruin, it is a present ruin. If anything bad happens to wool I shall regret it as much as any Senator on the floor. If anything bad should happen to many industries of the country I should regret it as much as any Senator on the floor. I am only asking for that article which relates to my part of the country. I am pleading for those who have been induced to go into bankruptcy, pledging their money on the hope of selling their cotton, investing it in bonds, and they stand to-day under the hammer of the sheriff if we do not prevent the importation of English cotton here, with the heartlessness of the cotton manufacturers using this English importation as a means of breaking them and at the same time England prohibiting the importation of American shoes.

I hope the Senate will give me a vote on the amendment separately, and I sincerely contend that for those whose hopes stand in the balance now it is a question of salvation from absolute ruin. I should like the sense of the Senate on the necessity of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment of the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, may I inquire from the Senator who offered the amendment whether he will accept this amendment to the amendment:

> Nor shall any Indian corn be imported into the United States during that period.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Is that suggestion made in humor or in earnest?

Mr. SHERMAN. No; I am in earnest.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I did not know.

Mr. SHERMAN. I never jest in this body.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The Senator makes some very humorous suggestions sometimes.

Mr. SHERMAN. The trouble is with the interpretation the audience puts upon the suggestions. I am a little ahead of the procession sometimes.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I thought we were the greatest exporters of corn in the world. I speak to the Senator in all seriousness. In view of the immediate effect of the amendment, in which I am deeply interested, I ask him as a favor to me to let us have a vote on the amendment independently. Then if the Senator thinks his amendment is of sufficient importance he can offer it.

Mr. LEWIS rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have not yielded the floor, but I will yield to my colleague if he desires.

Mr. LEWIS. No, Mr. President, I rose to address the Senate upon the bill for a moment or two. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator. I prefer to yield to the request of the Senator from Arizona for a vote before I take the floor.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I hope we will have a vote.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. This bill is of such very great importance that I shall ask the Senate to remain in session this evening until a vote is had upon it if Senators will stay and help it through.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I shall not take much time, I will say to the Senator from Oregon. I am in dead earnest about my amendment, notwithstanding what my friend from Arizona may think.

Corn is now coming through the Atlantic coast ports from Argentina. Those imports have broken the price of corn. Farmers in the northern Mississippi Valley have loaded up, under the request of the Government, on both stock hogs and hogs now almost ready to go into the market, into which are fed high-priced corn. The farmer last year put out a large acreage of corn. A good deal of his surplus corn is in the crib yet, especially in the case of the farmer who is raising a large quantity of it. About the time he begins to think of marketing his hogs the price is broken upon all the primary markets of the country because of the Argentine importation. I think it would be fair to stop some of the other agricultural importations in order to protect him and make it rather a symmetrical system all around.

No doubt I will surprise the Senator from Arizona by saying to him that I am going to vote for his amendment. I believe in the particular application but not in quite so intense a form. In the summer of 1913, if you will refer to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I proposed on the tariff bill then pending to protect the long-fiber cotton of the United States and said it ought to be done. Since the English engineers built the dam at the second cataract in the Nile they have doubled the entire arable tract of the Nile Valley. There was only a limited area there from the time of the Pharaohs down to the present, because it was natural irrigation. This artificial addition to the cotton land has doubled the area, and not all but the greater part of the long-fiber cotton, outside of the areas named by the Senator from Georgia, come from this one competitive district. England is merely a port of transshipment.

Long-fiber cotton, as every one in the cotton trade or every cotton spinner knows, is used in the higher forms of cotton manufacture. Laces and the higher forms of ladies' lingerie of all kinds, requiring a particular form of cotton, draw on this supply. The importation of 90,000 bales, at an average of 750 pounds to a bale, is a very serious blow to the long-fiber cotton industries of this country.

I said in the summer of 1913 that I believe in protecting this form of cotton. As to the short fiber, the upland cotton, you can compete with the world; you fear nothing from any competitor; but on this particular kind of cotton I believe in the principle. It was rejected at that time, but merely because it was unseasonable. I have not changed my adherence to the principle.

I intend to vote for the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona, particularly. The protection is a little high. Absolute prohibition is not quite my idea of a tariff schedule. But it is temporary, and I hope by an application of the intensive form of a remedy a more diluted form will permeate the earth and will afterwards percolate its way into the majority in this Chamber.

Mr. THOMAS. Let the amendment be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON] insert:

> That the importation of Egyptian long-staple cotton into the United States is hereby prohibited for the term of six months from the date of the passage of this act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Let us have a yea-and-nay vote on the proposition.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, as there is to be a yea-and-nay vote upon this amendment I wish to say a word before the

vote is taken. I did not intend to speak upon the bill because I realize how vastly important its early passage is.

The purpose of the bill is to meet a great emergency, arising from the sudden termination of hostilities and of contracts for munitions and other supplies needed for the proper prosecution of the war. That emergency is a great one. It affects thousands of contracts and hundreds of millions of dollars. The Committee on Military Affairs held hearings and received a great deal of information from different parts of the country as to the character of these contracts and the imminence of the necessity for taking some care of them. Among other things we were informed that unless this measure or some similar one should be enacted into law by or before the 1st day of February a great many institutions would have to shut down, resulting in throwing to idleness literally hundreds of thousands of employees, particularly in great manufacturing centers like Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and similar places throughout the country on the Atlantic seaboard.

Mr. President, this bill should not be encumbered, however great the necessity, however meritorious the condition, with so many of these extraneous matters. They not only take up an immense amount of time for their consideration but in the event they become component parts of the bill they will make the administration of the bill so much more cumbrous and dilatory.

Moreover, Mr. President, I do not believe in converting a bill of this kind into a protective-tariff measure. I conceive that there is abundant ground for the Government taking care of certain producers in the country who not only at the invitation but almost at the command of the Government invested a great deal of money in the effort to produce and for the purpose of producing things which before the war we obtained from other countries and which are not at present available but absolutely indispensable.

They ought to be taken care of, but to load this bill down with all these subjects is going to postpone its enactment. It is going to make its administration extremely difficult. The very emergency which we are now seeking to avoid will be upon us before we know it unless we forget these other matters and devote ourselves to the enactment of the bill practically as it was reported from the committee.

So, Mr. President, I hope that these conditions will be borne in mind when the vote is taken upon the pending and similar amendments. I do not know what the condition of long-staple cotton is, nor the condition of wools, nor the condition of some other commodities which may need and probably do need the immediate attention of Congress, but let us take those things in their order. Let us get rid of this exigency as soon as possible and then proceed with the business of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arizona.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KING (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR]. Not knowing how he would vote on this question, I withhold my vote.

Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES]. Not knowing how he would vote on this question if present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER] to the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and vote "nay."

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when his name was called). I desire to inquire whether the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not voted.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Ohio, and not knowing how he would vote if present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. WOLCOTT (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] to the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] and vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY];

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM] with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH];

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN];

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]; and

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE] with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS].

Mr. OVERMAN. I notice the absence of my pair, the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. I have a general pair with that Senator and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. KELLOGG (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS]. I transfer that pair to my colleague [Mr. NELSON] and will let my vote stand.

Mr. MYERS (after having voted in the negative). Has the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McLEAN] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not.

Mr. MYERS. I have a pair with that Senator, but I transfer it to the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] and will let my vote stand.

Mr. STERLING. I have a pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]. Not knowing how that Senator would vote if present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have a standing pair with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. I understand he has not voted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] and vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 10, nays 42, as follows:

YEAS—10.

Ashurst	Johnson, Cal.	McNary	Trammell
Bankhead	Jones, N. Mex.	Sherman	
Fletcher	Lewis	Smith, Ariz.	

NAYS—42.

Beckham	Henderson	Nugent	Swanson
Borah	Hitchcock	Pittman	Thomas
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Poindexter	Thompson
Cummins	Kellogg	Pollock	Townsend
Curtis	Kenyon	Pomerene	Wadsworth
Fernald	Kirby	Ransdell	Walsh
France	Knox	Robinson	Weeks
Frelinghuysen	La Follette	Shafroth	Williams
Gay	Lenroot	Sheppard	Wolcott
Hale	Myers	Smoot	
Hardwick	New	Sutherland	

NOT VOTING—44.

Baird	Harding	Moses	Simmons
Brandegee	Hollis	Nelson	Smith, Ga.
Calder	Johnson, S. Dak.	Norris	Smith, Md.
Colt	Kendrick	Overman	Smith, Mich.
Culberson	King	Owen	Smith, S. C.
Dillingham	Lodge	Page	Spencer
Fall	McCumber	Penrose	Sterling
Gerry	McKellar	Phelan	Underwood
Goff	McLean	Reed	Vardaman
Gore	Martin, Ky.	Saulsbury	Warren
Gronna	Martin, Va.	Shields	Watson

So the amendment of Mr. SMITH of Arizona was rejected.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I beg the Senate to indulge me for, I trust, not any length of time, to express the hope that this measure may receive immediate and earnest consideration from the Senate. Let me not mask the fact that the constituency of my eminent colleague [Mr. SHERMAN] and myself, representing the State of Illinois, and particularly the city of Chicago, is largely interested in what would be the outcome of this measure, and naturally I am interested in seeing it pass, but, Mr. President, I am interested to see it pass for another reason.

It has been shown by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], in an observation here a moment past, that there is a threat that thousands of men, indeed hundreds of thousands, would likely be thrown out of employment if this measure should fail to remedy wrongs which those who are interested feel that it will remedy.

Mr. THOMAS rose.

Mr. LEWIS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. I said not a "threat," but an "apprehension."

Mr. LEWIS. I accept the substitute, that there is a fear, an apprehension, that such will be the result. For that reason, Mr. President, I naturally agree with the Senator that we should take any steps that could avoid it.

But, Mr. President, at this particular juncture, if the chairman of the committee will allow me a moment to refer to a subject cogent with this measure, it is this: I wish to deprecate the tendency which we gather here and there from expressions from the Senate as well as from other parts of the country that we are on the eve of some great industrial depression. I wish to oppose my view against that alarm. I wish to stand against Congress converting itself into the "Reds" against industry.

Mr. President, this measure has been made necessary because it seeks to remedy a wrong. It is not being brought forward merely to give employment to men. It is brought forward to prevent losses. There has been a general cry going out from different quarters of the country that we are likely to have a great industrial depression. You are frightening the toilers of the country into the belief that they are to be hungry; there are those who circulate, in their sincerity, the impression that there are to be bread lines. The eminent secretary of the Federation of Labor, a kindly hearted, sincere-souled gentleman, made such a statement before committees of Congress. It was flashed all over the world. You have struck terror by these statements into the minds of millions of toilers of this land, and created the belief that they are soon to be out of employment and walk the streets. They can not see ahead of them the developments of to-morrow. They simply stand affrighted and riven to the spot in the terror of a threatened hunger.

We have made the business man feel that there is bankruptcy that impends over him like a cloud. We have caused the commercial and the industrial man to feel that, for reasons of our own, from some knowledge we have of our international policy or of some domestic course we are about to take, we are conscious that he is to be driven into a distress of commercial depression that may mean his whole business loss.

Mr. President, nothing has been afflicted upon public life that is so startling, so wrong, and so unjustified as are these declarations. I invoke the eminent Members of this body to reflection, and it is to the thought that in the next 10 years this land of ours will have the greatest prosperity in all forms of industry and pursuit that it has ever enjoyed in any decade of its history. Why? Because, if Senators will reflect, and those who have sent out these alarms of danger will but contemplate a moment, here is central Europe like a burned habitation; it still smolders in its ruins, and it has got to be supplied. We are the richest Nation in the world. We are the only people with the money, the only people so situated by our opportunities as to be able to supply them. We have the resources of men; we have the money; we have the toilers; and, Mr. President, we have the genius.

Mr. President, not only will we supply central Europe but Britain and France will likewise be dependent upon us.

You need only move a step further yonder in the Orient, and by the newly knitted relations between Japan and China the doors of a more liberal trade will be now open to us, which before has been denied. That land, also, these manufacturers will supply, giving great demands for new toil. Sir, millions of men will be called into action. Sir, there is South America. Let the thoughtful man feel and reflect that heretofore Germany has had that trade, and that now, because of our contiguity and our relation to those countries, this trade must come to the United States.

Mr. President, it must be plain, therefore, that we are to be the supply house of the earth. Here in our own land I make bold to speak of what is a clear policy of our own just ahead. With the Government taking charge of the railroads, if it shall continue that policy, millions and millions of dollars' worth of new construction must be had; new improvements must be undertaken; millions of men upon railroad development alone must be called. As to the telegraph and the telephone, the same thing is to be repeated.

Mr. President, it is evident that in mechanics, in science, in shipbuilding, particularly, there will be still more hundreds of thousands to be engaged and employed.

Then, sir, let us reflect, let us contemplate, and let us cease this cry of distress. Let there be no more proclaiming of havoc to our country when it must be apparent to all that in supplying all of these demands we will be the country to which all having these desires must take their resort and refuge.

Sir, with the passage of the bill that repairs the wrongs to these manufacturers, coupled with the things that will transpire in the immediate future, let our people be patient and remember that all we are doing is transferring the world from a war status to a peace status; from war industries over to peace industries. In the meantime there is a little confusion; in the meantime there may here and there some distress. There are, of course, complications, but that there is any impending commercial disaster upon our country for the days to come none but a thoughtless man will assert, and that we are to have the greatest era of prosperity and success for our country, for our workingmen, our toilers, our business men, and our captains of industry, so called, every reflecting man must concede.

Therefore, Mr. President, for the passage of this measure I invoke the Senate that we cease sounding alarms and call the attention of our country to the truth around us; that the present policies of this Government promise a prosperity in the next decade unequaled in any of the past. What we should do before the country and the world is to invite them to the truth and to proclaim "all is well."

I trust the measure may have a speedy passage.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Illinois a question? I intended to do so before he concluded.

Mr. LEWIS. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. KENYON. I am greatly interested in what the Senator from Illinois has said and I am in accord with his idea that we are to see the greatest prosperity in this country that perhaps we have ever experienced. We have the historic assurance of such fact in the events in our country after the Civil War. But I wish to get the Senator's viewpoint. That prosperity is to come, undoubtedly, in the course of several months or possibly a year; at any rate it is not far away. Now, does the Senator mean that during this transition period we must have nothing to say, nothing to do, and nothing to propose here about the question of unemployment? I have been concerned about that, perhaps needlessly. We have had hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor. The Assistant Secretary of Labor this morning and statisticians from the Labor Department appeared before us, showing that whereas on December 10—I think the report was of that date—there were about 10,000 unemployed men in the country, a week ago to-day there were 212,000, and the reports for to-day, not all in, show that there will be more this week.

We will have to pass through the transition period; men will be out of employment; and I have thought Congress ought to do something in the way of a commission of public works, which I have proposed, to carry on the delayed public works in this country, the Government in cooperation with the States, in communities where there is a labor surplus, and purely as a remedy, you might say an insurance policy, against unemployment. Does the Senator feel that in urging those things we are disturbing the conditions in the country?

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, if the Senator has concluded his inquiry, let me make my position clear to him. In the first place, I quite approve of the continuance of public works, particularly when necessary for the public benefit. What I was seeking to explain and what I am very anxious to have the Senate quite appreciate is that however much during the transition period there may be necessity to provide for the temporary distress to which I have alluded we should have it understood that it is but a temporary stage; that Congress does not believe that such will be the general condition for the indefinite future, but that it only arises because this period of transition in transferring from the mechanisms necessary for war to those which will be necessary for peace uses. In the meantime I accept anything that can legitimately be undertaken to continue workmen in employment; but I would that the suggestions were given to us so soon as possible by men such as the able Senator from Iowa now addressing me, who must know, being familiar with the history of his country, that these conditions are but temporary and that the immediate future is filled with the promise of complete prosperity to the toiler, the business man, and the country at large. I am only anxious that we shall not by making these provisions for temporary necessities leave the impression that anyone here is suffering from the fear or indulging the terror that bankruptcy, or distress, or general devastation is to be visited upon our country.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I do not think anyone indulges in that, but I do think there is need of action along the lines I have indicated to meet the temporary situation until we come to the era of prosperity.

Mr. LEWIS. I assume, if I may be pardoned—and then I will yield the floor—that the Senator caught my observation, that should the Government continue the policy which I have advocated of taking control of the railroads, the telegraph and telephone lines, and the building of ships, in these there should be extension and enlargement of the undertakings that would give employment to all idle workmen.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, it is not a gracious position to interpose comment adverse to the picture which has been held before the Senate by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS]; yet I am in very considerable doubt about the correctness of his view. I am not going to take the time now to discuss the question in any great detail, because I hope this bill may be considered and passed this afternoon; but I want to call his attention to the fact that the situation in this country and in the world now is quite different from what it was after the Civil War. A comparison of the two periods can not be easily made. For four years previous to the Civil War we had had unusual depression in the United States; we had been going through a

panic. We were just recovering from that condition and the business of the country was ready to go ahead when the Civil War came on. Then we were a developing country short of labor, and there was every incentive for good times for a period after the war. Conditions to-day are quite different, in my opinion, and unless business men take cognizance of world conditions to-day and prepare to meet them they are living in a fool's paradise, and I do not think it is wise to induce anyone to conduct his business under those conditions.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I should like to inquire whether the committee bill has now been perfected?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not understand that there are any other amendments to be offered except the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that there are no amendments pending.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, my amendment is in the nature of an amendment to the House bill; and after it is adopted, if it shall be adopted, a vote will then come as between the committee substitute for the House bill and my substitute for the House bill. I have therefore waited until the Senate committee substitute could be fully perfected. I shall therefore ask, Mr. President, for the reading of my proposed substitute, for I think it has not been read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska.

The SECRETARY. In line 3, page 1, after the word "That," it is proposed to strike out all down to and including line 24, on page 3, and insert:

Where during the present war and prior to November 12, 1918, officers or agents acting under authority of the Secretary of War have placed orders or made contracts with manufacturers or contractors for war supplies or materials, or for the performance of work thereon, or for the construction or enlargement of plants or other preparation necessary to furnish supplies or materials for the War Department, the procurement of which has heretofore been authorized by Congress, and any of said orders or contracts has been partly or wholly performed, or expense has been incurred by the manufacturer or contractor prior to the 12th day of November, 1918, in preparation or partial execution of said contract or order, the fact that any such contract or order or agreement has not been made in the form or signed in the manner required by law shall not invalidate the same if it was entered into in good faith and lacked only the sanction of a contract in legal form. Nothing herein provided, however, shall be held to validate any contract, order, or agreement given or made by an officer or agent of the War Department not legally qualified or authorized to give a formal legal contract, except where such officer has acted as the representative of a superior officer authorized to make such contract, nor to permit an officer to make such contract with any company, corporation, or firm in which he has, or had at the time, directly or indirectly, any interest.

SEC. 2. That in all cases as above included it shall be lawful to make payments under the terms of the contracts or orders so made or given to the extent that performance thereof has been made, expenditures incurred, or supplies thereunder have heretofore been received and accepted by the United States, provided that payment in such cases shall not exceed the fair value of the supplies or materials delivered to and accepted by the United States, together with remuneration for expenditure properly incurred in preparing to perform said contract, orders, or agreements.

SEC. 3. That in case of the cancellation, suspension, or annulment of any contract, order, or agreement as described in this act by the Secretary of War, or officers or agents acting by his authority, and in cases where no property or supplies have been delivered to and accepted by the United States, or where only partial delivery and acceptance has been made, contractors shall file with the Secretary of War within 60 days after the passage of this act any claim for remuneration arising out of the discontinuance, cancellation, or suspension of such contract, agreement, or order, properly itemized and set forth. Each claim shall thereupon, or as soon as possible, be transmitted to and filed with the commission hereinafter provided for, together with a statement attached thereto showing the amount, if any, which the War Department deems to be justly due to said claimant. If the claimant shall file a statement offering to accept the amount awarded by the War Department in full for said claim, the commission shall, within 10 days, order the same paid in the absence of evidence that it is excessive.

SEC. 4. That for the adjustment of all claims arising out of the cancellation of contracts, orders, and agreements for supplies or materials of war, as described in the foregoing paragraphs of this act, there is hereby created an adjustment commission to be composed of three members to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, one representing the War Department, one representing the Department of Justice, and one representing the business interests of the country, none of whom shall be interested in any contracts with the Government or have an interest in any firm or corporation having war contracts, who shall hold their offices for one year and receive as compensation a salary of $10,000 each. It shall be the duty of said commission promptly to examine and pass upon all claims for compensation and reimbursement arising out of cases as set forth in this act for supplies furnished, expenditures or obligations necessarily incurred, or materials purchased under faith of contracts in legal form or orders received from officers and agents of the Secretary of War as heretofore set forth.

SEC. 5. That in each case, as soon as the commission has made an award, the contractor shall be entitled to receive the same upon giving receipt in full of all demands against the United States arising out of the transaction, or if the contractor is not satisfied with the amount so awarded he shall be entitled to receive, and shall receive at once, 75 per cent of the amount that has been awarded him and he shall thereupon be entitled to appeal the case to the Court of Claims which is hereby given jurisdiction to hear the case and render final judgment in such sum as may be required to reimburse the contractor for supplies and materials delivered to and accepted by the United States and expenditure necessarily incurred in good faith in the partial performance of the contract or order above referred to, or in preparing for the same.

SEC. 6. That in no case, however, shall any award either by the commission or the Court of Claims include prospective or possible profits on any part of the contract beyond the goods and supplies delivered to and accepted by the United States, and a remuneration for expenditures necessarily incurred in preparing to perform said contract or order so canceled.

SEC. 7. That the purpose of this act being to secure prompt settlement of claims, the commission is authorized to make its own rules and regulations and to hear and determine the issues informally and promptly upon presentation of the case. The commission is authorized to appoint, under such rules and regulations as it shall prescribe, one or more regional boards of examiners to serve in such districts throughout the country as the commission shall fix and determine, to investigate and determine the facts concerning claims, legal or equitable, that may be presented as herein prescribed. The members of such board shall be composed of one representative of the War Department, one representative of the Department of Justice, and one from the business interests of the region, none of whom shall have any interest in the contract, directly or indirectly, and receive no compensation, save and except such per diem compensation as shall be fixed by the commission. Whenever the commission shall refer to any such regional board of examiners any claim, they shall proceed informally to hear the parties, take the proofs, and return the same promptly to the commission with their recommendation thereon.

SEC. 8. That the sum of $50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the reasonable expenses of said commission, to be paid out upon the warrant of the chairman, who shall be chosen by the commission from among their own members, and approved by the secretary, who may be selected by the commission, and who shall receive a salary of not exceeding $5,000 for the period of one year, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be determined by the commission.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, there is a very radical difference between the bill as reported now from the Committee on Military Affairs and the bill which I introduced and which the committee unanimously reported several weeks ago. There is also a very decided difference between these two bills and the bill which has come over from the House of Representatives. All of these bills assume to do the same thing, but they do not as a matter of fact do it, and what is attempted in each case is attempted in an entirely different way.

The bill which I introduced purports to validate about 7,000 defective contracts, and it relates in its provisions to none but defective contracts. These contracts aggregate in their possibility something in the neighborhood of two thousand million dollars—an amount of money large enough, it seems to me, to cause the Congress to provide for the adjudication of the amounts due with care and caution.

The bill which has been before the Senate, and which is now fathered by the committee, does the most unheard-of thing of making the War Department, which entered into these illegal contracts—some of them in direct violation of law, and some of them, as the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR] has intimated, probably made by officers having interests in the concerns with which they contracted—the tribunal to decide what is due under these contracts. Now, if that were a proposal to make the Secretary of War the judge, I, for one, would be willing to accept it, or to accept the decisions of any other responsible man or men. But to say that an executive department, composed of thousands of employees and hundreds of officers shall be a tribunal to pass upon contracts that it has made strikes me as something which the country will not consider safe, and which is certainly most extraordinary.

The bill which I have introduced, and which the committee at first reported, first provides for the validation of all these contracts or informal orders made in good faith upon which the contractor has proceeded to the expenditure of money or to the delivery of supplies. Those are all to be validated if they were made in good faith, however irregular, and if the contractor has proceeded on that good faith to carry out his side of it.

The second provision sets forth the rules of payment. The contractor shall be paid for all that he has delivered to the Government, and he shall be remunerated for all materials purchased and obligations incurred, and for all expenditures undertaken in the performance of the contract which the War Department has canceled.

The third provision provides for the cancellation of the contracts, and provides that within 30 days after the passage of the bill contractors shall file their claims with the War Department, and that thereupon the War Department shall examine them with the machinery that it has, and shall attach to each claim a statement of what the department feels is due. Then the claim, with the attached statement, is to be filed with the commission which this bill creates—a commission of three men appointed by the President, one representing the War Department, one representing the Department of Justice, and one representing the business interests of the country. If the contractor files with the commission at the same time or subsequently an offer to accept the award which the War Department has made, the amount of money shall be paid to him within 10 days,

unless evidence has meanwhile come to the commission that the claim is excessive. That makes this commission of three men responsible, with the aid of the War Department, for any award made. It puts the War Department in a position where none of its officers will be able to render an award for an excessive amount, because what they say is merely a recommendation, and must have the sanction of the commission before the contractor becomes entitled to it. If the contractor refuses to accept the amount, however, the commission shall hear both sides; and if the department already has its evidence ready, and the contractor will have his evidence ready, it is a very simple matter for three business men informally, as the bill provides, to decide what is right, or reasonably so; and when the decision is reached, if the contractor chooses to accept it, he gets his money at once. If he wants to appeal to the Court of Claims, he shall be paid 75 per cent of what has been awarded him, and then the Court of Claims will merely pass upon the disputed part.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BORAH. This presents the real crux of this legislation, and there is practically no one in the Chamber except those who are committed to the other side of the controversy. I am going to suggest the absence of a quorum. I do not do it for the purpose of delay, but I see nothing to be gained by a discussion when there is practically no one here to hear it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). Does the Senator from Nebraska yield for that purpose?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have not any objection, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum is suggested. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Sutherland
Bankhead	Jones, N. Mex.	Page	Swanson
Beckham	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Thomas
Borah	Kellogg	Poindexter	Townsend
Chamberlain	Kenyon	Pollock	Trammell
Curtis	King	Pomerene	Wadsworth
Fletcher	La Follette	Robinson	Walsh
France	Lewis	Saulsbury	Warren
Gay	McKellar	Shafroth	Weeks
Gerry	McNary	Sheppard	Williams
Hardwick	Martin, Ky.	Sherman	Wolcott
Henderson	Moses	Smith, Ariz.	
Hitchcock	New	Smoot	
Johnson, Cal.	Nugent	Spencer	

Mr. McKELLAR. I announce the absence of the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] on account of illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-three Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, my bill provides that within 30 days after its passage the contractors shall file all their claims with the department; that the department shall use its machinery to make up a statement as to what is due on each claim, and send each claim to the commission; that if the contractor is willing to accept it, within 10 days the money shall be paid him, unless evidence develops that it is excessive; that if he is not willing to accept it, the commission shall promptly hear the case. If he accepts the award by the commission, it shall be paid him. If he declines to accept it, he shall be entitled to 75 per cent and take the balance to the Court of Claims. My bill also provides, however, that no future profits or possible or prospective profits shall be taken into account; that the contractor shall receive simply profits upon what he has delivered to the Government, or remuneration for expenditures which he has incurred in getting ready to perform the contract. In other words, he is to be made good for any expenditures, and have a profit on everything he has delivered.

I have referred to the other bill. The other bill makes the War Department the judge, the tribunal, to try these cases, involving two thousand million dollars and 6,000 contracts. The War Department, which made the contracts, is to be empowered under the present committee bill to try them and to decide on the right and the wrong—not any one man or any three men in the War Department, but possibly 150 or 200 officers, some passing upon one, some passing upon another, and nobody responsible for the result.

I am not disposed to criticize the War Department. I think the War Department, as at present organized, is immensely improved over what it has been; but I do say that the people of the United States who have the taxes to pay will resent the idea of intrusting to this department, composed as it is of so many different branches and officers, the performance of acts which must necessarily be judicial acts in deciding what is due on a contract.

That is not all. This bill contains carte blanche authority to the Secretary of War to validate contracts, even when the contractor has not spent a cent nor delivered a single dollar's worth of goods. In other words, if he has made a contract for $10,000,000 worth of goods with a contractor, under the first paragraph of section 1 the Secretary of War is authorized to validate that contract, which may be illegal or defective, and carry out the contract, or settle it in any way he pleases.

Is that a proper power for Congress to intrust to the Secretary of War, or anybody else, in dealing with a contractor who has merely received a contract, who has not spent a dollar under it, who has not delivered a dollar's worth of goods under it? Why, it might be a contract entered into only the day before the armistice; and yet in that first paragraph the Secretary of War is given carte blanche authority to validate it, and go on with it as he pleases. Now, I do not think any contract defective in form should be validated unless the contractor has incurred obligations or has spent money on it.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BORAH. Under this authority of which the Senator speaks, could the Secretary of War validate and go ahead and carry out these contracts which we have had up heretofore incidentally with reference to purchasing cantonment sites, and so forth?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. As the bill was first drawn that authority existed. I am inclined to think it has been eliminated, as far as real estate is concerned; but there is practically no limit to the power of the Secretary of War to validate a contract, even when the contractor has not turned a wheel or done a thing toward carrying it out.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me ask the Senator if the last three lines on page 4 of the reprint of the Chamberlain bill do not obviate that criticism?—

> That such waiver shall not validate such contract or procurement order in so far as any claim for unearned profits may be involved.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I do not think they do; and that particular provision is entirely contradictory of a provision later ingrafted into the bill, which provides that profits on the unearned part of the contract may be taken into account. For instance, it says:

> That in no case shall any award either by the Secretary of War, the commission, or the Court of Claims include prospective or possible profits on any part of the contract beyond the goods and supplies delivered to and accepted by the United States and a remuneration, which may include a reasonable profit for expenditures and obligations or liabilities necessarily incurred in performing or preparing to perform said contract or order so canceled.

That is directly contradictory to the provisions of section 1, and I do not know how they would be construed.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska further yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the provision last read by the Senator applies to contracts which are partially performed, and only those.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Under one construction of the provision that is so; but I think there is some question about his right even then. In fact, there are now so many contradictions that have crept into the bill that it is not consistent with itself. It was, to my mind, a rather preposterous document the way it was drawn—to create an executive branch of the Government into a tribunal and allow it to award claims of two thousand million dollars by men who are not known to the country, and by a department in which the responsibility for any act is not fixed.

It has been claimed that the advantage of this particular bill is that it would hurry the settlement of these claims. I deny that. The very machinery in the War Department which is depended upon to act as a judicial machinery can and will be used by the department to decide what in its opinion should be paid. If that decision is reached and the contractor accepts it and nothing comes before the commission within 10 days to indicate that it is excessive, the commission will order the payment and be responsible for the payment; and the country will know that this commission, composed of three men named by the President and confirmed by the Senate, has ordered the payment.

But that is not all of the very extraordinary provisions of the committee bill.

After creating the War Department into a tribunal to hear and try and pass upon and render a decision on its own contracts, to which it was a party, this extraordinary bill provides that the Department of Justice, another executive branch of the Government, may appeal to the commission from the decision of the War Department—a most contradictory and preposterous situation, having one executive branch of the Government step in and censor another branch of the Government and appeal from it. It will compel the Department of Justice to examine all of the contracts made by the War Department, if it performs its duty to the public.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. TOWNSEND. May I ask the Senator what is the shortest time, under his bill, within which claims may be paid?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The shortest time under my bill might be 15 days. A contractor is permitted to file his claim with the War Department within 30 days after this bill passes. The War Department says it has machinery to say what is due on it. It says it can act quickly. If it can, it can attach to that claim a statement of what it says is due, and file it with the commission. If the contractor accepts it, it can be paid within 10 days. If the contractor objects to it, then it will be heard by the commission.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Has this commission an indefinite life?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; one year.

Mr. TOWNSEND. It could not be continued, then, like the old Spanish War Claims Commission, for a number of years?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not with my consent. I believe that a commission of men giving their whole time to the matter can pass upon all the controverted questions. I believe that a very large percentage of the decisions reached by the War Department, when they say "So much is due on this contract," will be accepted by the contractors, and they will be ordered paid by the commission within 10 days; and if the contractor is not willing to accept that amount he can take 75 per cent of it and appeal the rest.

To my mind, it is a very important matter that these cases should be heard quickly; it is a very important matter that whatever is due these contractors should be paid to them soon; but it is also a very important matter that the Congress of the United States should avoid giving an executive department of the Government, composed of so many officers whose names are not known to the public, carte blanche authority to settle these contracts and compound them.

My bill deals only with the six or seven thousand contracts that are invalid now. It deals only with the contracts that the Secretary of War cancels. It gives money to the contractor only when he has expended money upon the good faith of the contract which he has made. But this committee bill, as it is proposed here, authorizes the Secretary of War to validate any contract in writing, however defective, even if the contractor has not expended a dollar under it or delivered a dollar's worth of goods to the Government; and I say that is giving too much power to any executive officer. Of course, too, as the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR] says, the worst part of it is that we do not intrust it to the Secretary of War. There are so many of these cases that when we say "the Secretary of War" we mean perhaps 20, 30, 40, or 50 different officers under him, to each one of whom these matters may be assigned. It is an irresponsible way of reaching decisions, in a manner which is just going to open the door to all sorts of fraud and favoritism.

Naturally this department, with all these various officers, has its favorites, its prejudices, and its friendships. I do not think it is right for these unnamed individuals to be given in this bill carte blanche authority to act as judges in cases on which they have already passed.

The committee could not very well avoid the commission idea which the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR] and I have introduced into the bill, but they make it a commission of appeals, and make the difficulties of appeal so great that there is no protection for the public. There is no appeal unless the Department of Justice steps into the War Department and makes an appeal. A real affront has got to be perpetrated by the Department of Justice against the War Department in order to protect the public where an appeal is necessary.

There is only one way, in my opinion, Mr. President, for this legislation to be done safely, and that is to do as we did after the Civil War, create a responsible commission to hear these cases, to give to the War Department full machinery to decide cases quickly, to provide for the earliest possible payment to the individual, and if he is not satisfied with all of it give him 75 per cent of what the commission awards and let him appeal on the balance.

Mr. LENROOT and Mr. MCKELLAR addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin. I think he rose first.

Mr. LENROOT. I am informed that during my absence from the Chamber the Senator argued that the amendment adopted yesterday at my instance, excepting from the validation of contracts any unearned profits, was inconsistent with the McKellar amendment, which permitted a reasonable profit upon expenditures and obligations actually incurred. Am I correct in that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It struck me as inconsistent, although it might be construed as applying only to this particular paragraph.

Mr. LENROOT. It does; but even applied to that paragraph it is not at all inconsistent, because where the expenditures are made profits may be earned and would be earned; and in allowing under the McKellar amendment a reasonable profit, it is an earned profit we are allowing and not an unearned one.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is not an important matter.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I suppose it is in order now to perfect the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska. I will ask the Senator to take the print of the committee bill as amended and turn to page 11. I desire to offer section 3 of the committee bill as amendment No. 1, to come in its regular order, section 4 of the committee bill to come in its regular order, and section 5, on page 14 of the committee bill, to come in its regular order, as amendments to the bill; then, on page 3, the proviso at the bottom of the page, being a part of the House bill as amended by the Senate this morning. I offer those four as amendments to the Senator's bill, and I hope he will accept them.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understand that the amendments to which the Senator from Tennessee refers are all amendments that have been put in upon the floor of the Senate as safeguards to the committee bill.

Mr. MCKELLAR. That is true.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am willing to accept them.

The SECRETARY. Insert section 3 as amended in Committee of the Whole, all of section 4, and all of section 5, with the proviso added at the end:

Provided further, That the names of such contractors—

And so forth.

Mr. MCKELLAR. That is right. The amendments have been accepted. Let the Chair put the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the Senator from Nebraska accepts the amendments offered by the Senator from Tennessee as parts of his amendment.

Mr. HENDERSON. I also ask the Senator from Nebraska if he will accept the amendment I offered, which was also adopted.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am willing to accept the amendment of the Senator from Nevada which he offered and which was adopted by the Senate.

Mr. MCKELLAR. The subcontractor's amendment was not put in. I call the attention of the Senator from Ohio, if he desires to put it in.

Mr. POMERENE. I certainly do.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I think it ought to go in.

Mr. POMERENE. There were two amendments which I had offered to section 4.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I will accept both of those. They have been adopted by the Senate and are properly a part of the bill, just the same as they were of the other bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the Senator from Nebraska has accepted all the amendments referred to by the Senator from Tennessee, the Senator from Ohio, and the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I am not going to object to the acceptance of any of these amendments to the so-called Hitchcock bill, but I think that they ought to be discussed separately before they are accepted, because I question very much if some of them will fit into the terms of the pending Hitchcock amendment. However, if the Senator from Nebraska is willing to accept them as they are I make no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendments suggested will be considered as having been accepted as a part of the original amendment of the Senator from Nebraska.

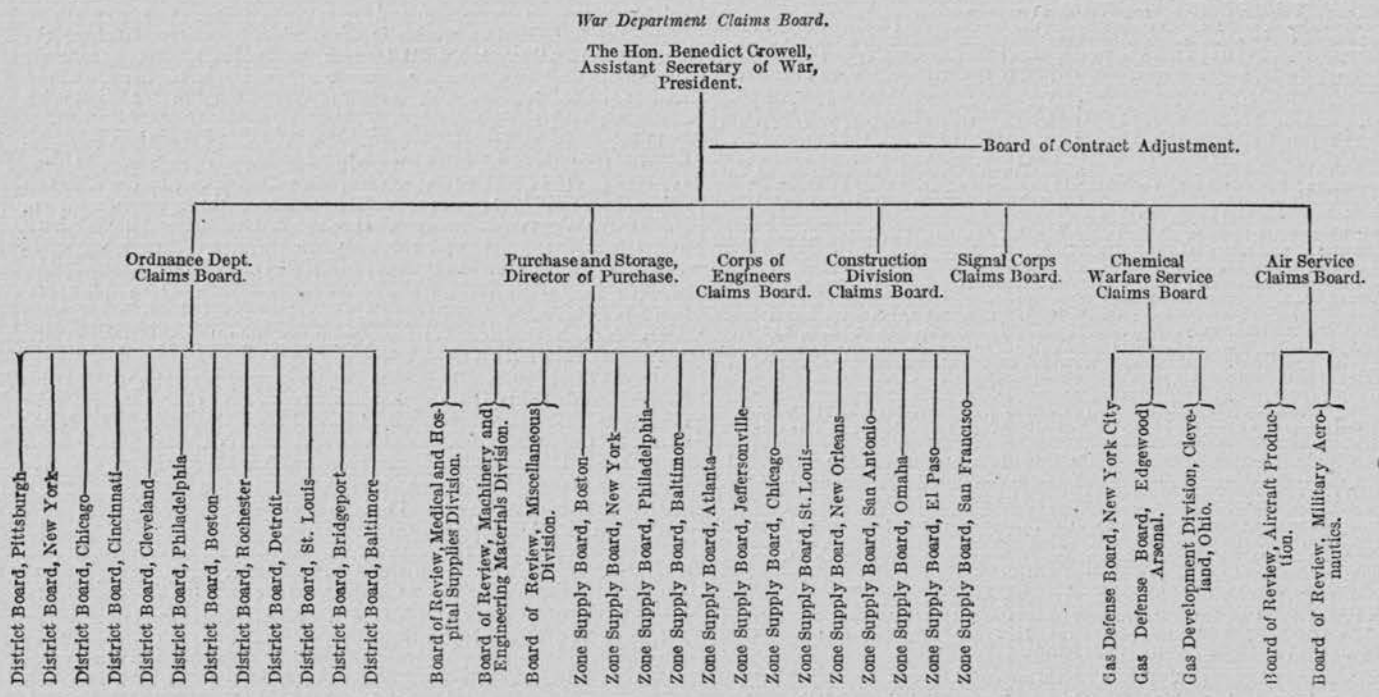
Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the criticisms which the Senator from Nebraska levels against the bill which has been pending in the Senate for the last two days, that it is a jumble and unintelligible, will more than apply to his proposed amendment with the amendments which have been adopted and which do not fit into the bill which he has before the Senate now.

Mr. President, I have not yet called the attention of the Senate to the tribunal which is to adjust these claims. The Senator from Nebraska makes the sweeping charge that there has been turned over to the War Department, an executive or administrative branch of the Government, the determination of matters which have been illegally done by them, and wherever illegality is found it is due to the inefficient methods of that department.

Mr. President, that is not entirely correct. In order to show exactly the tribunals which adjust these claims and that have been working on them since the 11th day of November I present and ask to have inserted in the RECORD a diagram showing the different tribunals that are adjusting these claims now that are sought to be validated by the pending measure. It takes a vote of the Senate to permit the diagram to go into the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate has heard the motion of the Senator from Oregon that the diagram which he presented shall go into the RECORD as a part of his remarks. [Putting the question.] The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

The diagram referred to is as follows:



Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, let me call attention to the fact that the Hitchcock bill does not validate any claims. As a part of that diagram and to go in juxtaposition with it I ask to have inserted in the RECORD the list of persons who constitute the several boards and the titles of the boards which are to hear and determine these claims.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oregon? The Chair hears none, and it is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

List of boards supervising and passing upon the adjustment of contracts in the War Department.

WAR DEPARTMENT CLAIMS BOARD.

President, Hon. Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, director of munitions.

Mr. G. H. Door, assistant director of munitions.

Brig. Gen. George W. Burr, assistant to Maj. Gen. Goethals, director of purchase, storage, and traffic.

Brig. Gen. Herbert M. Lord, director of finance, purchase, storage, and traffic division.

Lieut. Col. Herbert H. Lehman, assistant to Maj. Gen. Goethals, director of purchase, storage, and traffic.

Special members: Mr. W. H. Davis, Col. C. A. McKenney, Maj. H. L. Goodhart, Maj. Harry D. Rawson, Capt. Arthur Day.

Recorder: Maj. Erskine Bains.

The function of this board is to supervise and coordinate the work of contract adjustment throughout the department. Through its special representatives sitting with the bureau boards all contract adjustments of the department are subject to its scrutiny and approval, and adjustments involving matters of policy and of particular difficulty and importance are brought before the full board for decision.

BOARD OF CONTRACT ADJUSTMENT.

Lieut. Col. Herbert H. Lehman, assistant to Maj. Gen. Goethals, director of purchase, storage, and traffic.

Lieut. Col. E. F. Malone.

Lieut. Col. C. B. Garnett.

This board passes on the questions of contract adjustment on which the contractor and the local and bureau boards of the department have been unable to reach agreement.

ORDNANCE BUREAU.

Ordnance claims board: Brig. Gen. W. S. Peirce, Col. R. P. Lamont, Col. G. H. Stewart, Col. Earl McFarland, Maj. John R. Delafield.

This board reviews the action of the ordnance district boards.

DISTRICT CLAIMS BOARD.

1. Baltimore—Maj. A. V. Barnes, Capt. R. W. Smith, Maj. L. B. Webster, Capt. F. E. Baldwin, Mr. J. J. Nelligan, Mr. E. G. Baetjer.

2. Bridgeport—Maj. B. A. Franklin, Maj. Frederick Payne, Capt. Miller Brainard, Charles G. Sanford, Edmund C. Wolfe, David H. Day, Charles W. Graham.

3. Boston—Levi H. Greenwood, Lieut. Col. O. S. Lyford, Maj. Herbert S. Brussel, Maj. A. S. Douglass, Mr. Stuart W. Webb, Mr. Charles M. Davenport, Mr. Atherton D. Converse.

4. Chicago—Mr. Edmund A. Russell, Lieut. Col. E. E. Arison, Maj. Frank R. Bacon, Mr. James W. Lyons, Mr. John J. Mitchell, Maj. F. R. Schenck, Mr. George S. Pines.

5. Cincinnati—C. L. Harrison, George S. Raydock, B. W. Lamson, R. K. Leblond, O. De Gray Vanderbilt, Carl M. Jacobs, Stanley G. Rowe, F. H. McClellan.

6. Cleveland—Samuel Scovil, W. B. McAllister, Phillip P. Merrill, Amos B. McNairy, Joseph H. Scobell, Judge Thomas H. Strimple, Maj. M. F. Loomis.

7. Detroit—F. J. Robinson, C. C. Huyette, C. C. Jenks, Maj. C. W. Owston, Maj. P. C. Thomas, Henry M. Campbell, Maj. S. L. Depew, Capt. J. G. Dalgleish.

8 New York—Mr. G. J. Roberts, Maj. C. S. Reed, Mr. B. Goldsmith, Maj. C. C. Smith, Mr. R. A. C. Smith, Lieut. Col. Arthur Adams.

9. Philadelphia—John C. Jones, Capt. Malcolm F. Ewen, Maj. R. M. Appleby, Isaac Hathaway Francis, Maj. F. M. Masters, John Dickey, jr., Mr. Alexander H. Carver.

10. Pittsburgh—R. M. Drave, Maj. H. B. Scovil, Maj. J. F. Drake, Harrison Nesbitt, George S. Oliver, Charles Gulentz.

11. Rochester—Frank S. Noble, Maj. J. L. Crane, Mr. Langdon Albright, Maj. J. J. O'Connell, Mr. Herbert J. Sinn, Joseph W. Taylor, George A. Carnshan.

12. St. Louis—Mr. M. E. Singleton, Maj. E. S. Ready, Maj. B. S. Bope, Mr. W. F. Carter, Mr. C. W. Nelson, Mr. Davis Biggs.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF PURCHASE AND STORAGE.

All final contract agreements or settlements are personally approved by Brig. Gen. William H. Rose, Director Purchase.

Board of Review for Termination Agreements handled by the following divisions under the office of the director of purchase: Clothing and Equipage Division, General Supplies Division, Subsistence Division, Remount Division, Motors and Vehicles Division, Raw Materials Division—Col. H. S. Kilbourne, Capt. William E. Lee, Capt. R. D. Stephens.

Board of Review for Medical and Hospital Supplies Division, office of the director of purchase—Lieut. Col. J. F. Fletcher, Capt. J. Van Putten, jr., Maj. Frank L. McCartney, Maj. G. W. Wallerich, Capt. Harry G. Gunther, Capt. John C. Schweiger.

Board of Review for Machinery and Engineering Materials Division, office of the director of purchase—Col. Earl Wheeler, Lieut. Col. J. E. Long, Maj. George A. Bentley, Maj. Ira D. Hough, Maj. H. W. Eels, Maj. C. B. Loomis, Maj. H. McC. Yost, Capt. B. H. Arnold.

ZONE BOARD OF REVIEW.

Atlanta, Ga., Transportation Building—Maj. G. M. Alden, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. L. M. Thibadeau, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. E. de T. Ellis, Infantry; Capt. J. A. Graham, Quartermaster Corps.

Boston, Mass., 108 Massachusetts Avenue—Maj. J. W. Blunt, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. W. H. Rhoads, Quartermaster Corps; Capt.

Leroy Holder, Quartermaster Corps; First Lieut. A. A. Lucey, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. George E. Barnard.

El Paso, Tex.—Capt. F. C. Allen, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. F. C. Shelley, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. W. H. Dent.

Jeffersonville, Ind., Meigs Avenue—Maj. M. T. Levey, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. L. L. Sims, Quartermaster Corps; First Lieut. Henry Pirtle, Quartermaster Corps; First Lieut. L. C. Clarke, Quartermaster Corps.

New Orleans, La., Audubon Building—Maj. P. T. Murphy, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. E. I. Sharp, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. F. L. Hester, Quartermaster Corps; Second Lieut. S. Roccaforte, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. Benjamin Coswell Cassenas.

Omaha, Nebr., Army Building—Maj. William H. Faringly, Quartermaster Corps; Lieut. Col. F. P. Holcombe, Quartermaster Corps; First Lieut. George E. Comins, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. C. E. Adams, inspector, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. Fred S. Knapp.

Philadelphia, Pa., Twenty-first and Oregon Avenue—Maj. Remi Hueper, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. Archibald H. Bronson, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. Herbert Knox Smith, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. James M. Taft, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. Otis S. Carroll, Quartermaster Corps.

St. Louis, Mo., Second and Arsenal Streets—Maj. R. Field, United States Army, retired; Maj. J. W. Byrnes, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. J. P. Keleher, Quartermaster Corps; Second Lieut. G. Rosenbaum, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. A. J. Davis.

San Antonio, Tex., General Supply Depot—Maj. E. O. Baldwin, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. T. O. Baker, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. E. N. Purvis, Quartermaster Corps; First Lieut. E. A. Mechling, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. Ray Mackey.

Chicago, Ill., 1819 West Thirty-ninth Street—Col. Roy B. Harper, Cavalry; Capt. J. M. Griffith, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. John A. Bussian, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. Frederick C. Hack; Maj. E. J. Zimmerman, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. E. H. Caswell, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. George F. Mayer, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. J. C. Shugert, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. H. M. Rodgers, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. E. A. Hey, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. Edward Rosing, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. George H. Bussman, Quartermaster Corps.

San Francisco, Cal., Fort Mason—Maj. Gen. C. A. Devol, United States Army; Col. Charles A. Varnum, United States Army, retired; Mr. Clay Miller.

San Francisco, Cal.—Mr. William Thomas; Mr. Milton H. Esbert.

Baltimore, Md.—Maj. D. W. O'Neil; Maj. J. L. Beatie; Capt. S. T. Griffith.

New York, N. Y.—Lieut. Col Benjamin L Jacobson, Maj. Joseph E. Lee, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. William R. Collins; Mr. John H. Love; Mr. Henry Ittleson; Second Lieut. William C. Lovett, Quartermaster Corps.

Washington, D. C., Seventeenth and F Streets NW.—Capt. W. J. Schaefer, Quartermaster Corps; Maj. H. A. Barnard, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. C. F. Young, Quartermaster Corps; Capt. R. A. Burbank, Quartermaster Corps; Mr. Ben J. Miller.

SIGNAL CORPS.

Board of Contract Review—Lieut. Col. R. H. Morse, Maj. R. A. Klock, Maj. J. R. Whitehead, Capt. Lawrence Thompson, Capt. S. M. Conant, Capt. W. S. Kelly, Capt. Milhau.

CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE.

Board of Review—Maj. Gen. W. L. Sibert, Col. N. T. Bogart, Maj. C. C. Combs, Capt. William K. Jackson, Capt. H. S. Brown.

Board of Review, Gas Defense, New York City—Col. Besse, Maj. Schuit, Capt. Kay, Lieut. Mitchell.

Board of Review, Gas Offense, Edgewood Arsenal—Col. William H. Walker, Maj. E. E. Free, Capt. R. D. Gordon.

Board of Review, Gas Development Division, Cleveland—Col. Dorsey,

AIR SERVICE.

Board of Review of the Bureau of Aircraft Production—Lieut. Col. A. C. Downey, Lieut. Col. H. S. Brown, Lieut. Col. F. E. Smith, Capt. F. B. Schnacke, Capt. S. M. Wiley.

Board of Contract Review of Division of Military Aeronautics—Lieut. Col. Harold Bennington, Maj. Edw. Burns, Maj. W. G. Roberts, Capt. Otis Van der Mark, Capt. William G. Dean.

ENGINEER CORPS.

Board of Contract Review—Maj. C. M. Goodrich, Capt. H. L. Beach, Capt. M. B. Keeler, Capt. J. B. Hall, Capt. Grove Ketchum.

CONSTRUCTION DIVISION.

Board of Review—Col. J. N. Willcut, Lieut. Col. J. N. Pease, Lieut. Col. H. F. Durant, Lieut. Col. L. L. Calvert, Maj. H. J. Burke, Maj. C. F. Neff, Maj. L. G. Kelly, Capt. C. N. Foster, Capt. William B. F. Manice, Capt. J. B. Hudgins.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The highest tribunal of all is the War Department claims board. The Senator from Nebraska has said if the settlement or the final adjudication of claims had been left to the Secretary of War he would not make any objection to such proceeding. The bill that is pending does that very thing and vests the final adjudication of these claims in the following gentlemen, who constitute the War Department claims board:

Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, Director of Munitions; G. H. Dorr, Assistant Director of Munitions; Brig. Gen. George W. Burr, assistant to Maj. Gen. Goethals, Director of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic; Brig. Gen. Herbert M. Lord, Director of Finance, Purchase, Storage, and Traffic Division; Lieut. Col. Herbert H. Lehman, assistant to Maj. Gen. Goethals, Director of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic; and the following special members: W. H. Davis, Col. C. A. McKenney, Maj. H. L. Goodhart, Maj. Harry D. Rawson, Capt. Arthur Day, and Maj. Erskine Bains, recorder of the War Department Claims Board.

The function of this board is to supervise and coordinate the work of contract adjustment throughout the department. Through its special representatives sitting with the bureau boards all contract adjustments are subject to its scrutiny and approval, and adjustments involving matters of policy and of particular difficulty and importance brought before the full board for decision. The War Department has had functioning in the different districts, in the adjustment of these claims, the district board in Pittsburgh, the district board in New York, the district board in Chicago, the district board in Cincinnati, the district board in Cleveland, the district board in Philadelphia, the district board in Boston, the district board in Rochester, the district board in Detroit, the district board in St. Louis, the district board in Bridgeport, and the district board in Baltimore, all of which come under the Ordnance Department claims board.

These district boards adjudicate the claims which are supervised by the Ordnance Department claims board. Before the finding is finally acted on it goes up to the board of contract adjustment, and from them to the War Department proper. The names of the officers and civilians composing all these boards are inserted in the RECORD.

There must be, in the very nature of things, on these several boards that have to do with ordnance, some honest men in the War Department and in the Army and some honest men who are appointed from civil life. So matters or claims in dispute in the Ordnance Department go through all these district boards, and through them to the higher board, and from that board to a still higher board, and from that to the Assistant Secretary of War, to civilians and officers who occupy that final adjustment board.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Will the Senator permit an interruption?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator's description of the way claims go from one board to another and from one officer to another is exactly like the work he and I have been criticizing—the paper work in the department, red tape by which a thing that is a mere formal matter has gone from one department to another for weeks.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is not correct in reference to the position I have heretofore taken.

I call attention to these things to show that if you adopt any other policy than that outlined in the bill pending before the Senate and known as the committee bill you will not within the year, I venture to say, get any of these claims adjusted.

I am going to call attention to one peculiarity in the so-called Hitchcock amendment in this connection in a short while.

Now, taking the director of purchases, there come under him board of review medical and hospital supply division; board of review machinery and engineering, materials division; board of review miscellaneous division; the zone supply board, Boston; the zone supply board, New York; the zone supply board, Philadelphia; and all these other cities where there are regional boards; and the names of those gentlemen are inserted in the RECORD.

Over these several boards that I have just mentioned, covering other things than the Ordnance Department, there is a director of purchase and storage. He is above them and scrutinizes the findings of these different boards. Still above him is the board of contract adjustment and the War Department proper; so that these contracts pass under the scrutiny of all these regional and zone boards and then up through to the War Department. Then, there are still other boards covering other supply departments of the Government where contracts have been let, and the names of these several boards are given and will be published in the RECORD. I invite the attention of the Senate to the names of these men, because they represent the very highest intelligence of the Army and the highest intelligence of civil life in the communities where these several boards are located.

The peculiar thing about the so-called Hitchcock bill is this, Mr. President: It trusts the War Department absolutely up to a certain point. The Senator criticizes leaving these matters to the War Department; yet up to a certain point he trusts absolutely in the functioning of the War Department, and then branches off on an inconsistent proposition of creating a commission to do again what he has practically intrusted the War Department to do up to a certain point.

I call the attention of the Senate to the provision of the Hitchcock bill to which I am now referring. Section 3 of the bill provides:

> Each claim shall thereupon, or as soon as possible, be transmitted to and filed with the commission hereinafter provided for, together with a statement attached thereto showing the amount, if any, which the War Department deems to be justly due to said claimant.

So it allows the War Department to adjust these claims and say how much is due. Now note:

> If the claimant shall file a statement offering to accept the amount awarded by the War Department in full for said claim, the commission shall, within 10 days, order the same paid in the absence of evidence that it is excessive.

Up to that point the measure of the Senator from Nebraska absolutely indorses and approves all that the War Department

and its subordinate boards pass upon. Up to that point there is practically little difference between the two bills except that the bill of the Senator from Nebraska does not validate any of these claims which it is sought to validate because of some irregularities in their execution or other irregularities which the act specifically points out. Section 4 of the Senator's bill provides:

SEC. 4. That for the adjustment of all claims arising out of the cancellation of contracts, orders, and agreements for supplies or materials of war, as described in the foregoing paragraphs of this act, there is hereby created an adjustment commission to be composed of three members to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, one representing the War Department, one representing the Department of Justice, and one representing the business interests of the country, none of whom shall be interested in any contracts with the Government or have an interest in any firm or corporation having war contracts, who shall hold their offices for one year and receive as compensation a salary of $10,000 each. It shall be the duty of said commission promptly to examine and pass upon all claims for compensation and reimbursement arising out of cases as set forth in this act for supplies furnished, expenditures or obligations necessarily incurred, or materials purchased under faith of contracts in legal form or orders received from officers and agents of the Secretary of War as heretofore set forth.

In other words, while the bill pretends in one section to adopt the action of the War Department and its subordinate boards, in another provision it practically provides that all these things must be reinvestigated and adjudicated by the commission which the bill proposes to create. So even if the first section of the Senator's bill, approving the action of the War Department, were in force, it is inconsistent with section 4 which requires this board or commission to reinvestigate and report on these claims. In other words, it would require the board created by his bill to reinvestigate all of the claims that have been filed by the commission, and in the very nature of things do over again exactly the thing that the War Department has done through its officers and agents.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator does not mean to say that the commission is compelled to try all of the claims when the contractor and the War Department agree?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It says so in section 4.

It shall be the duty of said commission promptly to examine and pass upon all claims.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It passes on them, and they are instructed when the War Department and the constructor agree that payments shall be made within 10 days.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am calling attention to the inconsistency of it.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There is no inconsistency.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Absolutely there is.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It passes on each one and orders it to be paid within 10 days.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Taking the bill by the four corners and reading it, it requires this commission to reinvestigate every claim that the officers of the War Department have already adjudicated or adjusted with the party.

Mr. President, the hour is so late that I do not care to go into a further comparison of the two bills. The only serious difference between the two is that the Senator's bill provides for the creation of a commission that shall investigate all these claims, and that commission can not get to functioning before the 1st of July; while the bill which the Senate has practically adopted to-day provides that the War Department, through its agencies, shall adjudicate these claims, and there is the right of appeal to the aggrieved party.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the only sensible and efficient way to adjust these claims is through the agencies that the War Department has created, and which have practically determined these matters now except in some instances where there will be more or less of litigation.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Before the Senator sits down will he not state what is his opinion of the power given in the first paragraph of the bill to the Secretary of War to validate the contracts upon which no money has been expended and the contractor has delivered no goods?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is no provision in the bill which authorizes that. There is the provision which authorizes what ought to be authorized. If a man, acting upon the representations of an agent of the War Department or acting upon the authority of the War Department, has given an individual or a firm or a corporation an order and that individual, firm, or corporation has gone to work and made some expenditures but has not delivered a dollar's worth of goods to the Government the contract ought to be validated and the man, firm, or corporation ought to be paid what he or it is reasonably entitled to receive for expenditures made.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. But this paragraph does not cover such a case.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. But the bill does in its entirety, does it not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; this paragraph proposes to authorize the Secretary of War to validate contracts, although no money has been expended and no property delivered.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I wish the Senator would call my attention to that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I will read it to the Senator. The language is:

That whenever during the war emergency and prior to November 12, 1918, any individual, firm, company, corporation, or foreign government has made an agreement with the Secretary of War, or with any officer or agent acting under his authority, or with any agency of the Government authorized to procure for the War Department, for the production, manufacture, sale, acquisition, or control of equipment, materials, or supplies, or for services, or for facilities, or other purposes connected with the prosecution of the war, and such agreement was reduced to the form of a contract or accepted procurement order and executed or signed on behalf of the Government, but the agreement did not comply with statutory requirements, in every such case the Secretary of War is authorized and directed to waive, on behalf of the Government, such noncompliance——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. But there is a proviso.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It continues:

Provided, That he finds such waiver is not inconsistent with the public interest, and in this event the said agreement shall have the same validity and effect it would have had if such statutory requirement had been complied with.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There was an amendment to that, as the Senator from Nebraska will observe, which fully protects the Government in relation to claims of that sort.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It reads:

And provided further, That such waiver shall not validate such contract or procurement order in so far as any claim for unearned profits may be involved.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is not a single word in the bill which the Senator has read which validates any claim where nothing whatsoever has been done by a contractor with the Government.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There is no limitation on whether a contractor has entered upon the contract or not. It gives the Secretary of War absolute authority to validate a contract that is still absolutely in the future and toward which the contractor has done nothing at all.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I insist that it does not.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It takes the power of legislation away from Congress, where it now is, and places it with the Secretary of War. If a man has a contract for a million shells that was made on the last day of the armistice and not a thing had been done about it, the Secretary of War can validate it, and that contract will go into effect.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. But would the Secretary of War be foolish enough to validate a contract entered into between him or his agents and a party who promised to manufacture a million shells and had done absolutely nothing in the performance of that contract? If he would do such a thing as that, or his agents would do such a thing as that, he or they ought to be impeached or court-martialed; but if a man has made a contract with the Government to manufacture a million shells and has not manufactured a single shell, but in order to perform the contract had done work and put up buildings, he ought to be compensated for his expenditure. There is not any question about that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, if the Senator from Oregon will pardon me, the very language of the bill is "an agreement."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes; an agreement, contract, or order.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; an agreement. The man who has a contract with the Government must be kept safe upon his agreement.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Certainly; there is no doubt about that, I will say to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. President, there is nobody who is connected with this Government, there is no officer or agent of the Government, who would for a moment consider a contract that had been entered into between the Government and a contractor when nothing on earth had been done. That is the case the Senator from Nebraska undertakes to put. Even if a contract had been validly entered into, the right of cancellation exists, and a safe and sane Secretary of War or a sane officer of the Army would see to it that such a cancellation was had; but if an expenditure was made for preparation for manufacture and yet no goods delivered under the contract the contractor would be entitled to receive some compensation or remuneration for the expenditures actually made. That is the extent to which this bill goes, but the bill of the Senator from Nebraska does not even validate any contract. It simply says it shall not invalidate them, but it does not validate the contracts.

The remaining paragraph of this bill validates other contracts partially executed or improperly executed. Taking the

bill together, it fully protects not only the right of the contractor but the right of the Government; but under the provisions of the bill of the Senator from Nebraska these matters can not be adjusted, I venture to say, inside of six months or a year. In the meantime men will be going out of employment; and not only that, but men who have performed these services for the Government in manufacture, and so forth, will probably go into bankruptcy.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, just for a moment I want to explain to the Senate the precise difference between these two bills, if I may. The War Department is, of course, responsible for our having to legislate at all. Let us all remember that. It has failed to make proper contracts, and it is for the relief of the contractors that this legislation is proposed. We are to validate that which the War Department has failed to do.

Our committee, when the matter first came up, turned the subject of the validating of contracts over to a subcommittee, which was composed of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], and myself. We worked faithfully on the matter. We heard testimony, and we reported what is known as the Hitchcock bill back to the full committee, and the full committee unanimously reported that bill to the Senate. Since that time various gentlemen have felt that there ought to be changes made.

Mr. FLETCHER. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. McKELLAR. Just one moment, and I will do so. I have something on my mind that I want to tell the Senate, and when I get relieved of that I shall be delighted to yield.

The committee reported unanimously the Hitchcock bill, but the War Department felt that that was taking this matter out of their hands, and a measure was presented which put it entirely back into their hands. However, finding that that could not possibly pass, they then apparently yielded to the demand for a commission, and provided for an appellate commission. That appellate commission is embodied in the Chamberlain bill.

The difference between the two commissions is that if you pass the Hitchcock bill you turn the settlement of all these matters over to a fair and an impartial tribunal. If you vote for the Chamberlain bill you turn about 95 to 99 per cent of the contracts back into the hands of the War Department, whose negligence is the cause of this proposed legislation. It is up to you to say whether you are going to do it or not. If you want to say that the War Department has done its duty in the matter and are willing to stand by the War Department, pass the bill which was last reported by the committee. If you want to see that every one of the contractors gets fair and impartial treatment before a commission to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, not one that has simply appellate jurisdiction—and it is very hard to get that appellate jurisdiction under the terms of the Chamberlain bill, as it is called—if you merely want to turn over a few cases to this commission, with a technical jurisdiction, you should vote for the Chamberlain measure. If you want to turn it all over to a commission to do fair, even, and equal justice as to all these claims, vote for the Hitchcock bill, as I propose to do.

The Senator from Oregon says: "Here is all this machinery in the War Department." They have that machinery in the War Department; all those boards have been in existence for quite a long time in the War Department; but if they do not act with more care in the carrying out of the authority we are proposing to give them now than they have in executing these contracts I am afraid we are engaging in a very poor business in turning the matter over to them.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the Senator wants to be fair.

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Will he permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They have been in existence only since the armistice; and since that time they have practically reached an agreement with nearly all of the contractors.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is mistaken. The matter is in the hands of precisely the same men, the same officers, and the same boards as heretofore, with one exception, namely, that since the armistice the Secretary of War has appointed three gentlemen whose names I do not remember—they may be very excellent gentlemen—to constitute an appellate commission. I doubt if there is a Senator here who can remember the names of those three men.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I say to the Senator——

Mr. McKELLAR. In just one moment. The Secretary of War appointed this commission, notwithstanding the order of November 11. If they were appointed before November 11, I do not know, and if they were he, of course, did not violate the order; but if they were appointed since that time they were appointed officers of the Army, and it is a board composed of Army officers appointed especially for the purpose of sitting on these cases. Now, let us see what they do.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senate will probably not be able to secure a vote on this bill this afternoon, and I desire Senators to look at the names of the members of the boards organized in any of the communities where any work has been done for the Government of the United States, and they will find that they are the peers of any men in the community, including the board appointed since the 11th of November.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have not a word of criticism to make of those men. Whatever they are doing their work will inure to the benefit of the Government and the contractors under the Hitchcock bill as well as under the other bill. The only difference between these two bills, Senators, is that under the Hitchcock bill these contracts, in connection with which the War Department admittedly has not done its duty, will all go to the commission to be created, while under the Chamberlain bill, which is a substitute amendment, only a very small percentage of these contracts will be acted upon by the commission. Contracts which have been made in a topsy-turvy manner by Tom, Dick, or Harry, by some lieutenant or some civilian giving an order—some orders being in writing, some over the telephone, and some by word of mouth—are the contracts we are validating; and if the Senate votes for the Chamberlain bill we are turning them back to the very men who have neglected their duty. Now, let us not make any mistake about what we are doing.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator said a while ago that the committee had unanimously reported the Hitchcock bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. It was unanimously reported; yes, sir.

Mr. FLETCHER. All the committee was not present. That is what I wanted to say a few moments ago. The Senator talks about a unanimous report from a committee, when it is only the unanimous report of a quorum.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am not responsible for Senators not being present. I recall the fact that the bill was first referred to a subcommittee that took days and weeks to study the matter, gave it the best thought and attention that they knew how to give it, and reported back to the full committee. Following discussion the committee, after making amendments, unanimously reported it to the Senate, so far as the members present were concerned. It was after that bill was published that others came before the committee, I have no doubt with the best intentions, some gentlemen of the finest order of ability, who seemed to be absolutely fair and who were instrumental, I will say, in securing the adoption of some of the very valuable amendments that have been placed in both bills. Those are the facts concerning this measure.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator how it is that the bill as it was reported to the Senate only includes the so-called Chamberlain amendment?

Mr. McKELLAR. Because the committee met afterwards and by a majority of one, as I recall, voted to substitute the Chamberlain amendment for the Hitchcock amendment previously reported.

Mr. SMOOT. Reported to the Senate or reported to the committee?

Mr. McKELLAR. Reported to the Senate.

Mr. KIRBY, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, and Mr. SMITH of Georgia addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Arkansas, who has been standing on the floor for some time?

Mr. McKELLAR. I promised the Senator from Georgia that I would yield to him.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. McKELLAR. Very well; I yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I was absent from the Chamber when the Senator made his statement regarding the unanimous report of the subcommittee. I was a member of the subcommittee——

Mr. McKELLAR. I did not make that statement, although I supposed the report had the concurrence of the Senator from New Jersey. I said that the bill reported by the subcommittee, known as the Hitchcock bill, was unanimously reported by the Committee on Military Affairs to the Senate.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Without discussion.

Mr. McKELLAR. Well, there were several amendments made in the committee, and to that extent it was discussed. I understand that to be a discussion.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask whether or not it is the purpose of the Senator from Oregon to force this measure to a vote to-night?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I think that can not very well be done. There are quite a number of Senators who are not present.

Mr. BORAH. The debate is getting more interesting all the time.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I hardly think we can get a vote on the bill to-night.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, if the Senator from Tennessee will yield to me further, I wish to state that I was a member of the subcommittee, but I was absent from the city when the bill was considered, and was not informed that it was to be reported. I in no way concurred in reporting the Hitchcock bill, because I am opposed to it. I did assist several committees that came here and pointed out defects in the Hitchcock bill. I stated to the committee that the provisions of that bill would cause unnecessary delay and hardship on the business men of this country who were transacting business with the War Department. It was pointed out that a commission hearing these cases de novo would probably cause a delay of at least a year or a year-and-a-half before the cases could be properly adjudicated. Therefore, I joined with the committee in reframing the bill and reporting the Chamberlain bill, which I believe is the only practical bill, which will be successful in settling these claims promptly, which is the principal problem that we have to deal with at this time.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. KIRBY. Since the bill is not to be pressed to a vote this afternoon, I will make an explanation of it in my own time to-morrow.

Mr. McKELLAR. All I have to say in conclusion, is that, in my judgment, what is known as the Hitchcock bill, as amended, protects the rights of the contractors and the rights of the Government in a fuller and ampler manner than the other bill, and I hope that the Hitchcock bill will be adopted.

I wish to call especial attention to the boards. Senators will see the membership of these boards printed in the RECORD to-morrow. These boards will pass on these claims. Consider how the matter has been handled heretofore. These boards have been in existence all the time. It was their duty to prepare contracts. Congress furnished ample money to pay all the necessary legal expenses, including legal employees, to draw the contracts and agree upon them as they were made; but the department has neglected its duty, and now it comes in and wants us to turn back to it the settlement of the contracts about which it has been negligent. I do not think we ought to do it. I think we ought to put it in the hands of an independent commission, such as is provided for by the bill reported by the subcommittee, and adopted once by the full committee.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, the Senator does not claim that all of these contracts were negligently made or not legally made, does he? Does not this bill apply to a very much larger number, a majority in fact, of transactions where the contracts were legally made and where the department has canceled them because the war ended?

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is mistaken about that. It applies only to those that have been formally executed, or where there has been no contract at all. I will say to the Senator that it applies to two classes of contracts, or perhaps three. The first is where there is a formal contract that has not been properly signed. The second is where there has just been a written order for the material, and, of course, not signed properly. The third class is verbal contracts; and this undertakes to validate all three. Now, it has been variously estimated that there are all the way from ten to sixty thousand of these kinds of contracts. If there are, if the War Department has so neglected its duty as to leave this vast number of contracts not even properly signed, not even properly given, we had better go very slowly about turning over the settlement of all these contracts to that department.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, is not the Senator entirely mistaken about those figures?

Mr. McKELLAR. I am just stating what the proof before us has been. There have been various estimates. As I recall, the number has been variously estimated from 10,000 up as high, some witnesses say, as perhaps 60,000. Now, I can not conceive that there are that many; but I am telling you what has been stated before our subcommittee.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The Assistant Secretary of War stated to me this morning over the telephone that there were 6,000 of these invalid contracts and orders involved.

Mr. McKELLAR. How many verbal ones?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Six thousand, including the verbal contracts. A large proportion of those contracts—at least 60 per cent, I believe—are formal contracts, but were not signed by the proper statutory officials. Those 6,000 contracts involve $1,766,000,000. There are not 10,000 contracts, there are not 60,000 contracts, but 6,000 contracts that are invalid, according to Assistant Secretary Crowell's statement to me this morning.

Mr. McKELLAR. How much is involved in the 6,000 contracts?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. One billion seven hundred and sixty-six million dollars.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, it may be possible that my informants were not correct in their information; and therefore, as the Senator says that he has this information directly from the Assistant Secretary of War, I accept it absolutely. But here we have 6,000 of these contracts, with nearly $2,000,000,000 involved, and no contracts signed for it—nobody there looking after the interests of the Government when these contracts were signed——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Oh, yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. And yet we are asked to turn over to this department, whoever it may be, this vast sum in dispute to be settled. How do we know that they are going to do it? What objection can any Senator raise to a fair and impartial commission, with full jurisdiction to do equal and exact justice to all the parties? What objection can be made to such a commission?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Because the trial of 6,000 cases before a commission would take more than 6,000 days. It would probably take 6,000 weeks.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, quite the contrary.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Still, I gave the Senator an answer.

Mr. McKELLAR. I know; but that is a very far-fetched one, it seems to me, with all due respect. Many of these contracts, according to the proof, have been already examined by the War Department, and they are ready to report. They can be settled just as quickly and just as expeditiously by this committee with full jurisdiction as they can with partial jurisdiction.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, the Senator has stated that the officers who compose these boards in the War Department have been negligent about these contracts and about these adjustments. I think the Senator will admit that the War Department has been industriously endeavoring to reach adjustments, and that the lack of authority is what has stopped them.

Mr. McKELLAR. Ah, Mr. President, it had ample authority. There may be reasons sometimes why these officers have not signed the contracts. The law requires these contracts to be signed in a particular way, and it requires an oath that there is no interest in them.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, in a moment I am going to move for a recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon; and I give notice now that when the Senate reassembles I shall endeavor to keep it in session until this bill is disposed of. I want to say, however, in answer to the Senator from Tennessee, that he forgets absolutely and entirely the emergency which caused the War Department to order supplies and matériel without the execution of formal contracts. Cablegrams were coming over here from Gen. Pershing, demanding that certain things be supplied him forthwith; and the War Department, in the very nature of things, did not have time to execute these contracts.

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE.

Mr. RANSDELL. Mr. President, on the 22d and 23d of this month a very important conference was held in this city, which discussed the question of the American Merchant Marine. It was addressed by several Members of Congress, including two Members of the Senate. I submit the proceedings of that conference, which I desire to have printed as a public document; and I ask that the matter be referred to the Committee on Printing for action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The matter presented will be referred to the Committee on Printing with a view to having it printed as a public document.

RECESS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate take a recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Thursday, January 30, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *January 29, 1919.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father who art in heaven, whose goodness never failing, pours out upon us day by day innumerable blessings, accept our heartfelt gratitude, forgive our sins, and help us hour by hour, day by day, willingly, faithfully, efficiently, to fulfill all the duties Thou hast laid upon us. In the spirit of the world's Great Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 13708. An act providing for the relief of such populations in Europe, and countries contiguous thereto, outside of Germany, German Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, as may be determined upon by the President as necessary.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the following titles:

S. 2784. An act to authorize the purchase by the city of McMinnville, Oreg., of certain lands formerly embraced in the grant to the Oregon & California Railroad Co. and revested in the United States by the act approved June 9, 1916; and

S. 3384. An act to amend the public-building act, approved March 4, 1913.

FOURTEENTH AND SUBSEQUENT DECENNIAL CENSUSES.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill H. R. 11984, to provide for the Fourteenth and subsequent decennial censuses.

Mr. SHERLEY. May I inquire of the gentleman how much time he expects to take in connection with this report?

Mr. HOUSTON. I am not able to say how much time.

Mr. MANN. I understand there is to be some opposition to it.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am anxious to get through with the appropriation bill in order that I may resume the hearings that must be had on a number of other bills. While I do not like to put my personal convenience before the House, yet it being a matter of importance to the House itself, I was hoping that we might go forward with this deficiency bill this morning.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield? I will say that I desire that there shall be a separate vote on some amendments. I shall ask for a separate vote on amendment No. 12.

Mr. HOUSTON. There was an understanding that there should be a separate vote on amendment No. 12, and I should think we ought to get through with this within the hour.

Mr. DYER. I shall ask for a yea-and-nay vote on that proposition.

Mr. FERRIS. How can there be a yea-and-nay vote on that proposition? You will have to vote the whole report down.

Mr. MANN. There can not be a yea-and-nay vote on that proposition without rejecting the conference report.

The SPEAKER. The only vote that could be had is voting the conference report up or down.

Mr. MANN. There will undoubtedly be some controversy over the conference report.

Mr. HOUSTON. I am not able to tell how much time will be consumed. I do not want to get in the way of appropriation bills, but I think we can get through within the hour.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, no; in the first place, we will have to have a quorum, and in the next place, you can not get through in any hour, for I have no doubt there will be a roll call, and in the third place, there will be something of debate.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I am inclined to yield on this proposition, but after this appropriation bill is through I understand the Agricultural bill is ready to go on.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will explain to the gentleman from Tennessee the difference between the gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from South Carolina. The gentleman from Kentucky has more of these appropriation bills that are to be wrought out in committee, and the gentleman from South Carolina has no more.

Mr. HOUSTON. I am willing to yield my request for the present not to interrupt the progress of the bill of the gentleman from Kentucky, but I would like to come in right after the disposition of that bill.

Mr. FERRIS. But, Mr. Speaker, there is a more serious matter than the sweeping of this conference report aside. On January 21 the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HOUSTON] made a hard and fast agreement to bring back this amendment for a separate vote.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has nothing to do with agreements; the conference report is brought in and has to be considered as a whole.

Mr. HOUSTON. I did agree on amendment No. 12, and entered into an agreement to have a separate vote, and also on another amendment, but the other amendment was agreed to, and there is no occasion for a separate vote on that.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Tennessee withdraw his request?

Mr. HOUSTON. I ask the gentleman from Kentucky to yield to me for a minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky has not the floor yet.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FERRIS. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HOUSTON].

Mr. HOUSTON. The agreement was made on the floor of the House that there should be a separate vote on two amendments. One amendment has been agreed to, and hence that occasion no longer exists. As to the other amendments we did not agree to the Senate amendment, but agreed to it in a modified form in a substitute that I thought might be satisfactory. I came to these gentlemen who wanted a separate vote, and they said they would rather have a separate vote. I am willing to have a separate vote, and I will ask unanimous consent that they have a separate vote on that proposition.

Mr. MANN. How can you do that? The conference report is acted on by the House and the Senate. The House can not provide for a separate vote on any amendment on a conference report. The only way for that to be done is for the House to reject the conference report and then have a separate vote and send it back to conference.

Mr. FERRIS. I think the gentleman from Tennessee ought to do that.

Mr. MANN. I think so, too.

Mr. DYER. That was the agreement.

Mr. HOUSTON. If the gentleman will permit, I understand we can do almost anything by unanimous consent. By unanimous consent we can agree to vote on this proposition, and if it is voted down, then, as a matter of course, that is a rejection of the conference report and takes the bill back to conference.

Mr. MANN. If the House and Senate were assembled together, they might possibly bind both bodies by unanimous consent; but the House can not by unanimous consent change a conference report agreed to by the Senate managers and presented to the Senate as a whole. The House can not change that in any way. The only thing that can be done is to vote down the conference report. If a separate vote is to be had, the only way is to vote down the conference report, and then have a separate vote on this amendment, and then send it to conference again. There is no other way of doing.

Mr. GARNER. If you are going to go back to conference, had you not better do it this morning, so that you will be ready to come back to-morrow with another conference report?

Mr. FERRIS. I hope the chairman of the committee will consent to do that. This deals with a matter that is very important. Here is a proposition to give to some 4,000,000 soldiers preference in employment in the Government after they come out of the war, and the hard-and-fast promise was made that we might have a separate vote upon it. But the committee have brought in an entirely independent proposition, which I fear does not render any relief at all to the soldiers.

Mr. DYER. And could deprive every one of the soldiers of getting any job.

Mr. FERRIS. I know the gentleman from Tennessee and the conferees did not intend to do anything of that kind.

Mr. HOUSTON. I am perfectly willing to take any course that will put the conferees in the attitude of keeping perfect good faith with the House, because that is all we have been trying to do. We have offered a substitute the merits of which we thought would be satisfactory. Now, if the proponents of the proposition involved in the separate vote are not willing to accept it, we are not going to insist on it.

Mr. MANN. In view of the gentleman's statement, I suggest to him that he ask unanimous consent to have the conference report considered and rejected.

Mr. FERRIS. Have this report unanimously rejected. That will give us a chance to ask for another conference, and then

you can bring back a different agreement on that one matter and let us have a vote on it.

Mr. MANN. I suppose that would come up later possibly, if there is to be a discussion on that separate amendment.

Mr. HOUSTON. How are we to get a vote on that proposition in the House?

Mr. FERRIS. Report a disagreement as to Senate amendment numbered 12. I greatly hope Senate amendment numbered 12 can be agreed to just as it is. I hope it will not be changed at all. The soldiers are entitled to this preference. It should be given willingly. It is not too much.

Mr. MANN. If the conference report is rejected, then the Senate amendments are pending before the House, and it is in order to move to concur in the Senate, either directly or with an amendment. Perhaps the gentleman does not want to do that right now, but may when he gets to the consideration of it later.

Mr. HOUSTON. Very well, Mr. Speaker, in the interest of peace and harmony I am going to ask that the report may be disagreed to and sent back to conference.

Mr. MANN. I would not do it right now.

Mr. SHERLEY. I suggest to the gentleman not to make that motion at present. After conversation with the various parties in interest the matter may be adjusted.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I withhold the conference report for the present.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

On motion of Mr. SHERLEY the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 15140) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, with Mr. GARNER in the chair.

The Clerk read as follows:

NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.

GENERAL EXPENSES.

Pay, miscellaneous: For commissions and interest, transportation of funds, exchange, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the several acts carrying appropriations thereunder for the fiscal years 1917 and 1918, $1,648,502.72.

For commissions and interest, transportation of funds, exchange, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $5,000,000.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the first item is "Pay, miscellaneous," and it represents an actual deficiency incurred during the years 1917 and 1918.

The second item, of $5,000,000, is an estimated deficiency for the current year, based upon this fact, which pertains to many other items in connection with naval matters: The estimates for the Navy as submitted for the fiscal year 1919 were predicated upon a naval strength of 314,000 men, while the average strength of the Navy for this year will be 445,000 men. In point of fact the Navy strength reached a maximum of 490,000 men. Now, the difference between those two figures results in making deficiencies in a number of items in connection with "Pay, miscellaneous," "Pay of the Navy," and other matters which are dependent upon the size of the personnel for the amounts that need to be expended.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question, please?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. That is based upon the number of men that we are supposed to have and are likely to have in the service during this fiscal year?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. There will be an average this fiscal year of 445,000 men for the Navy, it is estimated. There has been a peak of four hundred and ninety thousand and odd men in the Navy. The estimates as submitted to the Congress were based on a naval strength of 314,000 men for this year.

Mr. BUTLER. I thought the first estimate was for 350,000 men.

Mr. SHERLEY. My information from the hearings is that it was 314,000 men.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not think it is any violation of the rules for me to say to the gentleman that the Naval Affairs Committee have already agreed to report a bill to continue the Navy at 225,000 men. I think the gentleman made reference to that yesterday.

Mr. SHERLEY. That relates, of course, to the coming fiscal year.

Mr. BUTLER. I understand, the next fiscal year.

The Clerk read as follows:

NAVAL EMERGENCY FUND.

For the payment of obligations incurred prior to November 11, 1918, under the naval emergency fund, including the same objects specified for this purpose in the deficiency appropriation act approved October 6, 1917, and the naval appropriation acts for the fiscal years 1918 and 1919, $33,000,000.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, as I stated in the explanation of the bill in connection with the naval emergency fund, there was appropriated by the Congress $315,000,000 for naval emergency purposes. Two hundred and fifteen million dollars of that amount was carried in bills reported by the Committee on Naval Affairs and $100,000,000 of it was carried in a bill reported as a deficiency bill by the Committee on Appropriations, and which became law in October, 1917. There will be found on page 1184 of the hearings a table undertaking to set out in some detail allotments that were made under this appropriation of $315,000,000. In point of fact, there had been an overallotment of some $96,600,000, so that if the Government had carried out at the cost estimated all of the projects that were undertaken in connection with this naval emergency fund the Congress would have been called upon to appropriate an additional amount of $96,000,000. There has been expended out of this fund, as of November 1, 1918, $225,404,963.77. There were unpaid obligations of $186,199,812.11, or an overobligation of $96,604,775.88. There have been deductions by cancellations of $46,710,725. There have been reductions in work that was contemplated, but for which the Government was not obligated, of $16,580,178.81. So that there was a total reduction thereby of $63,290,903.81, which taken from the overobligation of $96,604,775.88 makes an existing deficiency of $33,313,872.07. We carry in this bill $33,000,000 in round figures because necessarily the estimates of odd dollars and cents were simply bookkeeping estimates, and there will be a variation more than sufficient one way or the other to deal with that. The purpose of carrying this money in this bill was to complete the building of destroyers that had been undertaken by the department. There will be found a statement in the hearings as to the amount of construction work that was undertaken by the Navy in connection with the appropriations under the naval emergency fund, and there will be found in the hearings of the Naval Committee, in connection with the Navy bill for 1920, a list of all of these various vessels. The Committee on Appropriations did not duplicate those tables, having before them the knowledge that they had been put into the hearings by the Committee on Naval Affairs. This is the situation briefly as I recall it, and I now refer to the hearings before the Committee on Naval Affairs. There were 76 destroyers, *Nos. 110* to *185*, inclusive, being built under the emergency fund, and destroyers, *Nos. 186* to *335*, inclusive, built under the appropriation "Increase of the Navy." Destroyers, *Nos. 336* to *334*, inclusive, are being built under the emergency funds that we are now dealing with. All of the destroyers that were being built as a result of the Navy emergency fund were in a state of completion running all the way from completion to as low as 22 per cent of completion in the way of hulls and machinery. A number of them had actually been completed. It was stated before the committee that these destroyers were of the modern type, 35-knot speed, that it was the desire of the department to finish them all; that not to finish them would be to waste a great deal of very valuable machinery and material that was in process of construction.

The impression has been held by some that this deficiency was to take care of matters relating to what are commonly described as Eagle boats, or submarine chasers. This is true, that this fund of $315,000,000, voted for the Navy to be spent in the discretion of the President for any purposes in connection with the prosecution of the war by the Navy, as he might see fit, was used for many purposes, including the building of Eagle boats. It is also true that if they were to take the balances that they are holding for the payment of certain work and use them for the payment of other work they could, for instance, pay for these destroyers and then leave to be paid for Eagle boats, or something else. But the matter as presented to the Committee on Appropriations—and there is no conflict, I may say, in the testimony before the Committee on Appropriations and before the Committee on Naval Affairs—showed certain expenditures and certain obligations that had to be met, and among the obligations that had to be met in order to bring them out whole under the emergency fund was $33,000,000 which they figure necessary for the completion of these destroyers. They first stated it as $36,000,000, and they came before the committee and said they expected to get from the naval appropriations committee the $36,000,000 with $25,000,000 more, the latter amount being to put back into condition various boats that had been chartered and taken over by the Navy from private owners, which, under the agreement by which they were taken over, had to be restored to their original condition.

Mr. BUTLER. Made over again.

Mr. SHERLEY. They said they would get the $36,000,000 and the $25,000,000 from the Committee on Naval Affairs in connection with this year's appropriations. I found on examination that they were $3,000,000 too high in their estimate of

the item that is spoken of as the $36,000,000 item, so I brought to the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs that fact, and said that if he were going to allow these two items, instead of allowing $61,000,000 they ought to allow $58,000,000, because the Navy did not need the $3,000,000. Subsequently I was advised by the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs that the committee thought the $33,000,000 was a deficiency and as such ought to be carried by the Committee on Appropriations in this deficiency bill rather than carried in the appropriation for the Navy for the next fiscal year. I thereupon carried this item, and it is my understanding that the Committee on Naval Affairs has cut down the item they were going to carry of $61,000,000 to $25,000,000.

Mr. BUTLER. Twenty million dollars.

Mr. SHERLEY. For the sole purpose that I have indicated, of restoring vessels to the condition they were in when taken over from their owners. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Appropriations has had no option in regard to these matters, and by that I do not mean to imply that there has been anything necessarily done by the Navy in the use of this fund that ought not to have been done under the emergency which existed and confronted the country at the time when we were at war, but they got $315,000,000 and they got it largely upon the proposition that it was to be used for the purpose of building destroyers and other vessels to be used against the submarine menace.

They actually have used this money for a great many purposes. Gentlemen will find by looking at the table in the hearings to which I have referred that a lot of this money went not only to new construction, but it went to supplies and accounts, contingent, vessels purchased, charter of vessels from the Shipping Board, water supply, Hampton Roads, ordnance, navigation, and yards and docks. In point of fact the fund was used as an emergency fund for all manner of purposes in connection with the Navy and the various bureaus of the Navy, and the hearings disclose somewhat in detail all of the uses for which this money was expended and the condition of the balances. Now, when the naval representatives first came before the committee they came with the statement that they needed $125,000,000 as a deficiency to make good their overobligations under the Navy emergency fund. When they got through with the Committee on Appropriations they were satisfied that they needed only the $33,000,000 which we are here appropriating, and that is one of the instances of the value of a detailed examination on the part of officers bringing estimates before the Congress and the requiring of an actual financial showing as to balances.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. I ask for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SHERLEY. There will be found in the hearings a statement as to cancellations, and it will be found as to the number of Eagle boats which were being built by the Ford Co. that they have canceled 52 out of 112 of Eagle boats for which they had contracted. The committee did not go into the question in detail as to whether they could cancel an additional number of these boats, although the statement was made that they had canceled, as far as the physical condition permitted the cancellation, and upon the showing made of the need of this money to complete these destroyers the committee recommends this amount to the Committee of the Whole for its approval.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word—just a formal motion. Mr. Chairman, I wish the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations would permit me to ask him, or I wish that he would make a statement here now in connection with this item, touching any plan he may have in his mind, if he has a plan, by which a nearer association could be had between these military committees and the Committee on Appropriations in the consideration of deficiency appropriations. Before the chairman makes it, however, I want him to know there is no criticism whatsoever of this appropriation. The Navy Department has expended a great deal of this money and obligated the Government to pay more than it has already expended, I suppose. This fund has to be created and made up, and has to be paid out. I very greatly regret, Mr. Chairman, that the chairman of this committee will not be a Member of the next House of Representatives. While he and I are not, perhaps, in entire accord all the way through politically, I want to bear open testimony not only to his diligence while he has been a Member of this House but to his absolute reliability and sensible—yes, brilliant—service, and I do not feel like criticizing any item he might report. The country will need him, as the gentleman from Illinois yesterday well said, badly. While his successor is a Republican and comes on this side, it is my regret that both of them could not be Members of this House. I believe the country will need Mr. SHERLEY in the next session; need men like him. I know it is not fashionable to be an economist and I know it is not popular to stand between the bureaus and the Treasury. Everybody is against such a man; but, nevertheless, we have to drift back to the time when we must be economical or else the people of this country will make up their minds that men who are not at all times doing their best to obtain relief from oppression will be excused from membership in this House. Now, Mr. Chairman, it does seem to me—and I am not looking to any prospective interest whatever, because I do not know I will even be a Member of the House of Representatives or be a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs hereafter—I do want the gentleman before he goes away to say whether or not he has in his mind some plan, some way, by which the appropriations committees can be brought in closer touch with each other when considering deficiency appropriations. I say, without reflection upon anyone connected with these military bureaus, and have absolute confidence in them; but, notwithstanding, I do believe at times appropriations are asked for from these regular committees when the gentlemen asking for them have made up their minds that they would go to another committee and ask a deficiency, and therefore do not submit to the committee having charge of the appropriation originally all of the necessities which required a greater appropriation. If the gentleman will make a reply, I shall be very greatly indebted to him.

Mr. SHERLEY. I shall be glad very briefly to state to the gentlemen and the committee what the situation is as I see it, and what the remedy in a measure is. It is not, of course, fair to judge the work of either the Congress or the departments by the conditions that have existed for the past year, because of the war breaking as it did and the need for action all of us were willing that the departments might have a leeway and might go forward with necessary work rather than to wait upon the deliberations of legislative action. I think that where the departments have exercised proper judgment in things they undertook they are not to be censured, because they did not always wait to have the exact amount of money provided. There have been, however, a few instances in which the disposition on the part of Congress apparently has been availed of by the departments to go forward when they could not come to the Congress in respect to every case.

Now, personally I have never believed in the distribution of appropriation matters among many committees, because I believe that it is impossible for any committee dealing simply with appropriations along certain lines to have that vision touching general expenditures that is necessary to a sound judgment as to whether or not a given thing should be appropriated for. Two questions are always involved in every appropriation. First, is the thing itself desirable? And, second—and frequently the second consideration is more important than the first—assuming that it is desirable, is it permissible, having in view the need of doing other things and the aggregate of the burden that will be placed upon the people if these various things are carried out? In other words, the real thing that is difficult for a legislative body to determine is not simply the value of a proposal itself, but the sum total of burdens that you have a right to place upon the people, having in mind that the Government has nothing of itself and only gets its moneys through tax burdens laid upon the people. Even with our archaic method of appropriations through many committees, I believe that in normal times, and from now on, it ought to be possible for the different bureaus so to present their estimates that they would not create deficiencies. I think there ought to be brought home to them that hereafter men who come with deficiencies will come with a knowledge of the penal statute that has been passed touching the making of deficiencies.

I have endeavored as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to consult informally whenever I could with the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs and the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs and other appropriation committees, in order that the committee might not do the very thing that the gentleman suggests has been possible, giving something that had been refused by the other committees. The Committee on Appropriations ought not to be a court for a rehearing of matters which have been refused by committees having the power to appropriate in the first instance. And I think I can say that it has not been such in the days that I have had charge of it. My own judgment is that you can consolidate appropriations in the hands of one committee, or, at least, you can consolidate the total that may be appropriated by any committee in the hands of one committee. Whenever that is suggested men say, "How on earth are people going to do the work when they have difficulty in doing the work that is even

before them now?" The answer to that lies in this fact, that nine-tenths of the work that is done in the way of examination, the question and answer, would be unnecessary if you had a modern system of bookkeeping and would have a statement of estimates, and an independent audit answerable to the Congress of the United States and not to the administrative branch of the Government. You would then be able by that audit to put your finger upon the sore spot and investigate it. The trouble now is that the Congress, having no other medium, undertakes to prevent abuses by detailed appropriation and detailed restriction, and its time is taken up with many matters that ought to be passed pro forma, with the result that great policies of government can not be dealt with and determined by Congress. And as the years roll around more and more the executive branch of the Government is determining a policy and Congress is being called upon to carry it out by appropriation of money.

Mr. MADDEN. It will be perfectly feasible, I have no doubt, to have subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee to represent each department, and then have the committee itself coordinate all the appropriations?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think that is true, and I think the very fact that you have all matters coming into a central committee would result in the clerical force of that committee keeping check on things for the benefit of the various subcommittees. I know that every subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations constantly has brought to its attention by the clerk and his assistants matters that come in some other bill and yet have a bearing, so that these subcommittees may not cross each other's program or may not recommend something in conflict with the view of another subcommittee. And I want to say now that the Committee on Appropriations, I think, has earned a reputation for efficiency in the Congress, and I do not mean the committee since I have been the chairman of it. It earned that long before I ever came to Congress. For many, many years it has justified the faith of the Congress in its conservatism and its industry. A reason for that is very largely the atmosphere which has grown up in that committee and which every new member, when he comes on it, feels; and it has been handed down from man to man and been made possible largely through the continuity of action and of purpose brought about by the very splendid services of the former clerk and the present clerk of that committee. And much of this efficiency is due to the fact that there is kept for the benefit of the committee continuous information in regard to the activities of the Government that enables the members to pursue a consistent policy. I have seen man after man come on that committee rather liberal in their views touching expenditures, and after coming in touch with the experience of that committee, which runs back forty and more years, become the most conservative, constructive members of the committee.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent for two minutes more. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. BANKHEAD. We are all very much interested in this question, and I would like to ask the chairman whether or not these reforms which he suggests would come in a large measure by changing the rules of the House relative to the matter, or would it require substantial legislation in the nature of a statute?

Mr. SHERLEY. I believe some of them could be made by changing the rules of the House, but I believe it would be reenforced by virtue of the last year's experience. We ought to undertake to do for the Government in connection with the estimates of appropriations exactly what we undertook to do in connection with the financial system of the Government. Men may differ one way or another with the recommendations that were made by the Commission on Monetary Reform, but no man who wants to be frank and candid but what knows that the work that that commission did laid the groundwork that made possible the present banking and currency system.

Now, I believe that it is easily possible—and I hope to do so, if the committee agrees with me—to present to the House, in connection with one of the final deficiency bills, a proposal looking to the appointment of a commission composed of a limited number of Members of the House and the Senate and the Secretary of the Treasury, and giving to them a fund of $100,000 or $200,000, in order that they may have the clerical force necessary to gather together the data to report back to Congress a plan for a financial system.

I do not believe that any plan that is suggested will meet the views of everybody. There will be much that men will take exception to. But if that commission does its work intelligently and has available the technical assistance that it can obtain, it ought to be able to present to the Congress the fundamentals for such a reform. Some of those reforms will require statutory enactment, and some of them will require a change in the rules. If it had been my fortune to be a Member of the next Congress I had hoped to give a great deal of my time to that sort of a reform, which I believe will be the greatest that could possibly be brought about. And if it is brought about, there ought to be easily made a system whereby Congress can ascertain the facts that it is entitled to know without having to try each estimate as we would try a lawsuit. To-day the Parliament of Great Britain does not undertake to specify in detail anything like what Congress does, but the most powerful body in England is the independent audit that exists there, and that is always available to committees on expenditures in Parliament, and through its recommendations and suggestions it enables those committees to go to the sore spots and correct conditions.

Now, we can not adopt the English system as such for many reasons, and we ought not to want to. Every nation works out a plan of its own. It has habits and an evolution that can not be disregarded. But the American people certainly have enough constructive statesmanship to enable them to work out a modern system that will not be out of harmony with our divisions of power and our double legislative bodies. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has again expired.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, will the committee allow me two or three minutes, to ask another question of the gentleman from Kentucky and also obtain his answer in that time?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUTLER. It has been a little bit disappointing to me, Mr. Chairman, while sitting on this one committee that I have served on for 22 years, to find out, after a great effort to limit appropriations to the needs of a department or a particular bureau, that it transpires or appears in the making of the next appropriation bill that the same bureau officers had gone to the Committee on Appropriations for a deficiency. Until the reform that the gentleman speaks of—and I am in entire accord with him, and I know that it is in the right direction—could be brought about, would it not be well to have a subcommittee of the Committee on Naval Affairs and a subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs meet with a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations at the time these deficiencies are being considered, so that these committees having in charge those subjects originally might be able further to inform the Committee on Appropriations what their views might be and what the actions of their committees had been?

Mr. SHERLEY. I have tried a number of times to get members of other committees to confer with me, and I have had difficulty in bringing it about promptly enough to enable me to attend to the business before the committee. I think it ought to be possible to have informal conferences, and a practice might very well grow up of having the Committee on Appropriations present informal memoranda of estimates that are sent to it from the Navy Department to the Committee on Naval Affairs and receive information from the Committee on Naval Affairs, if that committee wanted to submit its views or information in connection with the estimates. They have always been welcome to do it heretofore, and I have welcomed them when they came to me with reference to supplemental estimates that had been submitted. But you are going to get a reform in the way of total expenditures when you determine first the total amount that you will spend for a given purpose.

Mr. BUTLER. Exactly.

Mr. SHERLEY. For instance, if the Navy Department found that it was to have $500,000,000 to spend during a given year and knew that that was going to be the sum total, then you would have every department of the Navy working against every other department to get its share and suggesting methods by which you could cut out unnecessary things. Instead of that, what you have now is each one of the departments pulling together to help increase the sum total.

Mr. BUTLER. Would not that be worked out through the gentleman's plan of a budget system?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. I think that could be worked out through the budget plan I suggested to the Congress a good many years ago and got defeated on.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I make a pro forma amendment in order to obtain some time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois moves to strike out the last two words.

Mr. CANNON. I do not want to take up too much of the time of the House. I have listened to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER] and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] with much interest. A budget system is frequently talked about without much of knowledge. Perhaps you could work it out through the audit referred to, and I have no objection to a commission being created to investigate. The trouble about it, however, is that the term of the Executive is for four years, and the term of a Senator is for six years, and the House entirely must come in or go out every two years.

Now, in Great Britain and, so far as I know, in all other countries having a budget system, so called, when the budget is turned down the ministry preparing it goes to the country and inside of 60 or 90 days the ministry is either sustained or turned down. If it is not sustained, when they come to return the members of the House of Commons, for instance, of Great Britain a new ministry is formed, and there you have a response to the public sentiment by a fairly prompt change of the policy of the Government touching the matter or general matters that are referred to. Without an amendment to our Constitution we can not have that.

I should be very glad to see—and still I do not have much hope for it—all the appropriation bills handled by one committee. I think perhaps you might make a committee of 12 or 14 or 16 and then let the various committees charged with legislation take the chairman of the committee and the head of the minority into consultation when the bill for that department is being perfected, and after full consideration you could come to some kind of an agreement.

I had some experience away back yonder when Speaker Carlisle was first elected Speaker. There was a contest as to whether Carlisle or Randall should be Speaker. Both were good Democrats, except that Randall was not "orthodox"; he was a protection Democrat. Mr. Carlisle defeated him, under the leadership, in their caucus and in the House, of my former colleague, William R. Morrison, a man of extraordinary ability. He wanted to go at the head of Ways and Means, and did. You could not turn Randall down, because he had a very strong following on his own side of the House, and he went to Appropriations.

Morrison, as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, reported a tariff bill which bore his name and was popularly known as the Morrison horizontal bill. It was supposed to have the support of the Democrats in the House and that of the President, but Mr. Randall, who was an outspoken protectionist, and a score more of Democrats voted with the Republicans and struck out the enacting clause, defeating the first effort of a Democratic House to enact tariff legislation. Morrison did not forget nor forgive Randall, and when the Forty-ninth Congress met he proposed a new rule distributing the appropriation bills. That rule was adopted, not as an economic reform, but as political revenge, to cripple the man who had been three times Speaker and was then chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. The Democrats concluded to cripple him, and divided the bills as they are now divided under the rules of the House. Well, what was the result? In the Fifty-first Congress I was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and we had followed suit, you know. They had divided on the bills when Mr. Carlisle was Speaker. I called together all the chairmen of committees that had appropriation bills to consult as to what the revenues were and see if we could not come to an agreement. Nothing doing. Each chairman was like a hen with one chicken. You know a hen with 1 chicken makes more fuss than a hen with 16 chickens. The motherly hen with 16 chickens marches with dignity and clucks occasionally, and the chickens follow; but the hen with one chicken runs the legs off her poor little chick, worrying and bothering around, and does not have any regard for any other mother hen with 16 chickens.

Mr. BUTLER. How about a hen with no chicken at all?

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman is an expert in poultry matters, and I will not answer his question according to the facts. In private I will answer him. [Laughter.]

Now, what has happened? As it was under the former rules the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on Naval Affairs, and so on, were chargeable with legislation. When the appropriation bills were reported they could come into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and criticize and move to amend, and the Committee of the Whole, after discussion, amended or failed to amend, according to conditions. Well, now, what has happened? The practice has grown up that each committee chargeable with legislation just hitches its appropriation onto the legislation, and as the money has got to be appropriated, the legislation is frequently dragged through without sufficient consideration. That does not result to the public good. If I had power I would go back and adopt the rules that we had before the disagreement between the two wings of the Democratic Party in the Forty-ninth Congress, which divided these bills. I would go back and adopt the rules that we had then. Oh, there are 435 of us now, and I have no idea that I can work it out. We will have to have a commission and full consideration; but I would have responsibility with power concentrated, so as properly to organize the House of Representatives, subject to the action of the House in indorsing the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Naval training station, Great Lakes: For maintenance of naval training station, Great Lakes, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $457,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Will the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations inform the House as to what is contemplated in the way of improvements at this largest of all naval training stations, that located at Great Lakes, Ill.? I know they have had as high as nearly 50,000 apprentices and seamen there during the peak of the training season for the war. What is contemplated now in this appropriation aggregating nearly half a million dollars?

Mr. SHERLEY. This particular item of $457,000 is purely for maintenance. They submitted an item for $1,250,000, which included both maintenance and betterment at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. The committee had pretty full hearings in connection with all of the training stations, and I do not know anything concerning which we had as much difficulty in coming to a real understanding and conclusion.

Now, the situation broadly is this: The Navy went ahead with all of these various training stations and created them and enlarged them by various work, undertaken without having come to Congress for any appropriation; and twice in the past they came to the Committee on Appropriations and represented that they had spent certain moneys and that we must appropriate to pay the bills because the money was actually spent. They came once just two days before an adjournment was to take place, with an estimate that the committee very promptly threw out of doors because we were furnished with no information as to the money that the department wanted to spend. The result of that was that they just went ahead and spent it anyway and came back with estimates for actual deficiencies. Now, I can not tell the gentleman from memory what is the situation at Great Lakes Training Station, but the gentleman will find on page 453 of the hearings a statement totaling $1,750,000 for various and sundry purposes in connection with Great Lakes Training Station. Instead of allowing that, what we did was to allow the amount of $457,000, which it was estimated was necessary as a maintenance fund proper, and then when it came to the question of maintenance under the Bureau of Yards and Docks for all of the naval stations we gave them $6,000,000, which amount was supposed to be sufficient to take care of the construction work that had to be carried through at these various stations. Now, I have this impression in regard to these various naval stations: That a great deal of work incident to the war has been undertaken, and that every commandant at every one of these yards is now desirous of going forward with that work irrespective of the termination of the war, and I believe that the Committee on Naval Affairs, who seem to be desirous of undertaking additional work, including the deficiency estimates, could do no better work than to go into all these expenditures. In point of fact I am not at all sure but what it would be well worth the while of the Congress to have a committee of two or three members of the Committee on Naval Affairs to visit these various stations and to ascertain the actual conditions. It is almost impossible to obtain the information from a recital by witnesses. We cut down the amount quite considerably.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman inform the House what was the total estimate asked by the Bureau of Yards and Docks, which, I believe, has charge of the building and enlargement of these various stations?

Mr. SHERLEY. The Bureau of Yards and Docks asked for $6,500,009, as I recall, and in asking that they figured an expenditure of about $1,000,000 at Great Lakes. To that extent that $1,000,000 was a duplicate of estimates made for the Great Lakes. What we did was to give them $6,000,000, as against the

$6,500,000 they asked for, and to eliminate $700,000 of the estimate from the Great Lakes Station. So that if you were to take all of the estimates made by the various training stations and the Bureau of Yards and Docks together it would total in round figures nearly seven and a quarter million dollars.

Mr. STAFFORD. The committee virtually shaved the estimates to the extent of a million and a quarter dollars.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is all we could do. It was not possible to come to a conclusion without a physical examination and very detailed statements. We had the various commandants of these yards come before us. There are a good many pages of testimony as to conditions, but here is the situation, the gentleman is familiar with it: A man says certain work has been undertaken and that it is necessary to complete it. You may think it is unnecessary to complete it, but unless it is a very glaring case and the fellow lacks the ingenuity that most of them possess of making a plausible case, you are defenseless. What we thought is this: I got an impression from the hearings before the committee that the present head of the Bureau of Yards and Docks has a real appreciation of economy and desires to hold down expenditures. He was one of the few officers who voluntarily called to the attention of the committee moneys not needed which could be eliminated. Therefore, instead of giving to this particular station the money that could be expended, we lumped the money under the control of the Bureau of Yards and Docks and placed the responsibility upon him, to see to it that the moneys are expended only as needed. Then, by giving him an amount less than all the yards needed, we put the yards bidding against each other and thereby bringing about economy.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think that was the only practical course to follow.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. I want to call the attention of the chairman of this committee to one item in this bill, and I hope what I may say will make an impression on him. That is in regard to this appropriation for the little training station in California at Yerba Buena Island. It is found on page 11. I know that this money has been spent or obligated at this point—I believe honestly spent—and I have no criticism to make, but it is a disappointment to find a definite appropriation for a place that we anticipate may soon be abandoned.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, that was a deficiency that occurred last year.

Mr. BUTLER. I have been endeavoring, with my colleague from Michigan [Mr. KELLEY] and others, to hold down appropriations on these small places.

Mr. SHERLEY. This was the situation here——

Mr. BUTLER. I do not ask the gentleman to make any explanation, for I know his explanation will be reasonable.

Mr. SHERLEY. They had 4,500 men there, and it required a great deal of maintenance and construction in order to take care of them, and they ran over to the extent of $22,000.

Mr. BUTLER. If we had our hand on it and had it in mind, if they had stated to us in the last appropriation bill that they would need this money and that they would like to have us make that appropriation——

Mr. SHERLEY. I doubt very much if they knew it. They were expending so fast and working at these places under such pressure that they never knew from week to week what their balance was.

Mr. BUTLER. I have no criticism to make; I know what we have gone through. We have all been feverish, greatly disturbed and agitated, but I want to promise the gentleman from Kentucky that if I am a member of the Naval Committee in the next House I will, for one, make an effort to have methods of proving estimates and obtaining appropriations corrected.

Mr. SHERLEY. While I am on my feet I want to make a suggestion to the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the Committee on Naval Affairs, and that is I believe that if they will investigate into the practice that has grown up under the authority given some years ago at the instance of the Committee on Naval Affairs, touching general account of advances, they will find that it is a method that does not give the Congress proper control over funds but enables the Naval Establishment to build up reserves without the knowledge of this House and puts a premium on expenditure of all moneys that are appropriated here rather than to have any balances turned back into the Treasury. Every time you examine a naval officer upon that point he squirms and boxes the compass, but the fact remains that they are constantly building up reserves through that medium, and you can not make something out of nothing.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I would like to ask a question about the item on page 12, the naval training station on the Great Lakes. I have just sent for the appropriation act for 1919. What is the exact purpose of this appropriation?

Mr. SHERLEY. I explained that a few moments ago.

Mr. LITTLE. I was not in the House at that time.

Mr. SHERLEY. The purpose was to take care of the maintenance for the balance of the year—maintenance, buildings, repairs, water system—just the upkeep account.

Mr. LITTLE. Is this to be a permanent station?

Mr. SHERLEY. It has been a permanent station and will always be, probably, one of the great stations of the Navy.

Mr. LITTLE. There have been a great many boys sent there from our country to be trained for the war and they have not been sent home. Can the gentleman give us any information as to when and how soon they are to be sent home? The officers seem to think that though the boys were sent there to learn something of war they ought to be kept there indefinitely, at their sweet will. Of course, I understand the station is a permanent one. What I seek to ascertain is as to the disposition to make the temporary war-time conditions permanent, so that some officers shall have more authority and larger commands.

Can the gentleman give me any information as to when they are going to send those boys home? What the plans are?

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the committee had some hearings about that from the Bureau of Navigation and from various officers. The Navy claims that it is in a situation that is different from that of the Army, that a good part of its task increased or at least remained as great after the armistice as during the war time, that they have to move all of the soldiers back home, and that they are also looked to to supply the personnel for the merchant marine. They insist that they can not demobilize down to the last man or go back immediately to the condition that existed prior to the war, that as far as they are concerned they are practically operating upon a war basis, excluding the ships that were overseas in active war work, just as much now as they were some months ago, and I think it is somewhat true.

I realize the protests that have been made. I have received a number of them myself, as all of us have, and I have been told—and this is in the hearings—that these commandants at these various stations will investigate the conditions surrounding the individual applicant for discharge, and where they can without hurt to the service release him, they will do so, but that of necessity it is going to be a slower process than it would seem necessary to the average man, who does not know what the burdens are that have been placed upon them.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, there seems to be a tendency down there to believe that they can keep men indefinitely who were sent there for war purposes. If the officers have such an exaggerated idea of their power as that, and show this arbitrary disposition to handle the young men from out West, who ought now to be in school or at work, whom they are arbitrarily keeping from school or from useful occupations—keeping them there at such work as shoveling coal when they could secure in Chicago plenty of men who are out of work to do it—then it is a most unfortunate situation. There can be but one result of that, and that is to bring to the American mind, at least to the mind of the people whose sons are held in violation of the contract, the idea that these men are purely an arbitrary set of men, who are not fit to be intrusted with the funds or the youth of this Republic. If the friends of the Navy expect very much support from the agricultural sections of the country, where the people pay the taxes to support the Navy, they may believe that when war is on we will do everything we can; but they should also realize that when peace comes the Navy becomes of comparatively small moment as compared with the general necessities. The farmers and the business men run the schools and support this Navy, and if the Navy is going to proceed in the way of getting in the way of the schools and the farmers, then that attitude is bound to result in the feeling against it that will make it difficult for any Congressman from such a community to support it. If the Navy has any friends in this House, and it has many, I hope they will explain to these people that they can not expect to get good results from the taxpayers who are treated in this arbitrary manner. I shall not make any objection to this appropriation, although sometimes I think it ought to be done; but I do hope we will not be placed in a position where we can not do for the Navy what we want to do because of arbitrary, egotistical, martinet methods of some petty gentlemen who do not seem to realize that in time of peace they are about the smallest cogs in the machinery of this great Republic. This country is conducted purely for the benefit of those who fight its battles in war, pay its taxes in peace, and support its families from generation to generation, not to please

immaculate personages whose existence actually depends on the labors of those whose sons they appropriate when they should be in school or at work earning the money to pay the salaries of the immaculates.

The Clerk read as follows:

BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

Engineering: For repairs, preservation, and renewal of machinery, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1916, $30,882.14.

For repairs, preservation, and renewal of machinery, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $4,300,000.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman of the committee about this entire appropriation for steam engineering, the whole amount being $4,300,000. Just what is it for?

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, it is really a repair item in connection with the ships that have been in commission and that need to be repaired, and the gentlemen will find on page 565 of the hearings the statements of Rear Admiral Robert S. Griffin, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, and Admiral Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair. As I recall the testimony, they had had under the heading of engineering something like $107,000,000 and they had expended about $65,000,000 and had about $42,000,000 as an unexpended balance. They had $13,000,000 worth of outstanding obligations, which left them a free balance of something over $28,000,000. They estimated that with the number of ships that had been in commission and that were coming in for repairs that sum would be insufficient, and they asked for this additional amount in order to make these repairs. I did my best to convince Admiral Griffin that he would not need all of that amount of money, and in point of fact the committee did cut him down from an estimate of something like $8,000,000 for additional moneys to $4,300,000. Three million dollars of that cut, however, represents $3,000,000 which was intended to be expended in the creation of a radio station south of the sleet line, and I am very glad the gentleman's inquiry has brought this to my attention. It is proper that I call attention to it in order that the House, if it does not agree with the judgment of the committee, may increase the amount by $3,000,000. It was testified by Admiral Griffin that it was desirable to have an additional wireless station. It was originally undertaken as a war measure, having in mind the difficulty of always using wireless stations now owned by the Government in time of severe winter weather.

The severe weather of last winter seriously handicapped, at times, the use of wireless. It was determined, therefore, that it was desirable to have a station south of the sleet line, and that it was also desirable to have a very powerful station for use in connection with the South American countries. It developed before the committee that no moneys had actually been expended in regard to the building of this station. It may be that moneys had been expended under other appropriations in the procurement of land, but no money had been expended for the building of the station proper. The committee felt, under those conditions—although it was very strongly urged by the Navy Department that this should be carried out as a peacetime proposal and as a desirable thing—that it was a matter that ought to be left to the Committee on Naval Affairs to function on, and if, after a hearing, they saw fit to appropriate the money for that purpose, that they could do so. We were taking back moneys that were not needed. If this matter had been one in which expenditures had been made to such an extent as to make it necessary that it be completed, the committee would have acted. It is the one instance in which they found a situation involving a large sum of money proposed to be expended but which has not been expended at all, and they therefore cut the estimate of the Bureau of of Steam Engineering $3,000,000 in order to eliminate this expenditure until Congress should affirmatively authorize it.

Mr. ROWE. Did the committee understand that of this sum mentioned in the second line, page 17, $4,300,000, that $1,450,000 had been paid for the purchase of the ship-to-shore stations of the Marconi Co.?

Mr. SHERLEY. They understood there had been paid a million and a half dollars for the Marconi stations. The gentleman will find that in the testimony on page 565.

Mr. ROWE. I have that testimony. Does the gentleman know what those stations are used for?

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, I assume they are used——

Mr. ROWE. Are they part of the Navy?

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, if they take them over they are a part of the Navy. Now, there was a situation like a good many others that came up. The Committee on Appropriations did not feel that it had the right to undertake to determine upon whether or not the Marconi stations ought to have been taken over. To have come to a conclusion about that would have required very considerable hearings.

Mr. ROWE. Did the gentleman know that such a bill had been introduced and had a hearing before the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. ROWE. On January 17; and they refused to report it.

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes, I know; but I did not know they had refused to report it. I knew they had not reported it.

Mr. ROWE. That was for the very purpose of purchasing these stations?

Mr. SHERLEY. I have no doubt what the gentleman says is accurate. What does the gentleman think the committee ought to have done?

Mr. ROWE. Admiral Griffin testified before the Appropriations Committee, did he not, that the Marconi Co. had not been paid for these stations?

Mr. SHERLEY. What he said was this:

We have recently taken over all the Marconi stations, but have not paid for them yet. We will pay for them from this appropriation.

Then I asked him:

At what cost?

And he answered:

A little less than $1,500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ROWE. I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ROWE. Your hearing was on December 10, and on December 12 Secretary Daniels, before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, testified, in talking about the Marconi system:

We paid $1,400,000.

And he was corrected, and said "$1,450,000."

That is in reference to Marconi stations; and then he also testified they paid $1,600,000 for the Federal Co. Is that also a part of this appropriation under the Bureau of Steam Engineering?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; it is none of it a part of the $4,300,000, except in this sense: We assumed if they did not pay for these various things they probably would have money to that extent so as to reduce the $4,300,000, but they did not say they wanted the $4,300,000 for this direct purpose, but I got the impression that, whether or not they were going actually to pay for these, they had entered into obligations for the purchase of these Marconi stations, and, therefore, that will be an obligation upon the Government. Now, I have no opinion one way or the other whether they ought or ought not to pay for these stations, except the general belief that the less we buy of commercial enterprises the better for the Government. We developed the facts as best we could as to what uses they had made of the various sums, but the committee did not feel that it was warranted in undertaking affirmatively to say that a thing of that sort should not be done. We developed the facts, and then if the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries wants to report out a bill or take any action to prevent this, why I should think they would proceed so to do.

Mr. ROWE. In the hearings before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Mr. HADLEY asked the Secretary of the Navy:

I would like to ask the Secretary at this point what is the specific item in the naval appropriation bill which carries the fund for that payment?

Secretary DANIELS. I have forgotten the title of it, but it is in the appropriation under the Bureau of Steam Engineering, which has direction and control of all radio matters. Under that appropriation we buy a tug, under that appropriation we buy a radio station whenever the Chief of Operations of the Navy and the General Board feel it ought to have them.

Mr. SHERLEY. No; the gentleman is mistaken in that statement. What happened is this: We asked these departments to get up a table showing the amount of moneys they had received for different purposes. They made a statement showing the amount of money that they had received for engineering under the Bureau of Steam Engineering. Then they showed of that sum of money a given sum had been expended and that there was a Treasury balance of a certain sum and that they had obligations to a certain amount. We then undertook as far as we could to ascertain what the available balance was to be used for, but we did not go into the question of what moneys had already been expended, because as far as the committee's work was concerned that was water that had passed under the bridge and there was nothing we could do about it.

Now, they set out the various expenditures that they have made or have to make, and they showed that in order to go

forward, assuming they carried on these various activities, they would require a certain amount of money for the rest of the fiscal year. That amount was stated as $8,000,000. Now, one of the items that went to make that $8,000,000 was this $3,000,00 I have spoken of. Inasmuch as that was a new thing, that had not been started, with no third-party obligation involved, we said, "You will not need that, and we can cut that much. And we think some of the other general statements as to the cost of repairs of ships, and so forth, and maintenance of radio stations could stand a little paring." And so we cut them, leaving the amount of $4,300,000.

But in order that we might not be misunderstood I took care in writing the report for the committee to expressly state that moneys that we left we did not mean should be usable for any particular purpose, and that we neither recommended nor disapproved those purposes. We left it for Congress to take such action as it saw fit in trying to develop the fact. Now, I am perfectly willing that Congress, if it does not desire to have these stations taken over, and knows how much obligation the Government has incurred that it can be relieved of, should legislate and say so. But it seems to me it would be asking almost an impossible task of the Committee on Appropriations to function on all of these various activities.

Mr. ROWE. I would like to ask one other question. Would the Committee on Appropriations feel under obligation to the Director of Railroads if he had bought the Baltimore & Ohio to appropriate the sum in a deficiency bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. If the Director of Railroads had bought the Baltimore & Ohio under authority of law.

Mr. ROWE. You are putting in a word there——

Mr. SHERLEY. I want to answer. If he had bought the Baltimore & Ohio under authority of law, so as to make a valid obligation upon the Government, I think the Congress would have to appropriate the money to pay that obligation.

Mr. ROWE. Suppose he had not that authority?

Mr. SHERLEY. If he had not the authority of law, I would not vote him the money for that purpose, and I am not voting any money yet for the purpose of paying for Marconi stations.

Mr. WHITE of Maine. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITE of Maine. Does the gentleman understand that under this item for the Bureau of Steam Engineering in the last naval appropriation bill there is any authority given to the Secretary of the Navy to take over this Marconi system throughout the country?

Mr. SHERLEY. I neither know whether there is or is not. I have not examined into the question.

Mr. WHITE of Maine. My impression is that there is not, and I find that at the end of that particular section it provides that the sum to be paid out of the appropriation for purchase of land or sites for radio shore stations shall not exceed $10,000. The difficulty, it seems to me, is that the Navy Department goes out and expands and arrogates to itself powers the Congress has never given to it, and then it comes in here and asks that the things it has done without authority of law shall be ratified by an appropriation to take care of its expenditures.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman is drawing a conclusion that is not warranted by facts in this instance. The appropriation of $4,300,000 does not add one iota to the power that may or may not exist in regard to the expenditure of money for stations. And the $10,000 limitation to which the gentleman refers would be a limitation on this $4,300,000 just as much as it was on the original sum.

Mr. WHITE of Maine. The trouble, as I understand the situation, is that in asking for this $4,300,000 it was suggested that one of the purposes to which that fund should be applied was to pay for the Marconi station which had been purchased by the department at the expenditure of approximately $1,500,000.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think the gentleman has misread the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SHERLEY. The hearing does not disclose that all or any part of this $4,300,000 was asked. In point of fact, that was not the sum they asked. What they testified was that with the moneys they heretofore received they expected, at a cost of $1,500,000 to take over the Marconi system. Now, as to whether they have the power or not, I have only this to say—that if they have not, they will not get by the Comptroller, and they can not use that fund. If they have, unless Congress indicates that they should not use it, I presume they can and will. The committee has no recommendation, because it did not undertake to function on whether or not the Marconi system should be taken. Now, we developed all the information we could—and that was simply incidental to a lot of other matters—as to expenditures that were to be made on properties to be bought by the Bureau of Steam Engineering. And if the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries feels itself justified in recommending to the Congress that the money should not be spent for such purpose, why, then, I hope they will bring such a matter to the House for consideration. If they say there is no law by which it can be spent, then I answer by saying that nothing in this bill creates the power.

Mr. WHITE of Maine. If the gentlemen will yield, I wish to say that in my judgment that is precisely what the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries has in effect done. In the last Congress the Secretary of the Navy appeared before the committee and asked for legislation authorizing the taking over of the radio stations of this country, and the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries at that time refused to report any such bill. The department came before the committee in the pending session of Congress and asked for like legislation.

The Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries unanimously laid that proposed legislation upon the table. The Secretary told us at that time that they had done this thing under the appropriation for steam engineering, carried in the naval appropriation act. As I read that act there is no authority for that action on the part of the Navy Department, and it looks to me as though it was now coming in here in this deficiency bill and getting a sum of money to pay for a thing which it had no right to buy; and when an appropriation is made and a sum of money is placed at its disposal which can be used for that purpose, then the Congress, so it seems to me, is ratifying an unjustifiable action on the part of the department. I express that opinion with great deference, because I have had very little experience here.

Mr. SHERLEY. I may be mistaken as to this, because I have not gone into this particular matter, but it is my understanding and my certain knowledge that the voting of this $4,300,000 does not in any sense enlarge the power which may or may not exist on the part of the Secretary of the Navy to take over the Marconi stations, because the language of the appropriation is this:

For repairs, preservation, and renewal of machinery, and so forth, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $4,300,000.

Now, if the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919 does not confer the power to take over these stations, manifestly the voting of moneys for the same purpose can not confer the power.

Now, here is the difficulty that confronts the Congress, not only as to this instance, but as to many others, and as to which I think there ought to be affirmative functioning by the Congress: As to any matter which the Navy or the Army proposes to go forward with that the Congress thinks it ought not to go forward with, the Congress ought by affirmative legislation to say to the departments that they shall not go forward, for this reason: It is practically impossible to reach the matter financially. Here great sums have been appropriated for broad, general purposes. The taking away of any particular sum from these large amounts would still leave sums so vast that they could still be used for some purpose that the Congress would not want them to be used for. We are very much in the situation of a man who may have a lake of many hundreds of acres that can be used for the irrigation of thousands of acres of land. If he draws off a certain amount of water on the theory that he does not want to irrigate a certain section of the land it does not follow that there is not still enough water to irrigate that section, although some other section may be neglected. The same is true here. If you take away a little sum from them they have still got moneys enough to go ahead with those things; and the way to reach them is to affirmatively prevent them from doing it.

Now, if the Committee on Appropriations had come in here and said that they shall not do this or that or the other thing, every committee in this House would have been on our backs, saying that we undertake the functions of the entire House. I share very much the gentleman's own view, without having gone into it very much, against taking over the Marconi stations. My impression has been against it, just as my impression has been against the taking over of many other commercial activities by the Government. But for the committee to have refused to grant this sum of money would simply not have reached the matter, but would have denied them moneys which they claimed they needed for certain purposes.

Mr. ROWE. But this is not the only item—this item of $4,300,000. There is an item of $1,600,000 besides that spent for the purchase of the Federal Co., which, before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, the Secretary himself testified he had purchased and paid for. That is coming out of some fund or other. If we are to pass appropriations like this for deficiencies we thereby pay for something that we would not have done as a House and which we had not authorized.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman in one breath says that the Navy Department has bought something and then in the next breath he says we pass over a fund to buy something that we would not have authorized the payment for.

Mr. ROWE. The gentleman is mistaken. The Federal Co., he testified, he had paid for.

Mr. SHERLEY. I will ask the gentleman what he would do?

Mr. ROWE. I would strike out the appropriation on the next page of $4,300,000.

Mr. SHERLEY. What effect would that have as to money paid to the Federal Co.?

Mr. ROWE. It would be notice to the Secretary of the Navy not to go on and buy other plants. It would not give them the money.

Mr. SHERLEY. That may be. We have not given them the money to squander, assuming that it has been squandered, for the purpose of buying these various wireless stations.

Mr. MANN. They say they are going to do it out of this money.

Mr. SHERLEY. They say that out of the moneys they now have certain amounts are to be expended for certain purposes.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, it may be possible that we are discussing the paragraph a little early, because it is to the next paragraph in the bill that we are really directing attention. The current naval appropriation act contains an item under the head of "Bureau of Steam Engineering," which I shall not read in full, because it is a long item, but I shall read all that in any possible way could be taken as referring to the subject matter. I read:

Engineering: For repairs, preservation, and renewal of machinery, auxiliary machinery, and boilers of naval vessels, yard craft, and ships' boats, distilling and refrigerating apparatus; repairs, preservation, and renewals of electric interior and exterior signal communications and all electrical appliances of whatsoever nature on board naval vessels—

Except certain things; then—

searchlights and fire-control equipments for antiaircraft defense at shore stations; maintenance and operation of coast signal service, including expenses of office of director of naval communications and the purchase of land as necessary for sites for radio shore stations—

And so forth—

instruments and apparatus, supplies, and technical books and periodicals necessary to carry on experimental and research work in radiotelegraphy at the naval radio laboratory.

The paragraph is long and goes into very detailed particulars. It authorizes repairs, preservation, and renewals of electrical interior and exterior signal communications and all electrical appliances of whatsoever nature on board naval vessels, except certain electrical appliances on vessels, purely internal. Then it provides for purchase of technical books and apparatus for experimental and research work in radiotelegraphy at the naval radio laboratory. It authorizes the purchase of land for radio stations, with a proviso that not more than $10,000 of the appropriation shall be used for that purpose, and it makes an appropriation for everything of $50,000,000.

Mr. JUUL. From what is the gentleman quoting?

Mr. MANN. I am reading the paragraph in the naval appropriation law now current. Now, there is not a line in this particularly detailed appropriation which authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to buy anything connected with the radiotelegraph, except for maintenance and certain things for experiment, and $10,000 for land.

Utterly regardless of law, in violation of the law, for which he ought to be impeached and removed from office—and it is not unlikely that he may be—he has gone ahead and spent money out of this appropriation for the purchase of radio systems—or at least, it is stated, one system—and has agreed to spend $1,500,000 for the purchase of another system. He came before this Congress and asked authority to make these purchases and was refused the authority. If he had the authority he did not need to ask Congress for it, and the failure of Congress to legislate on the subject is a refusal of authority. He was refused the authority, and then calmly, without any excuse except his own will, he proceeds, in violation of the law and in contempt of the Appropriations Committee and of Congress, to spend part of the money appropriated, and to obligate the Government, as he says, to make a further appropriation to carry out his illegal program.

Now, I am not criticizing the Committee on Appropriations. They did not have very much information before them on this subject. The Appropriations Committee, in the consideration of a deficiency bill, consider practically all the activities of the Government. They do not have a great deal of time to spend on one item.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MANN. I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman's request will be granted.

There was no objection.

Mr. MANN. They had short hearings on this subject. The Navy Department sent an estimate asking for a little over $8,000,000 and a deficiency appropriation under this item, the Bureau of Steam Engineering. I now read from their estimate:

For repairs, preservation, and renewal of machinery, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $8,109,433.

There is nothing in that to call the attention of the Committee on Appropriations to what it was for. There is nothing in the original item to call the attention of anybody to what it is proposed to use this money for. The wildest dreamer in a nightmare would not have supposed that there was any authority in this original $50,000,000 appropriation for the purchase of radio systems, and there is not any such authority. But the Secretary of the Navy, having been turned down by the committee of the House with legislative jurisdiction over this subject, the House committee having unanimously rejected his proposals, he proceeds in another way, and an admiral—I suppose he was an admiral—comes before the Committee on Appropriations and makes several statements. Under the request for this item in this bill, "Marconi stations," the chairman says:

None of that has been paid for.

Admiral GRIFFIN. Some has. I suppose five or six hundred thousand dollars. We have recently taken over all the Marconi stations, but have not paid for them yet. We will pay for them from this appropriation.

He is talking about the estimate of $8,000,000 that he is asking for—

The CHAIRMAN. At what cost?

Admiral GRIFFIN. A little less than $1,500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. They are to be Government owned?

Admiral GRIFFIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it proposed to own all the wireless stations in America?

Admiral GRIFFIN. I think the Secretary wants to do that.

And so forth.

Mr. SHERLEY. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. MANN. I will when I am through here. I think we will make better progress in that way. Then I will be very glad to yield.

Admiral Griffin, again in another part of the hearing a little later, talking about the amount of money that he wanted for a deficiency appropriation, says—

To this are added the issues to ships, the upkeep of radio stations, new radio stations, the purchase which we have made of the Marconi stations, and an estimate for our European expenditures.

Still talking about the appropriation he was asking for, including the purchase from the Marconi Co. And again, on page 577—

The CHAIRMAN. What amount of money are you figuring to spend on radio stations?

Admiral GRIFFIN. We will spend $4,550,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the occasion for all that expenditure?

Admiral GRIFFIN. One million four hundred and fifty thousand dollars is for the purchase of the Marconi shore stations, which we have already effected. Three million dollars is for the erection of radio stations at Monroe, N. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Who authorized that?

Admiral GRIFFIN. The President.

The CHAIRMAN. To be paid for from what funds?

Admiral GRIFFIN. From "Engineering."

The CHAIRMAN. Did Congress ever authorize it?

Admiral GRIFFIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by the President has authorized it?

Admiral GRIFFIN. He approved it. The Secretary took that up with him and he approved the erection of a station there.

Seeking to lay the blame on the President, whom I am willing to acquit. The President approved the location of a radio station at Monroe, N. C., but the President did not undertake to say there was any appropriation for it. He was lied to by somebody. He did not examine the appropriation bill to find that there was no such authority there in the law. On the contrary, there was authority to spend $10,000, and only $10,000, out of $50,000,000 for the purchase of land for a radio station. They seek to hide under the cover of the President authorizing this to be done. He did not authorize it. He approved the location.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. MANN. I ask for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANN. Now, the Committee on Appropriations cut out the $3,000,000 for that station, properly, and I think the House ought to cut out the balance of it.

Mr. BUTLER. Every dollar of it.

Mr. MANN. It is proposed to spend $1,450,000 out of this appropriation to pay the Marconi system people for the job that they have unloaded on the Government. Of course, we could refuse to appropriate the $1,450,000, but that would not do any good. They would pay the Marconi system out of the appropriations already made, and use the deficiency appropriation for necessary things between now and June 30. The only way to prevent them from spending the $1,450,000 is to strike this paragraph out of the bill entirely. This is not the last deficiency bill that will be reported to this House. There will be a general deficiency bill at the end of this session of Congress. There will be plenty of time for the Committee on Appropriations to ascertain from these men in the Navy Department—and I came pretty near using another word than men, crooks in this connection—what they want the deficiency appropriation for, and to provide that it shall not be given to them if they have meanwhile squandered, stolen, the $1,450,000 which they have illegally agreed to pay to the Marconi system. [Applause.] We will give them all the money they legally and properly need; we will give them all the money that they can legitimately use. I never in my experience in this House have seen such wanton contempt of Congress as is exhibited in this transaction. The Secretary of the Navy, swelled with his important position, properly so, probably, desires to have the Navy control all the wireless systems, as another gentleman desires to have the Government control all the land telegraph systems, and Congress having declined to give him that authority, he goes ahead and executes his authority regardless of law. When Congress has turned him down in its legislative committee he walks into the appropriation room and, through subterfuge, attempts to get the money to carry out the transaction, illegal to begin with, and only made legal when we appropriate money for it. If we appropriate the money for it, the transaction is legitimatized. If we do not appropriate the money, he has been guilty of a high misdemeanor in his office, for which he ought to be punished. [Applause.]

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, almost every day I am here I have more reason to think that this House should be more careful in investigating the evidence upon which it appropriates money. Oftentimes it is based purely on the statement of some little fellow down in the department, the value of whose statement depends on the common sense of the man who makes it. I have in my hand a clipping from a paper known as the Official Bulletin of the Great Lakes Station handed me by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. CHANDLER], who is under the weather to-day, and does not feel like giving it the attention it deserves. This bulletin is a paper that is evidently paid for by the taxpayers' money appropriated by this Congress, and placed in the hands of the naval authorities. I find one of its principal purposes is to discredit the representatives of the American people with the money that the representatives vote from the taxpayers to enable these little fellows to print these bulletins. They say here, at the top of the column, "Orders and notices appearing under this heading have received the approval of the commandant and are official." The commandant is discussing the question of discharging men from the service who enlisted with the expectation of serving through the war and who want to go home, go to school, or go to work. It appears that they have, so this clipping reads, a "plan now being observed which seeks to effect the granting of such requests according to the degree of urgency existing in each case as determined by the statements of the applicants, supporting affidavits, and the investigation of the heads of departments, regimental commanders, and other immediate superiors." If these men have any explanation of what appears to be a gross breach of discipline on their part, they should make it.

It appears that the boy can file an application and bring an affidavit from anybody he knows with one exception. He can bring a letter from the mayor of his town, but not from a Member of Congress, as you will see in a moment. If a Member of Congress who knows the boy writes a similar letter to that of the mayor or the sister, the boy will be relegated to the bottom of this list. That seems to be the penalty attached to the boy who solicits a statement from some Congressman he happens to know. Heads of departments, regimental commanders, and other "superiors" can be heard without injury to the service, but when inferiors like Congressmen say a good word for the boy the lash is laid across his back. Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed that he hath grown so great that a representative of the people endangers their safety by lending to the support of their petitions such information as he possesses? Can such things be and not overcome us like a summer's dream? Where did this bespangled wosbird get the idea that he is authorized to spend the money Congress gives him telling Congressmen they have not the same rights as other American citizens?

They say officially, "inasmuch as it would be manifestly unjust to give preferred consideration to an applicant merely because he has solicited political or other pressure to bear upon his case, and in view of the fact that letters designed to do so can serve no useful purpose, but, on the contrary, simply add to the burden, confusion, and delay of the office personnel."

Gentlemen, it is with profound regret that I see so many of you adding to these personnel burdens—"the enlisted and enrolled men are informed that, all other things being equal, an attempt to secure preferred consideration by the exercise of the means hereinbefore specified, is likely to prejudice their cases in the eyes of the commandant. Signed C. S. Roberts, lieutenant commander, United States Navy, executive officer. Approved, A. H. Scales, captain, United States Navy, commandant."

Then he continues, editorially in the Bulletin, "every man with the Naval Reserve Force enlisted for the duration of the war and became a party to the contract with the United States of America when he took the oath and donned the uniform." The editorial concludes: "God Almighty hates a quitter; and so does the American Navy." Our commandant-editor says: "Every man entering the Navy pledged himself on his honor to serve the Navy of the Stars and Stripes until 'finis' has been written to the last chapter of the great war." The commandant-editor, on the paper bought by the congressional appropriation, tells us that will not happen "until the last American soldier has been brought back safely from the fields of Europe." Is this officer employed as a sailor or a diplomat? Was he taught the duties of a sailor or the duties of a statesman? The first duty of an officer of the Navy is to obey the laws made by Congress, and the second duty is to carry out the instructions of officers of higher rank, the highest of whom is a civilian and a politician.

Then, not content with having trod the boards in all the play-acting apparel becoming to one who mouths big words while the brothers and friends of the young men we have intrusted to his care for training in Chicago have gone to Europe to die for their country, this fellow, with the people's money, proceeds to traduce and villify their children, our gallant boys. This commandant-editor, because they want to go home and go to work and go to school, says of them:

"They have attempted to obtain political influence; they have secured false affidavits as to equally false dependency claims, which proved on investigation to be the most barefaced of lies, and the number of dying grandmothers mentioned would indicate to the unsophisticated that nothing short of Persian pox or the bubonic plague is raging throughout the Middle West."

Great God, gentlemen, must our constituents endure all this from the meanest of their servants? They have cast their pearls before swine. These boys that he is talking about are volunteers and gentlemen. They were not trained by the Republic at the expense of its workingmen and given big salaries at life jobs with nothing to do but villify and abuse better men. When there is no chance to die for the Nation they seek to go home and labor in its service. If this parasite gets justice, he will soon be sent by a court-martial to a place where he will earn by honest labor every meal he eats and he will march to everyone in the lock step which he would like to teach the crown princes of the Republic. The heirs of Abraham Lincoln, of the Middle West, in whose day no such vile thing could come to pass.

"The land that loves him guards his rest; the West, the West, the rowdy West."

That order and that editorial are the kind of slush you are spending money to print. Gentlemen, a Congressman of the United States is the accredited spokesman for and the legal Representative of 300,000 of the best people the world ever saw. They send him to express their wishes and protect their rights and their children wherever they can not go. They have a perfect right to join with a boy's kin and friends in explaining why he should be at home in school or at work. They would fail in their duty if they failed to support a just claim in response to the requests of those who send us here, and whenever a little fellow like that endeavors to throw contempt and

disgrace and insult at the Congress of the United States because some of its Members have endeavored to secure the return to their communities of some boy who wants to be there there ought to be some investigation of it.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. Does not the gentleman think that a lot of this foolishness will be cut out after March 4 next?

Mr. LITTLE. I hope so. It never happened from 1861 to 1865 or in 1898 and 1899, and I am going to try to cut some of it out now, or lay the foundation for it. The trouble with these fellows is that when a captain goes to sea he naturally must have exceptional powers, and he naturally gets an exaggerated idea of his own importance on land. That affects the whole Navy, until it reaches the very top it now develops, apparently.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LITTLE. Take these people for example. They remind me of a captain of a transport on which I once crossed the ocean, having with me 500 American soldiers. It seemed that I did not have what he considered the proper respect for him; but I had 500 soldiers back of me, so it did not make very much difference whether I had any respect for him or not, as he soon found out.

He told a friend of mine in Manila, "That fellow does not understand the powers of a captain at sea; he does not know that I am a little god on my ship." No; I do not; and I do not propose to let any little head at Chicago, swelled with a little brief authority, teach me that he is "a little god." The people of America run this Republic; they pay the taxes and they support the Navy. As long as the alarms of war sweep the land they will send every son they have and every dollar, if needed; but when the time comes that the war ends, when the roll of the drums is heard no more, then the Navy becomes a very small cog in the machinery of this country, not comparable in importance and power and rights with the taxpayer, with the farmers, with the business men, with the schoolboy, or any man that goes to make up the great Republic. These people bear all the burdens in peace and fight all the battles in war of our great country, and we expect the Navy to make as little trouble as it can for the people who support it. They are not "little gods" in the Navy. If we are to be confronted here with statements like this, if every man dressed in a little brief authority is to play such tricks before high Heaven as make the angels weep, it is time that Congress should give some attention and consideration to it. There is no reason why a Congressman of the United States should not have the same right to write a letter to some little commandant telling why a boy ought to go home as anyone else. This is, it appears, almost the same situation that we have just heard from with respect to a higher authority in the Navy, from the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN]. It is time that the people in the departments of this country understand that the Congress of the United States is the highest authority in the Republic, that it represents by direct certificate the men who own and control the Republic and by whom all features of it are provided. There is no reason why this House should not stand upon its rights as representatives of the people of this great Nation.

Why should we be instructed in this fashion, through money of the people spent in the publication of this Official Bulletin, by permission of the House, without which he had no right to spend the money, as to what rights we have? Who makes the laws of this great Republic? By whose authority is that little chap up there in Chicago presuming to dictate to the Congress of the United States? So far as I am concerned, I propose to begin right now to see how many there are in the United States Navy who should not be there. This man talks about the war and what they should do, and what does he know about it? What war did he ever fight in? On what battleship did he ever go into battle? Possibly he has been under fire, and if he will bring me a certificate that he has risked his life in battle for the Republic, then I shall give him a little leeway to declare himself over the Congress of the United States, but if it turns out, as I anticipate it, that this is a little chap who was educated at the expense of the taxpayers over here at Annapolis, who has a life job with no work in peace of any practical importance, as compared with the taxpayers, who is now swelled up with the job he has, so that he wants to dictate to the taxpayers and their representatives, he is altogether too auspinarious, and I am going to do all I can to see that he gets out of the Navy and goes to work like the rest of them, as he should. [Applause.] If he thinks so little of Congress, he should not be forced to remain in its service, and since he thinks he has so much literary talent, he should be allowed opportunity to give it ample room and verge enough to give it full play. This is his maiden effort, I presume, published at the taxpayers' expense, just as it follows:

[Orders and notices appearing under this heading have received the approval of the commandant and are official. Copies of these orders and notices are not sent in letter form to the officers or persons addressed.]

NOTICE.

It has come to the knowledge of the commandant that there are numerous instances where applicants for discharge or release from active duty have themselves written or had relatives or friends write to Members of Congress and other presumably influential persons in an effort to bring pressure to bear upon the naval authorities to secure preferred consideration and early favorable action upon their applications.

In view of the large volume of correspondence now being received as a result of these solicitations, and the consequent heavy demands made upon the time and attention of the personnel of the commandant's office, it is imperatively necessary that all men should clearly understand that letters of this kind, importuning the naval authorities to grant requests for discharge or release, can in nowise operate to secure more speedy action than is contemplated by the plan now being observed, which seeks to effect the granting of such requests according to the degree of urgency existing in each case, as determined by the statements of the applicants, supporting affidavits, and the investigations of heads of departments, regimental commanders, and other immediate superiors.

Inasmuch as it would be manifestly unjust to give preferred consideration to an applicant merely because he has solicited political or other pressure to bear upon his case, and in view of the fact that letters designed to do so can serve no useful purpose, but, on the contrary, simply add to the burdens, confusion, and delay of the office personnel, enlisted and enrolled men are informed that, all other things being equal, an attempt to secure preferred consideration by the exercise of the means hereinbefore specified is likely to prejudice their cases in the eyes of the commandant.

C. S. ROBERTS,
Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy,
Executive Officer.

Approved.

A. H. SCALES,
Captain, United States Navy, Commandant.

Our billions were not expended, our boys did not die on the fields of France, to make the world easy for men who wear shoulder straps and so feel themselves better than their fellow men. The Department of the Navy is right now asking this Congress for billions of dollars to build ships, some of which this commandant and lieutenant commander—these official scribblers—might command. Men who will use the money of our taxpayers to publish these slanders with regard to their gallant sons, the unstained youth of the Republic, are not proper persons to be trusted with a great ship that cost $20,000,000 or with the lives of its crew. No ship should be built until we know just how many more of them have been educated at the public's expense and that not one remains in the public service. The King of France, the King of England, the Czar of Russia lost their thrones and lives when they undertook to contest with the people's representatives. Is it possible that somewhere in this Republic this propaganda to minimize the constitutional powers of the people's representatives and establish a military caste has a support which is encouraging such attacks on the lawmaking power, and such malicious, malevolent assaults upon the young men who really do all the fighting that is done when our flag is carried over the field of battle? The Congress of the United States owes it to its constituents to see that the men who committed this offense are properly punished.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, referring to the statement made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] I want to repeat what I said a few moments ago. In connection with all of these deficiencies we asked the Navy Department for a statement showing all of the moneys which they had received and had available for the various purposes enumerated. They brought in such sheets, showing a given sum appropriated, so much of that sum expended as of a given date, so much in the Treasury. Against the amount that was in the Treasury were certain obligations, and then they had estimates as to what they needed to do in the way of meeting all of these obligations or canceling some of them or taking on new activities for the balance of the fiscal year. The testimony which the gentleman has correctly read was testimony relating not to the amount that was being asked as a deficiency but in explanation of the moneys which had been heretofore voted and which they were explaining the expenditure of. I do not know that it is material because it amounts to the same thing, because when an appropriation is here made it becomes a part of the funds heretofore appropriated for that purpose, but it illustrates what I stated awhile ago that, in my judgment, Congress can not control the situation simply by reducing amounts. The gentleman from Illinois says that if we do not vote the $4,300,000 we deal with the situation. I do not think we do anything of the kind. There is $42,000,000 remaining under the head of steam engineering. They could still use part of that money in payment for these Marconi stations if they saw fit to do it, and

the nonvoting of this $4,300,000 would not in any way prevent the payment for the Marconi stations. The way to prevent that is for Congress affirmatively to say that they shall not do it, and the Committee on Appropriations tried to develop whatever facts they could so that Members of the House in reading the statements as to the purposes intended, as to moneys heretofore voted, might, if they saw fit, have Congress take such action as was deemed wise to prevent the continuation of matters.

Now, I do not know whether the language of appropriations under the head of the Bureau of Steam Engineering can be construed to authorize expenditures for these Marconi plants or not. Certainly I share the impression that most men would have, that it could not be; but if it can not be, then the comptroller will prevent any funds from that appropriation being expended for that purpose. What I wish the Congress would do, and what I think it ought to do, is where it finds departments proceeding to do something that it thinks they ought not to do, it ought to legislate to prevent it, because the cutting off of this fund with these large balances does not reach the evil. Now, I am not expressing an opinion touching the taking over of the Marconi stations. As I stated a while ago, my inclination and prima facie judgment is always against the taking over of commercial activities, particularly after the war has passed. I want to see the Government have as little to do with what the individual can do as possible. [Applause.] But there are men who do not share that view and who believe that in the matter of the wireless there ought to be and must be a monopoly. Now, it seems to me that the way to reach this matter is to have some proper legislative committee bring in a resolution preventing the expenditure of the money for that purpose.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. The Navy Department asked for legislation authorizing the purchase of this Marconi system. They wanted to take over all the wireless, and the legislative committee to which it was referred refused to give them the authority. We thought that it would require legislation to authorize them to do it and not that it would require legislation to prevent them from doing it.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think that was a proper conclusion.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. And that is why——

Mr. SHERLEY. But it turns out that they have gone ahead. Now, we are dealing with a concrete situation, and I have nothing to say whether the Navy Department ought to have done it or not. I am neither advocating nor criticizing it at this moment, but I am trying to impress upon the committee that the practical way to deal with the situation which has arisen is affirmatively and not by simply striking out this amount of money, because I do not think that will accomplish the purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. I ask for five minutes, and I hope not to use all of that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. I just want to state this, if the gentleman will yield, in justification of the legislative committee having jurisdiction of the matter.

Mr. SHERLEY. I have not criticized it. I am just stating the condition which now confronts the Congress.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. I just wanted to state that the committee refused during the war to give them the authority, thinking that ended it. They proceeded upon some other legislation, whether it really authorized them or not I am not able to say, but they proceeded to take over these stations. Then, after the war is over—that is to say, after the armistice was signed—they came before the committee again with still another bill to take over all this radio business, and there were very elaborate hearings on both of those propositions, and the committee, after hearing all that was to be said, was unanimously of the opinion that that authority ought not to be given, so that, as far as that committee is concerned, they thought they had done all that ought to be done by simply withholding legislative authority.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not quarreling with the committee, and I am frank to say that had I been Secretary of the Navy, and I had come to Congress and asked the power and they had not given it to me, I would not in peace time, certainly would not in war time, except as a matter of absolute necessity, have disregarded what seemed to be the plain intent of the Congress that the department should not go forward. But it develops that the department has gone forward. Now, it seems to me, if you want to correct the matter the way to do it is to prevent the spending of the moneys, and that you ought not to do that simply by cutting out this item, because there is still a lot of money which they can use if they are determined to do so.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. MANN. If there is so much money there which they can use, then it will not really materially damage them by waiting another month, probably not more than six weeks' time, when the two bills become a law, and get the money, would it——

Mr. SHERLEY. No.

Mr. MANN. Why not let it go out of this bill and put it on the general deficiency bill? This bill can not become a law, at the best, before the middle of February, even if it passes both houses, because the President will not be back before that time. The general deficiency bill will certainly become a law, because that will be passed, whether anything else is or not, by the 4th of March. Now that a controversy exists here, why not let it go out of this bill and let the committee make a further examination and put it, if necessary, on the general deficiency bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. In the first place, I am not willing to have placed on myself the labor of passing upon the Marconi wireless-system controversy.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman can ascertain the facts about the purchase and more carefully determine as to whether it shall be made. Now, the gentleman stated it is easier for Congress to prohibit a thing being done. I am glad that the gentleman never made that statement in the House before, and I take it that is one of the humorous things he throws out as he is leaving us. The authority of the Government depends upon the authority given to them, and to say that whenever it is proposed to do something which Congress has not authorized, that Congress must legislate in order to prohibit, the gentleman knows it is theoretically impractical and physically impossible.

Mr. SHERLEY. Now, the gentleman——

Mr. MANN. The gentleman knows it is not practicable until we pass a bill on the subject.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, I try to be practicable, and I am not trying to be humorous with the House. I am dealing with a situation of which this is simply an incident and illustration, and which I think that Congress ought clearly to understand. We have voted huge sums of money under language permitting almost everything under the sun to be done by the various departments. Whether we ought to have done it or not men may differ, but all of us, without any great division, agreed we had to do it under the emergency of the war.

Now, these funds are there. They can be used. They are so great in quantity that there can be found out of various funds money enough to carry on a number of projects that you might want to stop. And therefore I suggested to the House in perfect good faith, and I repeat it, that you are not going to be able to reach them by simply the reduction of amounts in the bill. We are repealing here $7,000,000,000 of money, but we are leaving more than that amount of money with the departments to expend. Now, the reduction or increase of particular items will rarely so narrow the department, if it does not want to be narrowed, as to prevent them going forward with some proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SHERLEY. Now, the very value of this hearing was to develop some of the activities that the department was going forward with, so that if Congress thought they ought not to go forward with them they might indicate in some manner that they should not do it. I am perfectly free to say this, and I have said it to the Secretary of War in talking with him about another matter, with which I shall deal later, that I feel the attitude of all the department heads ought to be that when the Congress indicates, even informally, that certain things ought not to be pursued the departments ought to refrain from pursuing them until they can ask of the Congress affirmative authority for doing them, because we have given these great sums without limitation, and unless the departments show that nice good faith with the Congress it will force us either to a repeal of all sums, with the chaos that would follow from that, or passing resolutions by Congress repeatedly that this department or that department shall not go forward with this, that, or the other thing.

Mr. MANN. If, as the gentleman says—and I think he is correct about that—the department would still have money enough to pay for the Marconi system out of the money they have on hand, then it would not seriously damage the depart-

ment to postpone the deficiency appropriation, which they say they need, for two or three weeks, would it?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; I do not think there would be any great damage if the item went out, but I do not think anything would be accomplished by its going out. I hope the debate here will have accomplished the purpose of calling the matter to the attention of the department.

Mr. MANN. I have great confidence in the gentleman's committee. Now, it is the fact that we have appropriated billions of dollars without much limitation. In this particular case I believe, however, the appropriation of $50,000,000 was made in practically the same language that has been carried for years under the Bureau of Enginering in the Navy Department, and there was no enlargement of authority. But having appropriated these immense sums of money largely without any limitation upon them, when occasion arises does not the gentleman and the House think that it is proper for Congress to pause for a moment and take into consideration the subject?

Mr. SHERLEY. Absolutely. And I am not complaining in the slightest degree of that.

Mr. MANN. And the only way to do it is to strike it out of this bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. Where the gentleman and I part in our routes is, that he thinks we will accomplish the purpose by striking out this $4,300,000 and I do not.

Mr. MANN. Where the gentleman and I part is here: It is the gentleman's duty, and he always attempts to faithfully perform his duty, to defend his bill on the floor of the House regardless of meritorious propositions that may be offered, and it is my duty to get the House to do the right thing regardless of what the Committee on Appropriations has reported.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman is mistaken. We brought in this item, as the statement shows, and we cut it down from $8,000,000 to this $4,300,000. For instance, there is going to be spent out of this fund, if the department carries out its present intention and is not prevented by action of Congress, quite a considerable amount of money in an argon plant at Fort Worth. Now, as far as the money goes the department could take that money and spend it for the Marconi business and leave subsequent appropriation to be made for the argon plant at Fort Worth. And the committee did not see how it could deal with such matters simply by denial of the money.

Mr. McKENZIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE. Are we to understand that in this item calling for $4,300,000 there is included an appropriation for the construction and development of what is known as argon gas?

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman is not to conclude that but he is to conclude this: We have appropriated since the war started something like $107,000,000 under the head of engineering. They had expended up to November 1, $65,000,000 and some odd, and they had a Treasury balance on that date of $42,000,000. Now, out of that Treasury balance it is proposed to do quite a number of things, and among the things which they enumerate is this argon plant at Fort Worth, the payment for taking over the wireless Marconi stations, and a great many other things. The fact that you should eliminate $4,300,000 from that fund would not necessarily prevent their doing any one of the things, though it would prevent, to the extent of $4,300,000, the doing of all of them.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BANKHEAD. What is the matter now pending before the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. A motion to strike out the last word.

Mr. SHERLEY. I will say to the gentleman from Alabama——

Mr. BANKHEAD. I ask the question in good faith. I want to find out what the parliamentary status is. I do not want to prevent discussion.

Mr. McKENZIE. Does the gentleman from Kentucky know whether this so-called argon plant is the same thing as is sometimes called helium gas?

Mr. SHERLEY. My understanding is that it is the same, but I do not know anything about it.

Mr. McKENZIE. Is it not a fact that that is only in the experimental stage at the present time?

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, the testimony did not leave that impression on my mind. I have gotten the impression either from this testimony or from other sources that we had developed this gas to the point of efficiency, and that it was a noninflammable gas. But I really do not know much about it.

Mr. McKENZIE. I think that is the condition of Members of the House, and my point is that if there is any possible way or means that we can adopt to stop the appropriation of $3,000,000 for the construction of a plant to develop anything that is yet to any extent in the experimental stage it will be a good thing to stop it.

Mr. SHERLEY. I felt very much the way the gentleman did, but the committee did not feel warranted, in view of the fact that they have gone on with the proposition and it was nearly completed, to stop it short. We developed the facts so that the Congress might do it if it wanted to.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman inform the committee as to the location of these Marconi stations?

Mr. SHERLEY. They are along the coast, but I do not know just where they are.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Are they all on the coast?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think they are.

The CHAIRMAN. The pro forma amendment is withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For repairs, preservation, and renewal of machinery, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $4,300,000.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois offers an amendment.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MANN: Pages 16 and 17, strike out lines 25 and 26 on page 16 and lines 1 and 2 on page 17.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Alabama wants to move an amendment, he can do so, but he can not amend the amendment by a substitute.

Mr. BANKHEAD. It is a preferential motion to perfect the text.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BANKHEAD: Strike out "$4,300,000," on page 17, line 2, and insert "$1,250,000" and the following: "*Provided*, That no part of the money appropriated herein shall be used for purchase of radio stations."

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be heard briefly on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama offers an amendment to perfect the text.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I desire to state to the committee, as a member of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, that the statements submitted to the House by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROWE], and the gentleman from Maine [Mr. WHITE], and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HUMPHREYS] represent the action that was taken by that committee with reference to this general proposition. I do not know of and I have been unable to locate any authority of law conferring upon the Secretary of the Navy the power to purchase radio stations. The hearings disclose the fact that he has entered into an agreement to purchase not only the Marconi system of radio stations but also those owned by the Federal Radio Systems. Those are the only two purchases involved in any scheme or plan proposed by the Secretary of the Navy. The aggregate sum of these two contracts to purchase amounts to $3,050,000,000, and I assume that the balance over and above that sum, carried in this paragraph, is made up of other items that are really authorized by law.

The purpose of my amendment and the effect of the amendment is to reduce the appropriation proposed in the paragraph by exactly the amount of the proposed sums to be paid for the purchase of these radio systems, and it has a proviso, Mr. Chairman, to the effect that the amount left in, to wit, $1,250,000, shall not be used for the purchase of radio stations. In other words, it seems to me that until some further investigation, such as might be thought to be desirable, can be given, if the matter is to be carried in a subsequent deficiency bill, my amendment corrects any abuse that might have been indulged in by the Secretary of the Navy or any unauthorized power he may have used in the purchase of these stations, and leaves an amount in the paragraph sufficient for uses that might be legitimate and necessary for the other purposes brought out by the committee and, as a matter of fact, authorized by law. I trust that the gentleman from Illinois will see fit in his sound judgment to accept this amendment, because, it seems to me, it protects the interests of the Treasury.

Mr. MANN. I will say to the gentleman that I shall vote for his amendment and then for my own amendment.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I hope my amendment will meet with the gentleman's entire approval.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman's amendment would simply affect $1,250,000 of money, and would still leave all the forty-odd million dollars they have available for this purpose, if it be available. The way to get at it, if you wanted to get at it and express the opinion of the House, would be to put a limitation on all moneys.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent, then, to modify my amendment and make it apply to all moneys.

Mr. SHERLEY. That, however, I suggest to the gentleman, makes his amendment subject to a point of order. I shall not personally make the point, because I think if the House wants to express its view on the matter it is all right that it should.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to modify my amendment so as to provide for appropriations heretofore or hereafter made.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to modify his amendment.

Mr. BUTLER. How will it read?

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 17, line 2, strike out "$4,300,000" and insert "$1,250,000: *Provided*, That no part of the money appropriated herein or heretofore shall be used for the purchase of radio stations."

Mr. SHERLEY. I would not agree to that amendment, and I reserve a point of order on it. If the gentleman will make the language read so as to apply to the amendment for repairs, preservation, and renewals of machinery, and so forth, under the head of the Bureau of Steam Engineering——

Mr. STAFFORD. Why not let it read, "heretofore appropriated under this item"?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I am willing to do that. What I want to meet is the present situation.

Mr. STAFFORD. I want to meet the objection of the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman ought to limit it to the Marconi stations, because there is certain work in connection with our own stations that ought not to be interfered with.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I want it to cover the Federal system that has been contracted for.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is a closed incident, apparently. Mr. Chairman, in view of the uncertainty of the matter, I do not feel at liberty to permit the modification of the amendment to the extent that the gentleman has indicated.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I wish to ask the gentleman from Kentucky a question. Is it the gentleman's understanding that these Marconi wireless stations are located on the seaboard?

Mr. SHERLEY. That is my impression. I have not very much information about it. There has been a committee working on this matter for weeks that ought to be prepared to give you that information.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, is it also the gentleman's understanding—I believe it is, from what he intimated a moment ago—that the passage of the amendment just offered by the gentleman from Alabama would be equivalent to the House saying that it prefers to have the Marconi wireless stations left in private hands?

Mr. SHERLEY. I would consider that that was a fair conclusion to be drawn from the amendment offered by the gentleman.

Mr. BANKHEAD. If the gentleman will pardon me, I do not think that necessarily follows as a conclusion. The purpose of this amendment is to limit the appropriation to amounts already authorized by law.

Mr. SHERLEY. The effect of the amendment and the purpose of it are very different things. Unfortunately the gentleman has not presented an amendment which would prevent the taking over and paying for the Marconi stations.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It is my understanding from the discussion here, and especially from the statement made by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], that the passage of the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] would be equivalent to the House saying that, in its opinion, the Marconi wireless stations should be left in private hands. Now, we should keep clearly in mind the question before us. It does not, as I see it, involve the general question of Government ownership as against private ownership. For these Marconi stations upon the seaboard present a very unique problem—one sui generis. There is no other like it. These stations convey information to and from warships or commercial vessels, hostile or friendly, a thousand or two thousand miles out from our shores. The question is: Is it wise to leave an agency of that kind in private hands? This is a question very different from the question of leaving an inland telegraph system—say, a line from Chicago to Omaha—in private hands. To leave in private hands a row of wireless stations along the Atlantic or the Pacific seaboard, with their ability to communicate in the daytime or in the nighttime with hostile ships 1,500 or 2,000 miles from our shores, suggests a problem of an exceedingly important and serious character; and therefore it is perhaps not surprising that the Navy Department desired to secure control and beyond peradventure to retain control.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Is the gentleman aware that the Navy already have full control of all these stations and are and have been in operation of them?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes; but, as I understand it, they wanted to buy them, so that the ownership would be in the United States Government, to prevent beyond any doubt the transfer to private hands of these vastly important stations. The question is, as I have said, unlike any other.

Mr. SCOTT of Michigan. The gentleman knows that not only do the Navy have control of the stations on the shore, but that they have naval officers in control of the stations on shore, and also naval officers sworn in——

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes. But I am not talking about what has been—about the past. I am merely suggesting the question as to whether we will indicate by this vote that in the judgment of the House the proper future policy for the United States Government would be to have the Marconi wireless stations upon the seaboard left in private hands. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] intimated that the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama would be equivalent to the House declaring in favor of such a policy.

Mr. SCOTT of Michigan. The Marconi Co. is an American corporation. A small amount of stock is owned by the British Marconi system, but the British owners are not allowed to participate in the control of the company; they are not allowed to vote.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. That arrangement need not be permanent.

Mr. SCOTT of Michigan. And therefore the Marconi system in the United States in the event of war would come under the conditions that prevail in this country and could be taken over and would be taken over.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. But before war might be declared there could develop a situation dangerous to the United States, and especially dangerous if the Marconi system on the seaboard were in private ownership.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be a grave error to adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Alabama if it involves the future policy in regard to the ownership of the wireless. Under the radio act of 1912 the Government took over all of the radio stations in the United States and has them in control now as completely as if they were Government owned and may retain control until after peace is declared by proclamation by the President of the United States.

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries has had under consideration a bill proposed by the Navy Department, the purpose of which was to give the Navy Department the control of wireless, or rather to give the Government the ownership, control, and operation through the Navy Department of all wireless stations. Every phase of the question was considered. All the interests were heard and the bill was finally tabled because, among other reasons, it was so late in the session that it could not be given due consideration. I may say, however, that the committee were not willing to approve a bill that the Government, through the Navy Department, should be given the monopoly of radio communication. That is the present status of the matter, so far as the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries is concerned.

The Navy Department has purchased the Marconi ship-to-shore stations, and has a monopoly of that service at this time. There is only one other company that has wireless stations engaged in ship-to-shore service, and that is the United Fruit Co. They have a station at New Orleans, built for operation in connection with their business. I understand the Navy Department in any event has no disposition to interfere with that service. But reflecting, as I believe I do, the opinion of the committee that has given such thorough consideration to that question, they are not ready to commit the Government to the ownership and control and monopoly of this service, and especially the high-power stations.

There are cogent reasons why the Navy Department should control the ship-to-shore service. It is absolutely necessary that the Navy Department should have efficient ship-to-shore service, as far as the Navy is concerned, and there seems to be

a good reason why the service might be extended to the merchant marine. But beyond that it is not so clear that the Government should have jurisdiction of and control of operation of the service, except as now authorized by law.

After the hearings were concluded and printed I received a communication from the War Department, in reference to the bill, in answer to a request, on my part, for an expression of the views of that department as to the propriety of the Navy Department having monopoly of that service. As I anticipated, the War Department insists that the Navy Department should not have a monopoly of the service, and gives many very good reasons why that should not be done. The War Department suggests that it should be a triple control by the Navy Department, the War Department, and the Department of Commerce. But the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries have left the matter in status quo, and, in my opinion, that is the proper place to leave it for the present.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. I favor the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama, and also that offered by the gentleman from Illinois, because I believe the time has come when we ought to return to the ordinary practice of having the departments recognize the law once the law is enacted. During the war it has become the custom for departments to do very much as they please with lump-sum appropriations made by Congress. Many things have been done under the stress of war that would not be tolerated by Congress in ordinary times. The people are asking that Congress keep on the job and attend to its own business, and that it check up expenditures. I believe that where specific appropriations are made—and I think we should return to specific appropriations—the department should be held to a strict accountability for the expenditure of those appropriations that Congress intended. There should be no diversion of the funds. The gentleman from Illinois has made a statement startling in its nature with respect to a department proceeding to make purchases depending on the future without regard to Congress at all, to make expenditures on the assumption that Congress would ratify them once they were made without authority.

Now, I have here a case that leads me to talk briefly and specifically. It is the matter of an appropriation for the construction of an armor-plate plant. Gentlemen who have been in the House for several terms will recall that armor plate has been a bone of contention for years between the department and Congress and the manufacturers, and that finally on August 29, 1916, an act was signed and became a law which was intended to put the Navy Department in a position to manufacture armor plate in competition with private manufacturers.

I am not intending to discuss the old controversy, but I desire to put in the RECORD the specific provision of law under which authorization was made for the expenditure of $11,000,000 for the manufacture of armor plate for the vessels of the Navy.

I wish to say that in this year 1919 succeeding the armistice we should see to it that the $11,000,000 is expended specifically for the purpose for which it was intended when the appropriation was made in August, 1916. What are the facts?

I have some information that I am not prepared at this time to verify, and I am very regretful that it should apply to the Navy Department, whose record has been so excellent during this war—that the $11,000,000 for the construction of an armor-plate plant had been disposed of and that contracts or appropriations have been made equal to $24,000,000, and that we have no armor-plate plant. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. LITTLEPAGE], who is on the floor, and the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], may have more information about the work which has been done toward the construction of the armor-plate plant, for which $11,000,000 was appropriated in August, 1916, than I have. I am not making charges; I am simply saying that it has been represented to me that the money has been spent, and that we have no armor-plate plant. I have before me certain information that was handed to me this morning by a Member of Congress—I do not know whether I am permitted to use the information or not——

Mr. BUTLER. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. With respect to the manner in which some of this money has been expended. My distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER], who is a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, endeavors to keep thoroughly well posted upon all naval matters and upon expenditures by the Navy Department, and very properly so, and I found that while this information with regard to expenditures and the diversion of funds has come to me, he has been making inquiry along similar lines.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I find in a letter addressed to my colleague [Mr. BUTLER] that Rear Admiral Earle, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, undertakes to explain this very situation. With the consent of my colleague and the committee, I insert the letter at this point:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF ORDNANCE,
Washington, D. C., January 24, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. BUTLER: Your letter of the 16th instant was only handed me yesterday upon my return from duty in New England and this will explain the delay in replying.

The Naval Ordnance Plant at South Charleston, W. Va., has developed in the natural course of events into more than a mere armor plant. Congress appropriated the funds for the projectile plant and it was deemed advisable, in the interest of economy and good management—lessening the running expenses, etc., as well as the cost of the original project—to build this plant at South Charleston, W. Va. Later on the decision to use 16-inch 50-caliber guns forced the department to either provide facilities for forging these guns at a station of its own or to further increase the facilities of the Midvale or Bethlehem plants which had already been increased at much expense to handle these heavy guns. Decision was therefore made to equip a large plant at South Charleston for this purpose. Hence, the Naval Ordnance Plant at South Charleston comprises a projectile plant, which is now completed and operating at a capacity of about 10,000 tons of projectiles per annum; a gun-forging plant, with a capacity of 10,000 tons per year, or one 16-inch gun per month, now under construction; and an armor plant, with an ultimate capacity of 20,000 tons per year, also under construction.

There is inclosed herewith a photostat showing the plant at South Charleston, W. Va., as it will appear when completed.

As previously noted the projectile plant is in operation and has fabricated over 4,000 tons of steel; the armor plant was commenced actively about October 1, 1918, no general contracts for the construction of the plant being entered into because of the high cost of such construction, the Navy undertaking to do most of the work by day labor. General excavation, grading, and trackage is well under way and the construction plant has been erected. Temporary storehouses, stables for about 300 head of live stock, and barracks and quarters for about 800 men engaged in the construction of the plant are finished. Excavation for the open-hearth building is well under way, together with some of the concrete footings. A large amount of material for this work has also been assembled.

Unless unforeseen delays and greater difficulty in the procurement of materials than is now anticipated are encountered, it is anticipated that the manufacture of 16-inch guns will begin in January, 1920, and production secured about March, 1920. The casting of armor will commence about July, 1920, with production in quantity in December of that year.

The appropriations and allotments for this plant are as follows:

(a) Projectile plant:	
Act of Aug. 29, 1916, Public, 241	$705,611
Act of Mar. 4, 1917, Public, 391	1,375,345
(b) Armor plant:	
Act of Aug. 29, 1916, Public, 241	11,000,000
(c) Gun-forging plant:	
Presidential allotment, dated June 27, 1918, from appropriation "Increase of the Navy, armor and armament"	4,121,200
(d) Allotment of the Secretary of the Navy from appropriation "Extension of facilities at navy yards and stations"	100,000
Total appropriated and available	17,302,156

Of this amount $7,500,000 has already been allotted to the Bureau of Yards and Docks for the erection of buildings for the armor plant, gun-forging plant, and extension to facilities, and about $7,750,000 is to be expended under the direction of this bureau. Of the sum allotted to the Bureau of Yards and Docks, up to the present time, there has been obligated approximately $3,500,000, and the Bureau of Ordnance has obligated approximately $5,000,000. The projectile plant has been completed and the amount of $2,080,956 appropriated by the acts of August 29, 1916, and March 4, 1917, for its construction has been exhausted. It will thus be seen that there remains approximately $7,000,000 yet to be obligated under items (b), (c), and (d) above.

In the detail design work of this plant as a whole the strictest economy has been exercised and the department has endeavored to obtain the plant within the sum allotted, but it is evident that at least $3,500,000 additional must be provided. This is a much smaller increase over the original estimate than had been anticipated and indicates a lower percentage of advance in cost of labor and materials than has been shown in other projects handled by the Navy during recent years.

Trusting that this information is presented in sufficient detail for your purpose, I am,

Very respectfully,

RALPH EARLE,
Rear Admiral, United States Navy, Chief of Bureau.

Hon. T. S. BUTLER, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My information as to the armor-plate plant is that down at Charleston, W. Va., where this money seems to be going, we have now about 200 acres of land, and that on that land we have three buildings. I will ask the gentleman from West Virginia if I am correct as to that.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Chairman, I would very much prefer, since the gentleman from Pennsylvania says he has no reliable information on the subject, that he talk with an officer of the Navy Department who is on his way to the Capitol before he indulges in a statement borne out by anonymous letters. I think the Government has at Charleston, in West

Virginia, one of the best foundations for a plant of the character the gentleman has mentioned in the whole country. That plant is located in the center of what might be termed the coal, oil, and gas belt of West Virginia, where the item of fuel alone, it is estimated, will pay for the plant in 15 years.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I grant that it is a delightful site, and eligible for this purpose; but I ask the gentleman how many buildings are there and if we have more than 200 acres of land.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I think we have about 200 acres of land all told. I delivered to the Navy Department a deed to 180 acres of land, and I understand that they acquired some 20 acres additional. I understand that there are four buildings completed. I have not been in them, but they are tremendous.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Are they projectile factories or an armor-plate factory, for which we appropriated $11,000,000?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I think because of the necessity of the Navy Department in war they undertook to develop the projectile factories first and work on the armor-plate plant was delayed, but is now going forward rapidly and will be completed in due time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has again expired.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended for five minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I ask for the regular order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from West Virginia asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended for five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I object.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington objects. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Chairman, I ask for five minutes time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I demand the regular order.

The CHAIRMAN. The regular order is the question on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to extend my remarks and print additional parts of the clippings from which I read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the life and career of Theodore Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and the gentleman should submit his request to the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

ST. ELIZABETHS HOSPITAL.

For general repairs and improvements, $30,000.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I realize that this item for general repairs and improvements is simply one of routine, but, nevertheless, as long as it has to do with St. Elizabeths Hospital it seems to me that some explanation ought to be offered here of the various criticisms which have been in the press in the last few days in connection with the management of that institution as applied to the care of returned soldiers. As I understand, St. Elizabeths Hospital is the insane asylum of the District, conducted by the Government, and paid for by the Government. This morning one of the New York papers contained a very severe criticism of the care or lack of care extended to returned soldiers, some of them, perhaps, in a nervous condition but not regarded as insane, as receiving no care or treatment whatsoever at St. Elizabeths Hospital. That item is copied in a Washington paper of this afternoon and ought, I think, to receive some attention from this body. If the accounts are entirely sensational we should know it for the benefit of the men who are there, and I therefore would ask if any information can be given by any Member of the House as to the conditions at St. Elizabeths Hospital, particularly as to the care soldiers have received there. I only ask for information. I know absolutely nothing of the circumstances myself.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have not even seen the article which the gentleman says is in the New York Sun of to-day, so of course I can not reply to it, not knowing what it contains, and I have no particular information touching St. Elizabeths, except that it is my understanding that men who are there are men who are mentally unsound and they themselves frequently do not know it. I know of one instance in which I received a letter from a man complaining about his being confined there, and, having had past experience with people confined in an asylum, before I undertook to get him removed I made inquiry, and I found he was suffering from a mental complaint which made it very desirable that he be retained in that asylum, although he does not think so, and he writes very bitterly about it. But I have no specific information in reference to the gentleman's inquiry touching the management of St. Elizabeths.

Mr. TREADWAY. May I ask the gentleman one question?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. TREADWAY. Whether or not he knows in regard to the care of the soldiers they are made a part of the regular patients and placed in wards with the regular men who are there and are shown no other care than that regularly accorded to any inmate of the asylum?

Mr. SHERLEY. The committee has had no hearings at this time touching St. Elizabeths that I am aware of, unless the committee on the sundry civil bill, of which I am chairman, had a hearing, and I have not been able to attend the hearings of that committee recently. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES] has been conducting most of those hearings. I do not know whether they went into the matter as it is related to returned soldiers or not.

Mr. TREADWAY. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that we ought to have some information on this score in view of the articles which have been carried in the press not only to-day but previously. It is a matter which has been referred to frequently in recent press accounts, and, while I am not one of those disposed to give undue attention to what may appear like sensational accounts, if there is any basis of truth in the method by which returned soldiers have been cared for at that institution, we should be informed of it and govern ourselves accordingly.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I would be glad to do so, but I have not the floor—I do not think I have.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. I desire to say I had a little experience in that matter myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I had occasion recently to take up the matter of St. Elizabeths Hospital in the interests of a man who was remanded there suffering from shell shock. My attention was called to it by the friends of this man going down to the hospital and securing a leave of absence and bringing him up to the office. I am not an expert on insanity, and insane people may deceive the very elect at times, I am told.

However, I took the matter up with The Adjutant General and I corresponded with the boy's people at home. After two or three days this man was taken out of the ward for the incurably insane. He assured me that if he was not relieved soon from that position he would be insane. After another week or 10 days we succeeded in getting a furlough for him for 30 days, and he is now at home under the direction of his own brothers, who are physicians. I think that if each particular case that is called to the attention of the Member was taken up in person with the proper authorities there would be a disposition to inquire into it carefully and to do the right thing. At least, I had the most courteous treatment, though in this case it required a little time before action was secured.

Mr. IGOE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. IGOE. What about those men who have not anybody to go and appeal for them to The Adjutant General? What is it proposed to do for these hundreds who can not come to the gentleman and others for assistance?

Mr. FAIRFIELD. The gentleman's question is certainly pertinent. I had reference only to any difficulties that particular Members might have. Unquestionably there should be some sort of investigation into that condition. If it is merely a sensational report, no harm will have been done, but, indeed, great good will have been done. And if there are conditions there such as have been reported they ought to be rectified.

Mr. McKEOWN. Was there any complaint in the case which the gentleman looked into as to their food and clothing at St. Elizabeths?

Mr. FAIRFIELD. The gentleman said the food was abominable.

Mr. McKEOWN. I have had a case where they complain of the food and lack of bed clothing. I wanted to know if the gentleman had heard anything of that kind.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. I may say that I thought the action was a little slow in the case I referred to on the part of the department. I have been loath, however, to bring a matter of that kind before the House without being thoroughly convinced that there was real cause for complaint.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I desire to say that I had one experience in relation to this hospital. One swallow does not make a summer or one case make an excellent hospital or a bad one. In the case I refer to, a young soldier from my district was an inmate, and in looking the matter over I found that he had the best of care and had improved very much during the time he was there. He was released very shortly after I called upon him and he went home with his parents a few days ago. The surroundings of that portion of the institution where he was located seemed to be almost ideal. But, of course, I want to observe that this statement is based only on the particular case with which I had experience. I thought I should say this in deference to an institution upon which we have to rely a great deal. I believe it is the only one we have anywhere near here to fill the demand of the emergency.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SLOAN. I yield.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. I ought to say with regard to the case I had in hand that the person is very erratic, to say the least, and that he suffered from a disease that was being treated there. I felt, on the whole, that due care ought to be exercised by those in authority and that they should be thoroughly convinced that a man is sane enough to be discharged from the hospital.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I just arrived on the floor of the House and am not therefore fully informed of what has been said, but I understand there has been some discussion of an article which appeared in a Washington paper, said to have been copied from a New York paper, reflecting upon the management of St. Elizabeths Hospital. Some little time ago there was some criticism in the newspapers of that institution on the ground that soldiers suffering from shell shock, so called, were being confined there. Dr. White, in charge of that institution, appeared before the Committee on Appropriations a few days ago, the subcommittee having to do with the sundry civil bill, and the members of the committee interrogated him at length with regard to the institution and in regard to that particular claim, assertion, or charge. The doctor assured us that there had been no soldiers or ex-soldiers admitted to the institution suffering from what is popularly called "shell shock." He said there were two men among the many hundreds brought there who were suffering from disorders that might, to a certain degree, be classified as shell shock, but that these two men were also suffering from mental disorders that could not properly be classified as shell shock. One of those men was detained but a very few days in the institution. He was detained in a ward or building not occupied by violently insane patients. He remained there but a few days. The other man remained in the institution, but not in contact with the ordinary insane patients, for a couple of weeks and then was discharged as cured. He said that with the exception of these two cases, that might possibly be said to have been cases where so-called shell shock was a part of the trouble, there have been no men brought to the institution and detained there suffering from shell shock, so called.

I saw the headlines of and read very hurriedly, indeed, an article that appeared in to-day's issue of a Washington newspaper. I am sorry I did not read it more carefully, in view of the fact that it seems that it has been deemed worthy of attention by some one in the House. But I want to say this about St. Elizabeths. I have visited that institution. I have been a member of the subcommittee that appropriates for it for a number of years. I and other members of the subcommittee have very carefully and thoroughly and painstakingly interrogated Dr. White one time and another with regard to the institution. In order to verify his statements and satisfy myself, I have visited the institution, and my opinion is that it is one of the best-managed, best-conducted institutions of the kind in America, if not in the world.

Mr. PAIGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PAIGE. I want to cite to the gentleman a case that occurred in my district, of a young man who was an inmate of St. Elizabeths Hospital. A man at the head of the Red Cross stated to me and to his parents that he was not insane at all, and Dr. White insisted that he was, and after a great deal of correspondence back and forth they decided to let him out on a furlough. His father, a poor man, was subject to great expense, after long correspondence, in coming to Washington, and he brought the boy to yonder door, and if there ever was a bright and intelligent young man, it was that boy. They let him go home, and after he had been home about a week a notice came from the hospital that unless the parents stood for the expense incurred in connection with his trouble he must be returned to St. Elizabeths. That is what I understand; he has got to come back to St. Elizabeths. The man at the head of the Red Cross has told me, and his father has told me, that that young man is not at all insane; and it is a shame to keep him there.

Mr. TREADWAY. Was the young man, or is the young man referred to, a soldier?

Mr. PAIGE. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, controversies relative to the sanity or insanity of individuals have gone on since the beginning of the care of insane people by the public, and will be agitated, no doubt, to the end of time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wyoming asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONDELL. Dr. White is not only a conscientious and capable man, but he has a high reputation in the profession as an alienist. It is possible that Dr. White may be mistaken in some cases. I have never seen a mortal anywhere that was not at some time or other mistaken about something, providing that he had any considerable responsibility. I think it is possible that Dr. White may have been mistaken about the sanity of some individual person, but I know, and we all know—it is notorious—that a large proportion of insane people always protest, with more vehemence than a sane person can command, their sanity, and there are very few relatives and friends of insane people who will admit, except with very great reluctance, that those people are insane. They frequently become violent before insanity is admitted by relatives and friends.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. And it is not a proper charge against an institution that there may be some question in some cases as to the sanity of a patient.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. I have only five minutes. I did not rise to discuss the question of who is going to pass upon questions of sanity.

Mr. KNUTSON. Let us suppose that the doctors pass upon it.

Mr. MONDELL. In the case referred to the doctors did pass upon it, and the doctor held that the man was insane.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. Does the gentleman think St. Elizabeths was the proper place to send a soldier for ear and eye trouble? The doctor says they were treating him for that. I called the doctor up.

Mr. MONDELL. I do not know who sent the particular man that the gentleman has in mind to St. Elizabeths; no entirely sane man should be committed to an institution of that kind; yet the surroundings of St. Elizabeths are such that no harm will come to him while the question of his sanity is being considered. Some one may have been sent there who was not insane, but that is not the question. The question is as to the management of this institution maintained by the Government.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wyoming yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts?

Mr. MONDELL. I will yield.

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman has had more intimate information as to the facts from his experience on the subcommittee than any of the others of us, and I would like to ask him this question purely for information: Does the gentleman consider that St. Elizabeths is a suitable place and a desirable place for returning soldiers to be committed, even if they have only what may be regarded as nervous disorders?

Mr. MONDELL. If the gentleman had listened to the beginning of my remarks, his question would not be necessary.

Mr. TREADWAY. I have listened to every word of them.

Mr. MONDELL. He would know that they are not sending soldiers for what is known as shell shock to St. Elizabeths. I do not know what the gentleman has in mind when he says "nervous disorders." St. Elizabeths is an institution for the care of those who are suffering from mental diseases and dis-

orders. There may be a question in some particular case as to the admissability or the propriety of admitting or detaining in this institution certain men, but that is not the question now before us.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. And even in regard to that question let me make this suggestion.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. I will ask that the gentleman be given five minutes.

Mr. MONDELL. Well, I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KNUTSON. What is the gentleman's definition of an insane person?

Mr. MONDELL. I am not an expert on insanity or definitions of insanity. I commend to the gentleman the various dictionaries that are available in the library adjacent to the Hall.

Now, gentlemen, this is true, and let us not forget it, that no one desires to have a friend or relative confined in an institution which is known as an insane asylum. One reason for changing the name of St. Elizabeths was that the name it now bears does not necessarily carry with it the idea that it is an insane asylum; but it is an asylum where people suffering from mental diseases are cared for, and cared for well.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. I ask that I may have five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wyoming asks unanimous consent that his time be extended five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I hope the gentleman will conclude as soon as possible. It is very necessary to proceed with the bill.

Mr. MONDELL. I will conclude in five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONDELL. I realize that the friends and relatives of soldiers regret and are loath to believe that their soldier friends or relatives are suffering from mental disorders. But if soldiers are suffering from mental diseases or disorders there is no other place in this part of the world except St. Elizabeths to which to send them, and I want to repeat and emphasize that it is a well-conducted institution.

Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MONDELL. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. LANGLEY. I know of one case of a soldier being held in St. Elizabeths because the doctor says he is a psychopathic liar. Now, is that a proper case for confinement there?

Mr. MONDELL. Well, is he or is he not? I do not know about that sort of a liar. I am not an expert on insanity. I know that since time began there has been a controversy as to whether certain people ought to be in any insane asylum or not. That is not a part of the issue here. The issue raised by the newspaper article is as to whether men are well cared for and properly treated in St. Elizabeths, and I rise to say I believe they are. We would every one of us be more or less responsible if they were not. We maintain that institution. We pay for its upkeep, and, in my opinion, it is well managed and conducted in a humane way. I have no doubt about that.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. Can the gentleman give this House any information as to whether or not they have dungeons out there where soldiers are kept in solitary confinement?

Mr. MONDELL. My opinion is that all of those statements or the major part of the statements contained in that article are without any foundation whatever. There is no basis of truth or fact for them. Some newspaper correspondent has evidently been taken in by some one who wanted to tell a sensational story. The Federal Government has a great institution within sight of the dome of the Capitol, in which institution there are many hundreds of unfortunate people, members of the Army and the Navy and others, and I want to emphasize the fact that at the head of it is a man who has proven himself to be competent and capable. That institution, supported by the Federal Government, is one of the best of its kind on earth. It is beautifully located. Its buildings are well adapted to their purpose, its equipment is good, and the people there are, in my opinion, receiving the very best possible care and treatment. I think that ought to be said for the comfort and satisfaction of those people whose friends and relatives are in the institution.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, pending the gentleman's motion, I desire simply to say this: I have tried to be liberal in regard to debate. There is nothing in the bill that makes it in order to go into a discussion of this newspaper article, and I hope that the committee will realize the necessity of making progress with the bill. There have been 20 minutes' debate in connection with an article that is altogether extraneous to any matter now pending before the committee. I hope the gentleman will refrain from speaking at this time.

Mr. KNUTSON. In view of the gentleman's appeal, I will withdraw the pro forma amendment. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

To pay the widow of JACOB E. MEEKER, late a Representative from the State of Missouri, $7,500.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman object to my offering an amendment there to pay the widow of our late colleague, Mr. ROBBINS, a sum equal to one year's salary?

Mr. SHERLEY. I was just about to offer that amendment myself. I offer an amendment, to follow line 24, on page 18, to pay the widow of EDWARD E. ROBBINS, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, $7,500.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SHERLEY: At the end of page 18 insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"To pay the widow of EDWARD E. ROBBINS, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, $7,500."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Total, appropriations and authorizations recovered, Signal Service, $128,373,200.04.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SHERLEY: On page 20, after line 13, insert the following:

"Office of the Provost Marshal General: For all expenses necessary in the registration of persons available for military service and in selection of certain such persons and their draft into the military service, fiscal year 1919, $12,047,047."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, by an oversight the committee failed to have before it the Provost Marshal General in connection with appropriations which he had received and the amounts of money which he had expended; but in checking the matters up that oversight was ascertained, and the committee then asked of the Provost Marshal General a statement in regard to appropriations and expenditures, and what might be necessary for the balance of the fiscal year. There had been appropriated for his use in connection with the draft a total of $35,762,000. There had been disbursed up to November 30, 1918, $5,985,952.70. There is an estimate of expenditure for the balance of the year of $17,730,000, and an explanation given as to what constitutes that estimate of expenditure. It is predicated on the employees, rental, traveling expenses, and miscellaneous, and then general reservation is made of $8,000,000 for the payment of unpaid claims, and that is to be spent with this statement generally. Under the law as it existed the Provost Marshal General was authorized to pay not exceeding certain sums to the various members of these draft boards throughout the different States, and also, of course, to pay for rental of buildings. In many instances the buildings had been given without any charge having been presented, and in many instances services have been rendered without a charge yet being made by the persons for such service. But the Provost Marshal General said he would not like to surrender so much money as to prevent his being able to meet such obligations if they should be presented. It was his belief that there would not be need for all the money that is being held out. It is proposed now that the various State headquarters and boards throughout the country shall correct the records, devoting special attention to those recorded as delinquent and deserting, and under present instructions, after the records are corrected, they are to be tied in packages, sealed, and sent to The Adjutant General at Washington at such time as The Adjutant General is able to secure suitable buildings in which to establish them. It is estimated that the correction of the records will be completed and they will be ready for shipment from the 4,540 local boards on the following dates: Two thousand three hundred by February 15, 3,500 by February 22, and 4,540 by March 1, 1919. I shall, under leave to print, submit the entire letter of the Provost Marshal General.

The letter is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL,
Washington, January 27, 1919.

Memorandum for the Hon. SWAGAR SHERLEY, chairman Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives.

Subject: Unexpended appropriations, Office of Provost Marshal General, fiscal year 1919.

The several State headquarters and boards throughout the country are now engaged in correcting all records in their possession, devoting especial attention to those listed as delinquents and deserters. Under present instructions, after the records of the boards have been corrected, they are to be tied into packages, sealed, and held in readiness for shipment to The Adjutant General at Washington at such time as The Adjutant General is able to secure suitable buildings in which to establish them. It is estimated that the correction of the records will be completed and that they will be ready for shipment from the 4,540 local boards on approximately the following schedule: 2,300 by February 15, 3,500 by February 22, 4,540 by March 1, 1919.

If the selective-service boards complete the work according to this schedule, which, of course, can not be confidently predicted, we might contemplate a cessation of all expense on account of board members' compensation and the reduction of expenses for clerk hire to the salary of one chief clerk, who ought to be retained by each board, in charge of the records and to answer inquiry, which will not wholly cease for some time. The average salary of each clerk is estimated at $125 per month. There will also be an average monthly rental expense that is estimated at $30,000; miscellaneous expense, $50,000; traveling expenses, $10,000.

All State headquarters (except Alaska, where local boards can not be reached before July 1) should complete their work and be ready to cease operations by April 30; however, they must be kept in operation to supervise the shipment of records from the local boards. This shipment is dependent upon the arrangements that can be made by The Adjutant General of the Army for the proper storage of the records in Washington. While the records are in the possession of the boards there will be a constant source of expense for clerk hire, rentals, traveling expenses of inspectors, and small incidental expenses, which will total, approximately, $600,000 per month.

SHIPMENT OF RECORDS.

The records of the draft are now stored in State headquarters, district and local board quarters in the several States in filing equipment shown in the following table:

Questionnaires, 63,000 wooden filing cabinets, 27,000 steel filing cabinets.

Registration cards, 24,000 wooden cabinets.

These cabinets must each be placed in a crate or a box, and special boxes must be constructed to contain those records for which no filing cases have been provided. The total estimated cost of crating and boxing will be—

63,000 boxes (wooden questionnaire cases), $3 each	$189,000
6,000 boxes (24,000 registration-card cabinets), $3 each	18,000
27,000 crates (steel questionnaire cases), $2 each	54,000
6,000 special boxes, $13.50 each	121,000
Boxing and crating of miscellaneous records of State headquarters and of Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico	118,000
Total	500,000

Disbursements, fiscal year 1919.

	Board members.	Employees.	Rental.	Traveling expenses.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
July	$2,223.75	$143,438.20	$671.20	$959.17	$4,624.74	$151,917.06
August	53,515.51	669,244.54	14,429.12	7,971.20	83,020.40	858,180.77
September	97,165.63	821,531.78	13,270.64	16,489.40	183,029.14	931,486.59
October	724,947.92	751,010.27	34,546.30	10,560.39	153,166.79	1,674,231.67
November	1,158,834.21	987,271.09	25,511.49	9,046.87	189,472.95	2,370,136.61
						5,985,952.70

Estimated disbursements, balance of fiscal year 1919—from December, 1918, to June, 1919.

	Board members.	Employees.	Rental.	Traveling expenses.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
December	$1,500,000	$1,000,000	$30,000	$10,000	$150,000	$2,690,000
January	1,250,000	1,000,000	30,000	10,000	100,000	2,390,000
February	750,000	750,000	30,000	10,000	50,000	1,590,000
March		600,000	30,000	10,000	50,000	690,000
April		600,000	30,000	10,000	50,000	690,000
May		500,000	30,000	10,000	50,000	590,000
June		500,000	30,000	10,000	50,000	590,000
						9,230,000
Packing, crating, and preparation for shipping records						500,000
Payment of unpaid claims [1]						8,000,000
						17,730,000

[1] This item is to provide for payment of held-back claims of every kind that may be presented, such as compensation of board members who have not yet presented any claims, payment of registrars for services, and payment of bills of every kind that have not yet been presented, and to meet any now unforeseen demands that may be made upon the boards for services in connection with investigation for and furnishing information to any of the other branches of the Federal Government, such as the State Department in connection with alien registrants; the Treasury Department, War Risk Insurance Bureau, in connection with allotments, payment of claims, etc.; the Department of Justice, in connection with evidence required in the prosecution of deserters; and for any other legitimate service that might be required of the boards during the time records are in possession of the States.

Also demands not now definitely foreseen but which may be made upon the selective-service machinery in connection with the demobilization of the Army, and particularly in connection with the service of the war-risk insurance. There is much agitation in the press of the country on this subject, and it would be unfortunate if the further duties and demands should be imposed upon the selective-service machinery without adequate funds to meet the expenses incident thereto.

Statement of appropriations made fiscal year 1919.

Title.	Appropriations.	Disbursements Mar. to Nov. 30, 1918.	Estimated additional cash needs balance fiscal year 1919.	Balance of appropriations not required.
Office Provost Marshal General	$15,762,000	$5,985,952.70	$17,730,000	$12,040,047
Act July 9, 1918, and act Nov. 4, 1918	20,000,000			
	35,762,000	5,985,952.70	17,730,000	12,040,047

E. H. CROWDER,
Provost Marshal General.

Mr. MANN. May I ask the gentleman, Does the Provost Marshal General believe the money remaining under his control will be sufficient?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; and in point of fact I think a greater sum might have been taken with safety, but in view of the desirability of cleaning up the matter without subsequent deficiency we left the amount as requested.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY].

The question was considered, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

For general appropriations, Quartermaster Corps, fiscal year 1919, $2,996,414,707.14.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Has the gentleman from Kentucky made a full statement of the necessity of this item?

Mr. SHERLEY. I would say to the gentleman that we are dealing with the amount that we are covering back into the Treasury.

Mr. LITTLE. I understand, but why?

Mr. SHERLEY. I did not quite catch the gentleman's question.

Mr. LITTLE. Did the gentleman in his opening statement make a thorough explanation of this amount mentioned on the top of page 21, Quartermaster Corps, $2,996,414,707.14?

Mr. SHERLEY. As to the general appropriations for the Quartermaster Corps I did undertake to give to the committee information as to the major items that went to make up that sum.

Mr. LITTLE. Then it is unnecessary to repeat it. I can look it up in the morning RECORD.

Mr. SHERLEY. I shall not repeat it in full, but the gentleman will find on page 1176 of the hearings a table in regard to the Quartermaster Corps that I think will indicate the big amount of items that go to make up this huge sum—$700,000,000 for subsistence, $908,000,000 for clothing and equipage, and $654,000,000 coming from pay, and so forth, of the Army.

Mr. LITTLE. Can the gentleman explain why there was this misestimate

Mr. SHERLEY. I would not say there was a misestimate. The estimates were predicated on an army totaling 4,800,000 men by next June. The Army has been constantly reduced from its maximum and the reduction in size reduced the amount of money for subsistence, pay, and for the Army in other items.

Mr. LITTLE. Then it is due to the discontinuance of the war?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. That is not true altogether because there are some places in which I think they did overestimate that I called attention to last fall, but the great big items in the Quartermaster Corps are due to the fact of the reduction in the size of the Army.

The Clerk read as follows:

Total, appropriations and authorizations recovered, Quartermaster Corps, $3,756,135,307.76.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, there is a statement I desire to make to the committee in connection with three artillery camps, in view of the action of the House heretofore and

the subsequent events that have transpired since, and by virtue of the instruction of my own committee. The House will recall that when a deficiency bill in October carried two items, one for the purchase of land at West Point, Ky., and one for the purchase of land at Fayetteville, N. C., but did not carry a recommendation of the War Department for the purchase of land at Columbus, Ga. There was some discussion in the House as to the desirability of carrying an appropriation, which amounts in the West Point case to $1,600,000 and in the Fayetteville case to $1,500,000, and after debate and motion to strike out the amounts were carried. The Senate struck out the two items, and the House conferees finally agreed to the position taken by the Senate in striking those two items from the bill. I reported to the House in connection with the report upon that deficiency appropriation bill that we had acquiesced in the Senate's action in striking out of the bill those two specific appropriations, and that the Senate had insisted that they had not put them in, because they did not feel that the Congress at this time should determine upon the permanent retention of camps by the purchase of land; that the House conferees, while feeling that it was a matter of wisdom to buy the land as an incident to the very large expenditures that were being made, and were proposed to be made at these camps, had finally acquiesced in the viewpoint of the Senate. I assumed, as I suppose most Members of the House did, that that meant that until Congress should otherwise determine no moneys should be expended in the purchase of the land, though all of us knew that the building was going forward in connection with the construction of these camps. The West Point camp and the Fayetteville camp were intended as Field Artillery camps, where large bodies of artillery troops could be maneuvered and where the guns could be actually fired and used. As I recall, each was to be a camp for six brigades. The camp at Columbus, Ga., it was proposed should be an Infantry camp for small-arms practice, machine-gun practice, tanks, and so forth. It developed in connection with a review of the appropriations that had been made for the various camps that the department was going forward with the purchase of land at Fayetteville, West Point, and in Georgia. Immediately on behalf of the committee, and with their instruction, I went to the Secretary of War and stated to him that in view of the action of Congress in refusing the appropriations, we were surprised to learn that moneys were being expended in the procurement of land, and said that we would like to have the Secretary come before the committee in order that the subject might be gone into.

He stated that he would be very glad to come, but he would like opportunity of a day or two to make inquiry in regard to the actual facts. I then stated to him that the committee was busily engaged and would be for quite a while in connection with the hearings on other matters in connection with the bill, but that we did not want to have the matter foreclosed by our failure to hear him; that we would be very glad to suit his convenience; that the matter would be held in abeyance until the committee could go into the matter. He accordingly wrote two letters, dictating them in my presence, one to the Assistant Secretary of War and one to the Chief of Staff, asking that the data might be gathered touching these camps, and that, pending procurement of these data and the consideration of the information by the Appropriations Committee of the House and of the Senate, the matters be held in abeyance. I reported that action back to the Committee on Appropriations. Some time later I learned that they were going forward with the camps at West Point and at Fayetteville in the matter of the procurement of land, that the Georgia camp had had the work stopped upon it and as the matter then stood it was proposed to abandon that project. I immediately brought the matter to the attention of the Secretary, and told him that in view of the letters which had been dictated in my presence, the committee was surprised that this matter was going forward, and asked that he come before the committee to make a statement in connection with the matter. He did come, and stated in substance this: That in the first instance, the War Department had concluded that the failure of Congress to appropriate the moneys specifically asked for the purchase of land was not meant as an intention by the Congress that the land should not be bought, but simply that they did not consider it was necessary to appropriate the money at that time, and that the department, finding the money available, and feeling they could go forward with the purchase of the land, had gone forward; that he had been absent from the country at the time that the bill had passed; and that he had simply gathered that impression without having particularly looked to the congressional debates. I called his attention to the statement that I had made on the floor in regard to the matter. He then said touching the subsequent action of the department that he had gone before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House and the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, he and the Assistant Secretary of War; that they had there discussed pretty generally the policy that should be pursued in connection with cantonments and camps and also in regard to these three camps; that they had gathered the impression from the discussion that had taken place both formally and informally in the Senate committee and in the House committee; that it was their judgment that they should proceed with these two camps at West Point and at Fayetteville; and that the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate had adopted a resolution that further carrying out of the project of the Georgia camp should be abandoned, and that upon notice of that fact the department had abandoned that project, although it was subsequently stated, by either the Chief of Staff or the Assistant Secretary of War, that they had understood that there was a number of persons who were desirous of having the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate reconsider its action, and that the committee had made a request, as I recall it, of the department to send some officers to further look into that project, and that they had sent some officers for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Appropriations then went into a rather full hearing as to the amount of money that had been expended at these three camps, the amount of money it was proposed to expend in their completion, the amount of money that was involved in the purchase of land, the amount of money that would probably have to be paid in the way of damages in the event that the land was not purchased, and they came to this conclusion—and I desire at this point to say that touching these camps, I did not undertake to function, just as I have said to the committee before I would not do, in view of the fact that the West Point camp was near my home city, and I did not care to be in the position of acting where anyone might think my judgment would be swayed by the locality of the camp concerned, but I asked the subcommittee very fully to investigate into the facts and to take such action, if any, as they saw fit touching the matter.

Before telling you the conclusions that they arrived at it might be well to give to the committee a statement in round figures as to the expenditures that have been made. Upon the signing of the armistice it was determined to reduce the size of the camp at West Point, known as Camp Knox, from a six-brigade camp to a four-brigade camp. The project contemplates the expenditure, exclusive of land, of sixteen and one-half million dollars. There has been expended in the way of buildings, roads, walks, sewers, and other accessories incident to the plant some $12,500,000. The site of the camp is not really at West Point, Ky., but it is at the little town of Stithton, Ky., just about 20 miles or less, I should think, from West Point, Ky., and about 40 miles or more from Louisville. They proposed to expend $4,000,000 in completing this camp. This is all exclusive of land. The original estimate was for 40,000 acres of land, to cost $1,600,000. By virtue of the location of the camp, and particularly certain buildings on the two sides of Stithton, they believed it was necessary to absorb the little town of Stithton and some 3,000 or 4,000 acres in addition to the original 40,000 acres of land, which would involve in the proposition as carried through the cost of $2,500,000 as against the original estimate of $1,600,000. The people upon this land have been instructed to move off this land, and the statement has been made that the Government expected to acquire the land, and in some instances houses have been torn down and in other instances considerable damage has been done to farms and to outbuildings and houses, and the little town of Stithton has in large measure been absorbed by the contracting quartermaster and contractor's force in the building of this camp.

The amount of money which has now been paid out for the purchase of land amounts, as I recall it, to about $154,000, but there have been acceptances of title to about $581,000 more for land for which the money has not been paid as yet, so the department proposes to go forward in the settlement of these land claims by paying for them and taking title as fast as title can be made and the lands to be paid for can either be agreed to or settled, where agreements can not be reached, by condemnation proceedings. At Fayetteville there is a camp which is proposed shall cost $11,000,000. It is to be a two-brigade camp, and there has actually been spent $7,500,000, leaving $3,500,000 remaining to be expended on the camp proper. The land will cost, they think, as originally estimated, $1,500,000. There has

been actually paid out $48,000, and the balance it is proposed to pay as fast as they can get title and reports upon the balance of the land. Here, as at West Point, the people have in large measure been moved, though not to the same extent or character as happened at Camp Knox, because at Camp Knox for more than a year past in connection with some 10,000 acres of land the Army has been in possession and has been firing over it and using it as an artillery camp. Now, touching these two camps the War Department states that it was their desire under any condition that might arise to have two camps, in addition to the camp at Fort Sill, Okla., for the training of large units of artillerymen in the use of their guns and for a firing range for such maneuvers. They stated that if the program looking to an army of 500,000 men should be carried out there would be 20 brigades of field artillery that would go with an army of that size, and that with the facilities that exist at Fort Sill and at those two camps as it was proposed to complete them there would be facilities for taking care of 8 brigades, but that there would have to be rotation of brigades in order that all of them could receive this contemplated training; and that even if the army should be reduced to its present authorized strength that there would not be any greater facilities for the handling of field artillery troops than what already existed and that then not all of them could be at one time trained in this work. They very strenuously insisted that they desired to go forward with these camps and asked them as permanent camps; that if they were to have them as permanent camps they ought to buy the land and not to hold it as leased land. But if the camps were to be abandoned they thought the expense in the way of claims and of damages was such as to make the difference between the purchase and the settlement of claims not very great, and that the salvage that would flow from the buildings and the disposition of the whole plant would probably not be greater than what would have been obtained if they had the ownership of the land. In point of fact it is the view of the War Department we ought to acquire the land to the camps and cantonments we have now, and the question of their salvage——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. I ask again that I may have five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SHERLEY. They stated that if the camp in Georgia was abandoned, and they hoped that it might not be, but if it was abandoned it was then stated, I think by the Assistant Secretary of War, that it was proposed to make Camp Bragg a camp for the use of small-arms practice and maneuvers for tank and infantry work, and to occupy simply West Point and Fort Sill as the two camps for artillery.

Now, the committee considered the matter very fully. The hearings, I think, give all of the information as to the expenditures made and which are proposed to be made that is obtainable. I think I state accurately the conclusions of the committee, in which I desire to say again I took no part, that as to Camp Knox, Ky., and Camp Bragg, in Fayetteville, N. C., in view of the amount that had been expended there in the creation of the camps and in view of the insistence of a military need for the camps as an incident to the peace organization and training of the Army, they considered it justifiable to go forward with those camps to completion and for the acquirement of the land; that as to the camp in Georgia, the situation was one in which the amount that had been expended was $1,500,000. The amount that it was first proposed to spend was $10,855,000, and $3,600,000 for the land, which have been since reduced, and that in view of the very limited expenditure that had been made in Georgia, the committee thought that that project ought not to be further prosecuted. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON], as well as the other members of the committee, I think, will agree that I have stated the situation.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman has stated it accurately, and I agree with him. I think in point of merit, and I believe for the good of the service, that West Point is the best proposition—better than Fayetteville—but I think Fayetteville is second, one for a four-brigade and the other for a two-brigade camp. As to Columbus, Ga., considering we have Fort Sill, and have one on the west coast, I think we had better lose the amount that has been expended than to proceed to its completion.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment is withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The authorization of $65,000,000 for medical and hospital supplies of the Army, contained in the first deficiency appropriation act, 1919, is repealed.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, there are three items here, amounting to about $135,000,000, I think—reducing the funds available to that extent—for hospitals and medical supplies. While I do not doubt the committee gave full consideration to that subject, I would like to ask whether the Quartermaster's office and the Surgeon General's office think there will be sufficient money to fully take care of the needs of the returning soldiers for hospitals and hospital attendants? We passed a bill here the other day authorizing an appropriation of $10,500,000, and had quite a contest over it. We are reducing the appropriations now to the extent of $135,000,000, which is all right, but I think it is very essential that we do not cripple the Army in its ability to take care of returned soldiers in the hospitals where necessary, and in view of the fact that they have men, it is said, in St. Elizabeth's who ought to be in hospitals, and that men in the most modern army hospital in the world have to do their own washing. Various things of that sort have come to me from different directions, some of them through the press and some of them through private letters; and I hope we are not crippling the Medical and Quartermaster's office as to hospitals and hospital supplies.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I wish I was always certain that the voting of money for a given purpose accomplished that purpose. Unfortunately, it frequently does not. The Committee on Appropriations, from the very day that the war broke out to this hour, has given every dollar—and I mean that in its most liberal sense—that the Medical Department has ever asked in the way of building of hospitals, equipment of hospitals, purchasing of medical supplies, or anything else for the treatment and care of the soldiers. They did it from the very natural desire that they not only had but which they were sure the American people had, that there should be no failure through lack of funds in properly caring for the men who went into the Army of the United States.

Mr. MANN. I will say to the gentleman that nobody questions that.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am coming to the exact point the gentleman is speaking about.

Now, unfortunately, I hear, as the gentleman does, every now and then, of instances here, there, and other places, where things are not as they should be, and occasionally it has carried with it the suggestion that particular places have been short of funds. I was told, in a personal conversation with a lady the other day, that in connection with the Walter Reed Hospital there had been an absence of funds. Now, I do not know how much money has been allotted to Walter Reed Hospital, but I do know that all the money anybody in the Medical Department has ever said was necessary for all the hospitals has been given, and it ought to have been given to Walter Reed Hospital if it has not been given, in order to maintain it properly. As to these items, every one was conceded by the Medical Department on their own motion.

Mr. MANN. I do not want the War Department hereafter, as I have noticed departments are prone to do, to say, "Well, Congress did not give us the money," or, as in this case, "Congress took it away from us."

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not, either. That is the reason I am emphasizing this statement now. The Committee on Appropriations voted moneys in connection with the supplies when there was not a man who believed they were necessary. There were amounts carried in the second deficiency bill of 1919 in connection with surgical dressings that were so extreme that I knew no human being could justify them and no human being did.

I stood on the floor here and called the attention of the House to the fact, and I said to the House that I was not willing, and the committee was not willing, to deny the moneys in regard to a matter that related to the health and care of the soldiers of our Army, and therefore we voted these sums. And the very supplies they have on hand to-day is proof positive of the judgment of the committee that they did not need the large quantities of many things they have obtained. They have bandages, ligatures, and other supplies in many instances away beyond any possible need.

Mr. MANN. That is a question of contemplation.

Mr. SHERLEY. The question of caring for the soldiers and sailors of America is a question of administration, not a question of money. Congress has always given the money in every single instance.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I take it that the Army regulations do not provide that a man on his back, in bed, unable

to move, shall do his own laundry work, or that a man with both arms off shall wash his own underclothing. It would be a foolish regulation if such exists, and if there is a law of Congress to that effect it would be still more foolish.

Now, I do not know, except what I am told by newspapers and private patients, what the situation is at the Army hospitals, but if it be true that one-armed men are compelled to wait in order, with a long waiting list, to get a chance at the bathtub in order to wash their dirty clothes in Walter Reed or any other military hospital, it is a sad reflection on somebody. If they have the money and refuse to use it, it seems odd. I can understand why men in the Army—well men—are not provided with laundry help. A good many of them do not have much else to do except to do servant's work for themselves and for the officers, and most of them would rather do it for themselves than for the officers. But I should not suppose that it was necessary in the hospitals for ill men or wounded men or crippled men to do that work. Of course, probably this matter was not before the Committee on Appropriations. But I do not want the Army to be able to say that they have not got money enough to do this because Congress repealed the appropriations which it had made.

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not, either. We have carried these sums with the statements made and submitted by the Medical Corps as to the amounts that could be given up. This bill has been printed now for two or three days. There is not a department in the War or Navy Department that ought not to be familiar with its provisions. I have heard not a word from the Medical Department in protest against these figures. I repeat that the committee has never yet, even though its judgment indicated otherwise, refused a dollar that they have asked.

Now, they may get short at some particular place. A man may say, "We did not have money enough." It does not mean that Congress has not given money enough, but it simply means that there has been some bad administration or bad allotment in the distribution of the funds, and that a lot of money has been spent for a lot of ideas of particular men that bear no relationship to the actual well-being and the protection and care of sick soldiers. I know of nothing that requires more common sense, as well as technical skill, than matters relative to the health of men.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Is the gentleman aware that there is no provision made in the Army regulations for the washing of the underclothes of men who are sick in the hospital?

Mr. SHERLEY. If that be true, all they have got to do is to change the Army regulations.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. As a matter of fact, I was talking to a man who was in one of the hospitals five weeks. This matter was up yesterday. He said, "We did not think about it at the time, but I was in the hospital five weeks and not a bit of washing was done for me, and I could not get it sent out."

Mr. SHERLEY. Now, in response to the gentleman's suggestion, there is in the statement of estimated needs for the balance of the fiscal year something over $1,800,000 carried for laundries at hospitals; and I repeat if there is any regulation which prevents provision being made for the laundering of a sick soldier's laundry the remedy is perfectly simple. All that it requires is some common sense on the part of the men responsible for Army regulations to change them. Congress can not be expected to be able to foresee and make provision against the lack of common sense of men in connection with Army regulations.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. The gentleman is exactly right about that; but this man insisted that they told him that the funds could only be applied to the washing of the linen for the use of the beds in the hospitals.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition, subcaliber guns, and other accessories for mountain, field, and siege artillery practice, fiscal year 1917–18, and fortification appropriation act approved July 8, 1918, $85,418,177.38.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I would like to have the attention of the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. SHERLEY. Very well.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Is this the item from which the various appropriations to build nitrate plants have been taken?

Mr. SHERLEY. It is one of the items.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Is it not the only item?

Mr. SHERLEY. No. The gentleman will find in the hearings a statement as to the amount of moneys that have been expended on the four nitrate plants, the funds from which they have been obtained, the total of them, and what it is proposed to expend in the future.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Then I will modify my question. Is it not the item from which all appropriations were taken, except only the $20,000,000 nitrate item?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; I think that is not quite accurate. But I think it is the fund from which the major portion of the appropriation has been paid.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It is the fund, I will ask the gentleman, is it not, from which the appropriation to build plants 2, 3, and 4 were taken?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think that is true.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is, the Muscle Shoals plant and the two Ohio plants?

Mr. SHERLEY. As to No. 2 nitrate plant there has been some $60,000,000 spent or committed on it, and it has been obtained from "Armament of fortifications (c)," which is this item.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes; and that is true also of plants 3 and 4?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. I think that is true of both of them.

Mr. LONGWORTH. In other words, from this item $110,000,000 in round numbers has been taken for the building of nitrate plants?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; the gentleman's total is too large.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will put it this way: Sixty-odd million dollars for the Muscle Shoals plant and $23,000,000 for each of the two Ohio plants?

Mr. SHERLEY. No. There has been actually taken and spent——

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am not speaking of what has actually been spent——

Mr. SHERLEY. Then of what is proposed to be spent there is proposed to be spent for nitrate plant No. 2 $60,000,000 and $5,000,000 additional in connection with the transmission of power, which would make $65,000,000 there; for nitrate plant No. 3, $9,000,000.

Mr. LONGWORTH. For nitrate plant No. 3, $22,000,000.

Mr. SHERLEY. No; I am talking about what it is going to cost now.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am speaking about what amounts were allotted from this appropriation.

Mr. SHERLEY. That may be.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Then I think my statement is correct that $110,000,000 were appropriated from this fund for the completion, if completion took place, of these three nitrate plants.

Mr. SHERLEY. It depends on what the gentleman means by "appropriated."

Mr. LONGWORTH. The heading here is "Appropriated and expended."

Mr. SHERLEY. That heading is a little misleading. There was allotted originally a total amount which looked to the expenditure of $157,000,000 for 18 projects in connection with the nitrate division of the Ordnance Department.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I still think the statement I made in the beginning was correct, that $110,000,000 was allotted from this appropriation for the purpose of building plants 2, 3, and 4. Now I want to ask the gentleman this question: When this appropriation was originally made, was it suggested by the War Department or by any Government official that any of this money appropriated for purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition, and so forth, was to be used for the erection of nitrate plants?

Mr. SHERLEY. In the first instance, I suppose, when the amounts figured were very small. When the amounts got very large I do not recall whether anybody suggested the amount of money that was to be used in the creation of nitrate plants. But I will say this to the gentleman: Without passing judgment on how wisely money may have been expended at particular localities for particular plants, in view of the very serious situation, and what at one time looked as though it might be almost the tragic situation of this country in regard to a shortage of nitrates, in my judgment the War Department would have been singularly remiss in its duty to the country if it had not taken steps looking to the supplying of the Army with the necessary nitrates for the manufacture of ammunition.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I quite agree with the gentleman; but that is not my question.

Mr. SHERLEY. No; but the gentleman's question implies that something ulterior lay in the fact that the department used moneys for the purchase, manufacture, and test of ammu-

nition in creating plants for the making of one of the ingredients to make this ammunition.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent that his time be extended five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman quite misinterprets my position. I was quite as much as he was in favor of the use of some fund somewhere to relieve the situation caused by the falling down of our Chile nitrate supply. I simply asked the gentleman whether it was contemplated to use this fund for that purpose, and the gentleman says no. Then I asked him, Why would it not have been possible to pass very speedily through Congress an appropriation designed for that purpose?

Mr. SHERLEY. In the first place, I did not say no, and, in the second place, I do not believe anybody had the knowledge, not even the gentleman from Ohio, as to the amount of money that ought to have been put into nitrate plants. It was a problem, like many other acute problems in connection with the war, that grew from week to week and month to month, and I doubt whether there was a man alive in America who had vision enough to foresee anything like the demand that was made upon America in the way of ammunition, and if this war had lasted a year more, no man could tell the amount which we would have had to supply. It was away beyond the dreams of the most extravagant advocate of extreme preparation.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Of course, as the gentleman states, it was absolutely impossible at that moment to have definitely contemplated the amount we might need for the production of nitrates. The fact is that we have actually spent now about $60,000,000 at Muscle Shoals, and we are committed to spend not less than $9,000,000 each in the two Ohio plants. I happen to be acquainted with the situation at the so-called Anchor plant in Ohio. It is merely a desert waste. Five million dollars has been expended there. Four million dollars more is to be spent, and the result is a ruin. It has ruined the entire surrounding country. It is of no conceivable use to any human being, yet the Government is going on spending money there to-day building some buildings, for what purpose the Lord only knows. And with all of that, not one cent has ever been paid to any property owner whose land was taken for this purpose. Those plants have been abandoned. They are ruins. The plant at Muscle Shoals is practically completed. A moment ago I saw on the floor the distinguished gentleman [Mr. ALMON] who represents that district. Now, what is the Muscle Shoals plant going to be used for? Is there any gentleman here who would have advocated the expenditure of $60,000,000 to build a fertilizer plant there in time of peace?

And yet that plant lies there, still the property of the Government, but which can be operated for no conceivable use whatever except to make a very inferior quality of fertilizer. Col. Joyes testified before the Appropriations Committee with regard to the use of ammonium nitrate, which is the sole product of this plant, for fertilizing purposes. It is not even good for fertilizer.

Col. JOYES. Ammonium nitrate is useful to some extent for fertilizer, but it has never been used very much for that purpose. Its prime purpose was for the war—for high explosives, for shell filler.

Mr. CANNON. And when the war is over——

Col. JOYES (interposing). It has no further usefulness in that connection except as it may safeguard us in a future war; and the real—

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. Did I understand the gentleman to read that Col. Joyes said we would not use the plant——

Mr. LONGWORTH. For the production of anything except fertilizer—and an inferior quality of fertilizer. What, gentlemen, is the use in taking from another fund—the fund which Congress deliberately, and the only fund which it deliberately, appropriated for the manufacture of nitrate, the fund of $20,000,000 carried in the act of 1916—and spending that money in the making of a dam at Muscle Shoals? For what purpose? To furnish power to run this fertilizer plant; and which dam can not be completed, according to the Secretary of War, for three years from now. We have not only spent $60,000,000 there already, but we are in the process of spending $14,000,000 more to furnish power to run this plant, even if we agree entirely with what the gentleman from Kentucky said—that we were justified in using appropriations never designed for the purpose to supply necessities of war——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I ask for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONGWORTH. We were justified, perhaps, in using this fund of three hundred and odd million dollars for the purpose at that time. But the money has been spent; and now by Executive order we are using the money which is appropriated for nitrate plants in time of war to complete a dam whose sole purpose is to furnish power to produce fertilizer in time of peace, and the total amount of power it can supply can only be used for this one plant alone, according to the letter of the Secretary of War, which I introduced in the RECORD the other day.

There is $74,000,000 of the people's money being spent at this one particular place, and it can not be used for any other purpose except for the benefit of a private corporation to make an inferior quality of fertilizer. Why, the power generated by the steam plant which cost $15,000,000 makes it so expensive to operate this plant that it can not possibly compete with Chile nitrates, or any of the modern and up-to-date processes of making nitrogen.

But after we have spent $14,000,000 for the benefit of this one locality it is estimated that the cost will be reduced from $30 the horsepower a year to $5, according to Col. Joyes, which might make it possible, gentlemen, for this Air Nitrate Corporation to put over on the Government the scheme it expects to be able to—buy the plant at a scrap price and eventually to have furnished them without expenditure on their part a water-power plant which will produce power at $5 a year instead of $30. If they can buy the plant at a scrap price, it may be that they will be able to conduct a profitable business, and the result will have been that the American people will have paid $75,000,000 to accomplish only the result that the Air Nitrate Corporation may be able to make a going concern out of the Muscle Shoals plant, because they have not had to spend one cent of money in the development of the plant or the power to operate it.

I am not going into this matter fully to-day. It is a long story. When I do go into it fully, it is going to justify, in my judgment, a congressional investigation as to why this money was ever spent in this locality. I shall not make one statement in connection with it that is not borne out by information furnished by the proper officials of the War Department. Among other things, I will tell gentlemen interested that I propose to show that from the point of view of the three necessities of nitrate production—coal, coke, and limestone—there is a haul of anywhere between 30 and 100 miles to get that product there where the nitrate plant is located. I am not going to detain the committee longer, but I thought it wise now to bring out a part of the history of this transaction. [Applause.]

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Chairman, the House has been furnished another contribution of misapprehension and misinformation by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] about the Government nitrate plants and the great water power at Muscle Shoals, on the Tennessee River in north Alabama. I am sure that the Members of the House, and in fact the country, will feel disappointment and regret that the gentleman feels it necessary to postpone placing in the RECORD the answer of the War Department to his "57 varieties" of questions to the Secretary of War, since I understand the Secretary of War answered his questions. I have postponed addressing the House at some length on the subject of the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals and the development of water power there, hoping that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] would be able by this date to go into this subject fully, and I am sorry he now tells the House:

I am not going into this matter fully to-day.

As the representative of the district in which Muscle Shoals is located, I feel unable to postpone longer a correction of some of the misinformation and misapprehension which the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] so insistently and repeatedly presses upon the attention of the House. The very great solicitude and anxiety which the gentleman exhibits with respect to the Government developments at Muscle Shoals are well known to this House, for the gentleman told the House, as we find in the RECORD on the 25th day of April, 1916, that the first poem he ever committed to memory when he was a very young boy was this:

If 'tis a sin to steal a pin,
How much more great to appropriate
The electoral vote of a sovereign State.

And the gentleman has been industriously trying to find the "pin" at Muscle Shoals ever since. He told the House on the day he repeated this poetry that, proceeding by analogy, it was a great sin to obtain the people's money out of the Public Treas-

ury on false pretenses, and he declared upon the same date, in referring to what is known as the nitrate provision in the national-defense act, approved June 3, 1916, the gentleman having Muscle Shoals in mind and never forgetting it, made this statement on the floor of the House:

This matter is the old wolf in sheep's clothing.

He told the House that the provision designed and proposed to provide a nitrogen supply for the defense of the country in time of war was an effort to take the money of the people under false pretenses, and the gentleman opposed the provision. He said to the House on April 25, 1916:

I tell you, gentlemen, water power as an instrument for making nitrogen is obsolete.

Against this statement by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH], a distinguished scientist, Dr. Allerton S. Cushman, of this Government's research bureau, stated before the American Institute of Electrical Engineers April 26, 1916, the very next day after the statement of the gentleman from Ohio that—

The production of nitrogen, which is one of the three principal fertilizer ingredients, is distinctly a water-power proposition involving the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen.

I will leave the Members of this House to decide for themselves and the people of this country to decide for themselves which is the more reliable authority with respect to the problem of air-nitrogen fixation, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] or Dr. Cushman.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] was so distressed when he read in the newspapers that the work on the Muscle Shoals Dam had been ordered resumed that he wrote the Secretary of War asking whether the statement published in the newspapers was true or not, and obviously the gentleman's inquiry of the Secretary of War was prompted by the gentleman's intention to further oppose the progress and construction of the Muscle Shoals Dam and criticize it in the future as he has in the past. Will the House please contrast the gentleman's opposition to the building of this dam and contrast his questions addressed to the Secretary of War with reference to the resumption of work on this dam with the resolution passed by the National Board of Farm Organizations in Washington on August 27, 1918, representing 17 different farm organizations in the country, and with 172 delegates representing 40 States of the Union present, as follows:

Whereas the building of the great nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, together with the water power which will make these plants available in time of peace for the manufacture of cheap fertilizer, is the one outstanding feature of necessary war development that will have a permanent influence upon the agricultural industry of the country; and

Whereas we hear with regret that work on this dam has been suspended and thus will prevent the realization of the hopes of the farmers that the product of these plants might be available during the reconstruction period at the close of the war, when it would be most valuable:

Therefore we most respectfully appeal to the President of the United States that some method be adopted by which this work can be at once resumed, if consistent with the effective prosecution of the war, with priority orders, if necessary, only for such material as will be required for the construction that can be accomplished at once, so that these plants, with their potential possibilities, shall not lie idle when their product is no longer needed for destruction, but can at once become an asset to the Government and of vital assistance to the farm lands of the Nation that have been and will continue to be called upon to yield and yield again that man may be fed.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] was no doubt glad when the work on the Muscle Shoals Dam was stopped and was sorry when the work was resumed, but the national board of 17 farm organizations regretted that the work was stopped and appealed to the President of the United States that some method be adopted by which this work could be resumed, and the President found a method to resume the work.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] is as constant as he is inconsistent in his opposition to the building of the dam at Muscle Shoals, and the farmers of this country are as consistent as they are constant in pressing the construction of this dam to its earliest completion in order that they may get cheaper and higher-grade fertilizers, as Congress intended they should when Congress passed the so-called nitrate provision in the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, and as the President intends they shall have when he ordered the work on the dam started and when he ordered, through the Secretary of War, the work on the dam resumed, and when he located the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals as the best location in the United States for the nitrate plants.

In the discussion of the rivers and harbors bill in the House on January 11, 1919, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] said:

I have in mind a river improvement now in progress in the sunny southland, in comparison of which any item of this bill is utterly insignificant.

The gentleman's opposition to the joint improvement of the navigation of the Tennessee River and the development of water power by the Government at Muscle Shoals has gone so far, and his feeling of opposition is so intense, that he made the amazing extreme assertion to this House on April 4, 1918, that—

I myself have come to hate the words "Muscle Shoals."

Among the criticisms made of Muscle Shoals by some is that the spelling of "Muscle" is wrong and that it should be "Mussel." Some very interesting historical arguments have been made in support of changing the spelling to "Mussel," and some surprise has been felt that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH], in asking his "57 varieties" of questions of the Secretary of War, did not ask the Secretary why "Muscle" is not spelled "Mussel." In the course of the investigations which the gentleman tells the House he proposes to have made he may have this spelling investigated also.

Can any Member of this House—can even the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH]—treat this great development and national opportunity at Muscle Shoals with fairness and with justice who hates the words "Muscle Shoals"? He has been pleased to characterize the people of the Tennessee Valley and their organization, the Tennessee River Improvement Association, as "lobbyists." Will he be consistent and confess to this House that the Ohio River Improvement Association is also an organization of "lobbyists"? The people of the Tennessee Valley, in acting through their organization, the Tennessee River Improvement Association, now more than 20 years old, have been doing the same kind of work and striving to secure the very same ends, namely, the improvement of the navigation of the Tennessee River, just as the Ohio River Improvement Association has worked to secure the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio River; but the Ohio River Association has been most remarkably successful and the Tennessee River Improvement Association has been, unfortunately, very unsuccessful. A comparison of the appropriations by Congress for the improvement of the Ohio River and the Tennessee River discloses how successful the Ohio River Improvement Association has been and how the efforts of the Tennessee River Improvement Association have failed.

The first appropriation made by Congress for the improvement of the navigation of the Tennessee River was made in 1827 and the first appropriation made by Congress for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio River was made in 1826. Since the year 1826 appropriations for the improvement of the Ohio River, and brought down to and including July 18, 1918, exclusive of appropriations for the improvement of the tributaries to the Ohio River, have amounted to $74,471,955.74, while appropriations for the improvement of the Tennessee River, exclusive of the tributaries to that river and brought down to and including July 18, 1918, amount to only $14,018,631.54.

The "lobbyists" of the Ohio River Improvement Association have been able to secure appropriations in 92 years at the rate of approximately $810,000 per year, while the "lobbyists" for the Tennessee River Improvement Association have been able in 91 years to secure approximately only $155,000 per year, but neither the members of the Ohio River Improvement Association nor the members of the Tennessee River Improvement Association are "lobbyists." They are the leading progressive people of the Ohio and Tennessee Valleys, and they properly desire and support the navigation improvement of the rivers in these valleys.

If the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] is willing to support and advocate the improvement of the tributaries to the upper Ohio River, how can he so unfairly carry his opposition to the improvement of the Tennessee River, also a tributary of the Ohio River, to the extreme point of saying to this House that he hates the words "Muscle Shoals," which is the greatest obstruction to the navigation of the Tennessee River?

Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama, when he had completed his long years of distinguished service in behalf of the Panama Canal, turned his attention in his last days to the Tennessee River and the importance of its navigation improvement, and in a report upon the "navigation of the Tennessee River," which the Senator prepared and presented to the Senate in 1905, he also turned "lobbyist," like the Tennessee River Improvement Association, in favor of the Tennessee River, and in seeking to find to what these discriminations against the Tennessee River, as compared with the Ohio River, could be ascribed, says in his report:

Nor are such wide discriminations due to the difficulties or the proper expense required to make these watercourses equally navigable at any given depth of water. Nor are they due to the characteristics of the population of the watershed of either river, or to the topography, or healthfulness, or water supply, or the forests, or the fertility of the lands in these areas, or to the beauty of these regions, respectively; for there is no country in the world more beautiful than the valleys, hills, and mountains that are intersected and watered by the Tennessee River and its many affluents, great and small.

The committee are not in search of the reasons for the neglect of Tennessee River by Congress in the past history of the country, but they are impelled by a sense of duty to the whole country to present the facts that appeal to Congress for a just, wise, and national policy that will give to the Tennessee River its rightful position as the foremost of the tributaries of the Mississippi River as a contributor to the wealth and commerce of the country.

Woodrow Wilson, authorized by Congress to do so, and with a vision like Morgan's vision, has shown the courage and wisdom to adopt "a just, wise, and national policy that will give to the Tennessee River its rightful position as the foremost of the tributaries of the Mississippi River as a contributor to the wealth and commerce of the country."

Now, in regard to the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, which seem to be an affliction to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH], I am utterly unable to understand why he singles out the nitrate plants as a case of war extravagance and why he insists that the Muscle Shoals project has been repeatedly turned down by Congress, when the RECORD does not show anywhere that Congress at any time ever turned down the Muscle Shoals project. Can it be because these plants are located in the "Sunny Southland," or is it because it is the purpose of the Government to carry out the intention of Congress that these nitrate plants in times of peace shall produce cheaper and higher grade fertilizers for the farmers of this country? Let him answer. He indicates to the House that it is his purpose to have an investigation made with respect to the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals and the building of the dam there. Speaking for myself and, I believe, for all of the friends of the great Muscle Shoals development, I have no objection to any investigation he may propose, and I do not fear that he will find anything except that which will commend the United States engineers in their conclusions and recommendations for the joint improvement of the navigation and development of water power at Muscle Shoals, for the reports of the United States engineers on the Muscle Shoals project will ever be a credit to the Engineer Corps, and they never can be justly or fairly criticized for their reports and recommendations on the Muscle Shoals project.

It may be shown, and no doubt will be, if an investigation is made of the cost of the construction of the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, that these plants, like all other Government enterprises during the war, have cost more than they would have in peace times, and more perhaps than they should have cost, but whatever may be discovered or disclosed by any investigation that may be made touching the construction of the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, I feel certain that it never will be discovered by any investigation that the Ordnance Department, in building the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, failed to perform their duty, and I also feel certain that an investigation will disclose the fact that Col. J. W. Joyes, the ordnance officer who has been immediately responsible for the construction of the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, performed a service for his country in a time of emergency second to none in the Government's entire war construction program. The Ordnance Department was called upon to meet the most unusual emergency connected with all of the country's war endeavors, and that was to provide the one thing that the country did not have to carry on the war with, namely, nitrogen with which to manufacture explosives and munitions for our armies in France. We had steel and steel plants, and the country possessed nearly all of the facilities and utilities for carrying on the war against Germany, but the country had no nitrogen plants to supply the great powder plants the Government was building for the manufacture of explosives. The Ordnance Department met the nitrogen emergency in a most praiseworthy and forceful way. The American Cyanamid Co., an American corporation with a large plant at Niagara Falls, on the Canadian side, owned an air-fixation process and had a technically trained staff and skilled operatives. This process was the only established and successful air-fixation process available to the Government. The Ordnance Department would have failed in its duty to protect this country with its needed supply of nitrogen if it had not secured this process and built a plant with which to operate this process. Whether the Air Nitrates Corporation received from the Government and charged the Government too high a fee for the use of the American Cyanamid Co.'s process and for the services of its trained technical staff and operating organization will be a question about which there will no doubt remain a difference of opinion, but there will be no division of opinion about the patriotic and prompt action of the Ordnance Department in the matter, even if the Government did have to pay the Air Nitrates Corporation more than should have been paid, and if more was paid to the Air Nitrates Corporation in the way of a fee and for operating experience than should have been paid the case is not different from other similar cases, and there is no reason why the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] should single out Muscle Shoals and nitrate plant No. 2 there as a horrible example any more than Hog Island, the powder plants, the cantonments, and the Government's aircraft construction. The Government paid a terrible bill for all of them, but the Government had to pay to win the war and the Government paid and won the war.

The nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals cost the Government a very large sum of money, but these plants, unlike nearly all of the war plants built by the Government, will not have to be scrapped. On the contrary, these great nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals will be operated and be of great value in time of peace, and though they were built as a national war necessity they will, I believe, prove a peace-time national blessing in the production of fertilizers, always needed but never more so than at the present time.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALMON. I have but little time.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will ask that the gentleman have as much time as I had.

Mr. ALMON. I yield for a brief question.

Mr. LONGWORTH. In the first place, I will ask this question——

Mr. ALMON. I think the gentleman said the other day in his speech that he had prepared about 55 questions to be put to the Secretary of War.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. ALMON. Has the gentleman received answers to them?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I have.

Mr. ALMON. Will the gentleman insert them in the RECORD?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will when the time comes. What I have said to-day is confirmed. Let me ask the gentleman this question. Let us leave out this business about war preparations. Let us grant we had put money in a nitrate plant——

Mr. ALMON. All right, sir.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am not criticizing the gentleman, but would the gentleman have voted or would he now vote for an expenditure of $75,000,000 at Muscle Shoals or elsewhere to build a fertilizer plant in time of peace?

Mr. ALMON. If it was necessary to get fertilizer for the benefit of the farmers of this country in the production of food crops we are going to need in the next few years, I would have done so.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman is criticizing what he has called the Chilean Nitrate Fertilizer Trust who are oppressing the farmer. Does the gentleman know what the cost of Chilean nitrate is per pound?

Mr. ALMON. The Government is paying $81 a ton for it, and a private individual, the farmer, can not get it for less than $100 f. o. b. at the port where it is shipped to this country.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is a war-time question, of course, when we had to have Chilean nitrate; but what was the price of Chilean nitrate per pound before the war and what is the lowest price at which it can be produced at this plant? Now I make the assertion——

Mr. ALMON. I do not care for the gentleman to make an assertion.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Then I ask the gentleman if he knows the price of Chilean nitrate in ordinary times?

Mr. ALMON. No.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will inform the gentleman it is 2 cents per pound.

Mr. ALMON. I will say, in answer, we will make it at Muscle Shoals for less than we get it from Chile.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will read the gentleman——

Mr. ALMON. I hope the gentleman will not take up my time.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Col. Joyes testified that the lowest cost of manufacturing ammonium nitrate at that plant is 6 cents per pound—three times the price of Chilean nitrate.

Mr. ALMON. The gentleman does not know what it is going to cost after the war is over and after labor conditions settle and after the price of coal goes down. You do not know what the cost of nitrates will be. I declare that I believe that fertilizers can be manufactured at the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, when the water power is developed and available, much cheaper than the farmers have been paying for Chilean nitrates. Nitrate plant No. 2 at Muscle Shoals is the greatest nitrate plant in the world, and the Muscle Shoals possible water-power development is one of the greatest power possibilities known to hydroelectric engineers; and the Muscle Shoals nitrate plants when operated with cheap water power will produce fertilizers and other products as much needed in times of peace as in times of war, and no war development or war enterprise in which the Government has engaged promises so great a contribution to the economic welfare of the country in the future as these Muscle Shoals developments. No doubt it will prove true, in

spite of the fact that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] will continue his criticisms of the President and the War Department for building the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals and for developing the water power there to operate these plants with; but he will stand alone in his criticisms and will be left with no one to cheer him and no one to sympathize with him in his hate of the words "Muscle Shoals."

The farmers of the country will look upon him as their enemy and will turn to the President and to the War Department and to their friends in Congress.

President Wilson, under the authority given him by Congress, located and built the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, and is developing water power there with which to operate these plants for the people of the United States and to free the country from its dependence upon a foreign source of nitrogen supply. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] stated in his speech here the other day that this plant had been turned over to a private corporation. There is nothing upon which to base such a statement.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I made no such statement.

Mr. ALMON. Then it is in the RECORD. I do not know whether you said it or not.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman never read such a statement from me. The Government still owns it, and it is to be operated by a private corporation, and it will be.

Mr. ALMON. I may be mistaken about you saying the plant had been turned over to a private corporation, but you did say in a speech here on the 11th day of January that this dam was being built by the Government for a private corporation to produce fertilizer at Muscle Shoals. You have nothing upon which to base your statement that this plant will be operated by a private corporation.

Mr. GOOD. If the gentleman will permit, I think the testimony is the Government has closed down on the manufacture of ammonium nitrate.

Mr. ALMON. That is where the gentleman is mistaken.

Mr. GOOD. That was the testimony before the committee on yesterday, that the plant had been closed down for the manufacture of ammonium nitrate for fertilizer purposes because no scientific way had been discovered to manufacture that ammonium nitrate so that it would not cake, and that is the problem they are now trying to solve.

Mr. ALMON. If my friend, Mr. LONGWORTH, will just now insert in the RECORD his 55 questions to the Secretary of War and Col. Joyes's answers they will give the House a great deal of information on this question.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will say that the information given is quite contrary to the information the gentleman is now giving to the committee.

Mr. ALMON. Muscle Shoals was selected for the location of this nitrate plant upon its merits. We had the water power, the transportation facilities, the raw materials, and the best climatic conditions, far distant from the Gulf and Atlantic coast in the event of an invasion of this country by a foreign enemy. There was no place in the United States where you could locate a plant and have water power with which to run it during the war if the war had continued as expected.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I want to ask the gentleman a question. He said they had water power in time of war.

Mr. ALMON. Yes; but not developed. There was no place in this country where there was developed water power and where a nitrate plant could be built and operated by water power during the war.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Then, why did the Government spend $15,000,000 to build a steam plant there for any purpose?

Mr. ALMON. They had to build a nitrate plant somewhere and operate it with steam power during the war, and why should they not operate it with steam power at Muscle Shoals as well as anywhere else?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Why did they select Muscle Shoals—because there was water power there?

Mr. ALMON. Yes; there is a great water power at Muscle Shoals, and the nitrate plants were located there because of this great water power, and when this water power is developed it will be used in peace time for the manufacture of fertilizers and other useful products, as Congress intended, and for the operation of the nitrate plants there in time of war for the production of nitrogen needed in the manufacture of explosives. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] has offered no evidence in support of his statement that only an inferior grade of fertilizer can be produced at the Muscle Shoals nitrate plants. On the contrary, successful manufacturers of air nitrogen fertilizers testified before the Military and Agricultural Committees of the House in February, 1916, that at Muscle Shoals, with cheap water power and with phosphate rock and other raw materials near by, high-grade fertilizers can be manufactured and sold to the farmers of the country for perhaps one-half of what they paid for them in normal times. These statements made by expert manufacturers before these committees of the House have remained unquestioned and undisputed by any competent authorities. As between the unsupported assertion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] that only inferior fertilizers can be manufactured at the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals and the undisputed statements of expert manufacturers that high-grade fertilizers can be manufactured there with cheap water power the farmers of the country prefer to accept the opinion of the successful manufacturers. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

For ordnance stores and supplies, Army appropriation act approved July 9, 1918, and first deficiency appropriation act, 1919, $372,299,260.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of clearing up a little difference of opinion as to prices of nitrates between the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ALMON] and myself. And I am quoting from Col. Joyce as to the question of the price of ammonium nitrate as produced in this plant and as to what Chilean nitrate costs in normal times.

In answer to the question put by Mr. SHERLEY—

What is the cost?

Col. Joyce said:

The cost has not been definitely determined, and can not be determined until we have had a more extended period of operation, but it is estimated that the cost of ammonium nitrate at full operation would be about 6 cents per pound, and possibly a trifle higher, but it is claimed by the owner of the process that the cost will not be as great as that. Experience to date, running at about one-fifth capacity and for a short period with the operatives green and with the plant overstaffed (because we were getting men ready for larger operation), indicates that even at this partial operation ammonium nitrate can be produced for a little over 8 cents per pound.

In answer to the question asked by Mr. CANNON, "What is the cost of Chilean nitrate in normal times?" Col. Joyce said:

Before the war the cost of Chilean nitrate was a little above 2 cents a pound.

That is an answer to the whole proposition, gentlemen. If this fertilizer trust from Chile has been crushing the farmers of this country, as the gentleman from Alabama says, by selling nitrate at 2 cents a pound, how will they benefit when it is proposed to sell it in this plant for something over 8 cents?

Mr. ALMON. What was the Government paying for Chilean nitrate during the war for ammunition purposes?

Mr. LONGWORTH. At what cost did the Government produce it?

Mr. ALMON. What has been made at Muscle Shoals, it seems, cost about 6 or 8 cents in war times, when the Government has been paying 15 cents during the war for Chilean nitrate.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The Government was contracting for all ammonium nitrate at 15 cents.

Mr. ALMON. You say 15 cents we are to pay for something that we can make in Muscle Shoals in war time at 8 cents a pound?

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman is talking about his plant in peace times as a benefit to the farmer, and it shows that it will cost the farmer at least three times as much if he buys it at that plant as it would cost him in the market.

Mr. ALMON. It is shown that in peace times we can make it cheaper than the Chilean nitrate.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The only reason we built this plant at all was because we were out of Chilean nitrate, and the cost was enormous if we could buy it at all. That is the reason we built the plant. I was talking about the price of fertilizer in normal time.

Mr. ALMON. If the Government can make fertilizer as good as that made in Chile, are you opposed to our Government making it because we can get it cheaper from a foreign country?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am opposed to the expenditure of $75,000,000 of the people's money to furnish nitrates for any purposes except war purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Ohio yield the floor?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes; I yield the floor.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I want to say just one word about these plants and Chilean nitrate, and then we will go on with the bill.

Without expressing an opinion as to the value of this plant for fertilizer uses in peace times, I think the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH], who is a fair man, will admit that it is not a fair statement to say that the Government has expended, or proposes to expend, $75,000,000 in order to go into the manufacture of fertilizer for agricultural uses. The truth of the business is, as the gentleman realizes, that whether the selec-

tion of the particular site was wise or unwise, the expenditure of $60,000,000 in connection with the plant was because of the then pressing war need, which, if the war had not ended when it did end, would have more than justified that much of the expenditure in order to relieve this country from a shortage that it dared not have in connection with so important a matter as ammunition.

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman will yield, I will say I am exactly in accord with the gentleman.

Mr. SHERLEY. The reason I state that is because the gentleman repeatedly talks about a $75,000,000 investment for fertilizer purposes, and the gentleman knows, because he has admitted it, that the $60,000,000 investment was not made with that end in view, but was made because of the war situation.

Mr. LONGWORTH. So far the gentleman and I are together, and I will ask the gentleman, he being a fair man, whether he supports the expenditure of $15,000,000 in the building of a dam to furnish, three or four or five years from now, power for this plant?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will answer the gentleman with perfect frankness in this way: I have always questioned the advisability of the expenditure of as much money as seems to be necessary for the development of the Muscle Shoals water power. But I want to say to the gentleman that the development of that power differs, so far as I know, in no particular from the development of many other water powers and the improvement of many other streams in America the commercial justification of which has yet to be clearly demonstrated.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if Congress did not authorize the expenditure of $60,000,000 to improve the navigation of the Ohio River?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Ninety millions in all.

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not remember the total amount. I have believed that that was one of the rivers that might justify improvement, although I have in late years come to the conclusion that until we change basically our policy touching river navigation none of our investments in river improvement is going fully to be justified. I do not care to go into the question of river improvement at this time.

Mr. AUSTIN. This appropriation for Muscle Shoals was a joint affair, for not only the development of the water power but also to improve the navigation of the Tennessee River, which is really a larger river than the Ohio River.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not either attacking or defending the improvement of Muscle Shoals. The gentleman from Ohio asked me about it, and I very candidly expressed my opinion. All that I rose for was to correct the impression that might be produced by the gentleman's reiterated statement that $75,000,000 was put in for a commercial purpose, and I knew that he was too fair a man to be willing to stand by such a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Total, appropriations to be covered into the Treasury, Bureau of Ordnance, $164,833,843.69.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, the appropriations for last year for the United States Employment Service amounted to about six and one-half million dollars. There is an estimate this year for that service of $14,801,382. As I understand it, it is proposed to expend that sum in finding work for the unemployed in the United States.

I have here a clipping from the Washington Star of last night entitled "Unemployment area spreading." It reads:

UNEMPLOYMENT AREA SPREADING—GOVERNMENT SERVICE SHOWS CONDITIONS IN COUNTRY BECOMING SERIOUS—GETS REGULAR REPORTS.

Conditions of unemployment are becoming serious in all parts of the country, according to telegraphic reports received by the United States Employment Service.

"The area of unemployment is spreading all over the country," the report stated. "Up to December 21 only six States were reporting any considerable amount of surplus labor. During the current week 20 States reported a surplus. On December 23, 28 cities reported labor shortages, and this number has been cut down in the current week to 15."

On December 10, it is stated, 25 per cent of the cities reporting on shortages and surpluses declared a shortage of labor, 12½ per cent reported a surplus of labor, and 60 per cent reported that the supply about equaled the demand.

SURPLUSES STEADILY INCREASE.

"From that date on until the current week there has been a steady and consistent decrease in the shortages reported and in localities where the supply equaled the demand, while the surpluses have been steadily increasing." the report says.

For the current week the percentage of cities reporting shortages has dropped to 13, the percentage reporting surpluses has increased to 44, while the cities reporting that supply equals demand have dropped to 43 per cent.

On December 3 there was reported a total shortage of labor of 34,000 and surpluses totaling only 12,000. During the following eight weeks this shortage was reduced to 12,000, while the surpluses reported reached the figure of 210,000.

The report deals specifically with various sections of the country. In Connecticut the surplus over demand is increasing. New Britain alone reports a slight shortage. In Massachusetts there is a surplus of about 3,000 boot and shoe workers, 700 factory hands, and 11,000 machinists.

NEW YORK STATE POINTS.

The surplus of labor in Buffalo has jumped from 13,000 to 15,000, and the surplus in Albany has increased from 3,000 to 4,000.

New Jersey reports much unemployment, with Trenton alone having 4,000 out of work. Erie, Pa., reports a large surplus.

In Cleveland the 40,000 unemployed of last week have been augmented by 15,000 more. Toledo reports a surplus of 10,000 and Dayton 7,000 more. The conditions throughout Ohio grow steadily worse.

In Detroit last week's surplus has increased from 25,000 to 30,000. The expected lay off in the Rock Island Arsenal will affect both Illinois and Iowa. Indianapolis reports a surplus of 4,400 and Minneapolis, Minn., 4,000. Butte, Mont., has 10,000 unemployed, and in Arizona 125 mining companies are cutting down their forces, while a large amount of unemployment is reported already throughout the State.

Heavy surpluses are reported in Pacific Coast States, San Francisco alone having a surplus of 8,000. Portland has 7,000 unemployed. In Washington there is great unrest in the shipyards at Puget Sound.

Notwithstanding the very serious condition presented by the United States Employment Service under the Department of Labor, I had only to turn over the paper to find another article to the effect that the Secretary of Labor is in favor of importing laborers who would take the place of discharged soldiers and other citizens.

The article is as follows:

WOULD IMPORT ISLAND LABOR FOR UNITED STATES FARMS—COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION CAMINETTI SAYS 100,000 AVAILABLE IN PORTO RICO ALONE.

The use of labor from the island possessions of the United States in helping to produce a record food crop this year has been suggested by Commissioner General Caminetti of the immigration bureau. Extension of the plan of Commissioner Caminetti has been authorized by Secretary Wilson of the Labor Department to include Mexican and Bahama negroes to help in farm work in Texas and Mexico.

"The insular possessions of the United States are thickly populated," says Commissioner Caminetti. "Many of the people there are following occupations under the head of common labor, and large numbers of them are out of employment.

"There must be at least 100,000 laborers available in Porto Rico alone, and there is a considerable number in the Virgin Islands. Undoubtedly a vast number could be depended on from the Philippines."

The commissioner points out that these people are not barred from continental United States by immigration laws, and that they could be landed on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

Think of it! Fourteen million eight hundred and one thousand dollars demanded by Secretary Wilson to provide the machinery to find jobs for the unemployed of America, and at the same time he is asking that the bars be let down in order to bring in from Mexico and the Bahamas negroes from those places to help perform the farm labor. Why, any man who has sense enough to know anything about the employment of labor knows that these boys who are coming back from France and the boys who are to be discharged from our cantonments will go out upon the farms and become most efficient farm laborers. We want to give them employment, and the Secretary of Labor on one hand wants $14,000,000 to aid in that. Yet, on the other hand, he wants to take that employment away from them by bringing in negroes from Mexico and other places. I am inclined to think that the gentleman who wrote to me from my State a few days ago was correct. He is a banker, and he used this language:

To my mind, we now have a large Cabinet of small men, and what is advisable is a small Cabinet of large men.

Here is a Cabinet officer asking for $14,000,000 to find employment for the unemployed labor of America, and at the same time he wants to let down the bars to bring in foreigners to take away the jobs which Americans should have. I can readily see how the Secretary of Labor can expend $14,000,000 if he is to find a job for every American, and as soon as every American gets a job to displace him with a negro from Mexico. When did it become a part of our duty to find a job for every man in Mexico? Has it come to this, that it is the duty of the United States not only to find work for all its citizens but to find work in America for every man, no matter where he belongs? That seems to be the plan, and it is all wrong.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. CANNON. I ask for half a minute to ask the gentleman a question. Does not the gentleman think the $14,000,000 for the Department of Labor will be spent in finding jobs until the money is gone?

Mr. GOOD. Yes; every dollar we appropriate will be spent in finding jobs. I quite agree with the gentleman, for the money we appropriate will be spent in holding fat jobs.

Mr. CANNON. Precisely.

Mr. GOOD. That is one of the principal things for which the money is asked. But what I call attention to is the fact that this Department of Labor does not seem to be functioning at all. It does not seem to have a clear-cut program. On the one hand, it deplores the fact that there is unemployment in America. On the other hand, it wants to bring in more men—100,000 foreign laborers—to take the jobs of an equal number of our own citizens who are now profitably employed. If there is unemployment in the United States, and if we are in danger of being compelled to resort to public soup houses and bread lines, why add to our problem by the importation of foreign labor to take the place of American labor? So long as our condition is such that the Secretary of Labor can advocate the importation of foreign labor there is no grounds for an appropriation to find places for America's unemployed.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. In connection with the statement about the unemployed I send to the Clerk's desk to have read a statement given out by one of the ablest public men in the United States. I think it is opportune to have this article read and given the greatest possible publicity in the interest of the American people.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FOSTER. Has the gentleman verified this article to know whether it is true or not?

Mr. AUSTIN. There is so much good common sense and patriotism in it that I think it will be beneficial to all the Members of Congres.

Mr. FOSTER. There are so many newspaper statements printed that are untrue, does the gentleman know whether there is any truth in this article?

Mr. AUSTIN. I take pleasure in vouching for the truthfulness of the article and the high standing of the author, who is one of America's truly great men.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read as requested by the gentleman from Tennessee.

The Clerk read as follows:

JOB PROBLEM IS NOT SERIOUS, ASSERTS GARY—BUSINESS WILL BOOM ITSELF IF PESSIMISTS KEEP SILENCE, HE SAYS—OUTLOOK IS PROMISING.

NEW YORK, *January 27.*

Building of roadways in the South, reconstruction of railroads throughout the country, and all other public improvements contemplated by the Government should be begun at once in the opinion of Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation.

Judge Gary yesterday deprecated any suggestion that the country is facing a serious unemployment problem. On the other hand, the country is on such a prosperous basis that it does not need any "booming," he said.

"Why should there be any talk about unemployment?" said Judge Gary. "The country never was more in need of its workers than it is now, and it will use all the workers it can get. I don't think there is going to be any permanent or menacing unemployment problem.

"Our country never has been so prosperous as it is now. We have resources of $15,000,000,000 annually coming out of the ground—more than we ever had before; we have more than $16,000,000,000 cash in our banks; we are a creditor nation to the extent of $15,000,000,000 or more, and our per capita wealth has jumped up to $56, as compared to $35 before the war. We are in an era of prosperity hitherto undreamed of.

"What we need is simply to get to work and not talk about unemployment. Psychology has a good deal to do with it. Pessimistic talk will do more to bring about unemployment than it will do to prevent it.

"But there isn't going to be any. Our men who have been fighting abroad will be taken back into industry just about as fast as they return. Of course, there may be a little talk here and there about a few not being able to find employment, but this will not be serious."

"Do you think the business men of the country at large should begin doing business on a large scale, so as to tide over any period of depression, as suggested by Secretary of Labor Wilson?" Judge Gary was asked.

"We don't need any booming," he replied. "Business will take care of itself. This time of the year is always cleaning-up time. It is not necessary for industry to do more than the demand requires. Business is going to boom itself without any help from anybody. There is no doubt about that.

"I do believe that all the public improvements that have to be done should be done now. Men should be at work all this winter on the roads that are to be built in the Southern States. The Government should begin the great reconstruction work necessary on the railroads of the country, and wherever there is public work to be done it should be done without delay.

"As for the steel industry, we are not thinking of any depression. We had a great many men in the war, and we are taking them back as fast as they return."

The Clerk read as follows:

Navy yard, Charleston, S. C.: For storage facilities, $17,000.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 29, lines 12 and 13, strike out the words "storage facilities" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "New superstructure for pier No. 314."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, that is to correct a mistake in designation.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Naval training station, Great Lakes, Ill.: For additional land, $400,000.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, this provision, on page 29 of the bill, for returning this sum of $400,000 to the Treasury from the Great Lakes Training Camp is ample demonstration that they will not need all the young men they are holding there, and, it seems to me, with this provision in the bill they ought to discharge the boys and send them home if they are not going to use the money. If they did not need it, they might spend some of it in employing people in Chicago who are out of work to shovel the coal. I read the other day in the Journal-World of Lawrence, Kans., that—I am not sure whether it was the Great Lakes people or not—a young officer said to a boy who sought dismissal that if he did not quit procuring assistance from these "damned civilians" he would get into trouble. The civilians of the class the officer mentions are taxpayers and parents of fighting men. Their boys must fight because the experts are needed at home. We have reached a point where it becomes a serious question, and I think it is time for these men to get a little real information as to where the beneficiaries of the people's taxes stand and to peg away on the soft pedal. During the Civil War the Government necessarily put on many restrictions. They put them in execution, and the people of America in 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1864 were halter broke, taught to stand hitched, and pull single and double. In this war for the first time in history the American people have been saddled and bridled, bitted and spurred, cruppered and surcingled, and kicked in the belly. [Laughter.] Wherever the boys are not absolutely needed, as in this Great Lakes Training Station, the American people want their boys sent home. Pharaoh received mighty patient handling when he was notified five times to "Let my people go." He did not have sense enough to take a hint, and his fate should be lesson enough for any man who is fed and clothed and housed by the fathers of these soldiers of the Republic. If these gentlemen at the Great Lakes want to know what the American people think of such methods and what will happen to them if they keep on, let them look over the November elections and they will get the information that may be useful to them. [Laughter and applause.]

The Clerk completed the reading of the bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk be authorized to correct the totals.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that the Clerk be authorized to correct the totals. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHERLEY. Now, Mr. Chairman, I ask that we go back to page 9 where an amendment was offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DYER], to which a point of order was made by myself, and, at the instance of the Chair, went over.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order on the amendment went over until to-day at the request of the Chairman. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 9, end of line 3, strike out period, insert colon, and add the following:

"*Provided*, That no part of the appropriation herein shall be used unless all former Government employees who have been drafted or enlisted in the military service of the United States in the war with Germany shall be reinstated on application to their former positions appropriated for herein if they have received an honorable discharge and are qualified to perform the duties of the position."

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, may I say a word in connection with the point of order?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Looking at the RECORD this morning I noted that a point of order had been raised as to whether the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DYER] was a limitation, or was subject to a point of order. It further appeared that the gentleman from Missouri, Judge ALEXANDER, had made a ruling a day or two since which was regarded as supporting the contention that this amendment was a limitation, and therefore not subject to a point of order.

I wish to suggest in this connection that possibly the gentleman from Missouri failed to draw the distinction between the effect of the words "until," and "unless," as they are found in the amendments which have been made the subject of rulings. In the very precedent relied on by Chairman ALEXANDER to support his ruling, the word "until" is found, whereas the amendment on which he ruled, uses the word "unless."

The word "unless," is also found in the pending amendment. I submit that there is a very material difference between the two words when the Chair comes to determine whether an amendment is, or is not, a limitation. All limitations are intended to accomplish the result intended by indirection. Hence a good deal of refining may be found in some of the precedents. It is competent to say that no part of an appropriation may be used for the construction of a sea-level canal. That is a limitation, but it is not competent to say in an amendment to an appropriation bill that this money provided shall be used to construct a canal with locks. Yet the very design of the first amendment is to secure by indirection the construction of a canal with locks. It is often said that the House can do what it pleases with respect to appropriating, or not appropriating. True. Further it can always say how an appropriation may not be used. But it is not equally true that the House can say affirmatively how the appropriation may be used. The House in an appropriation bill can not announce in direct terms to a bureau head, that the money appropriated, shall be used specifically to employ red-headed clerks, but it can secure this result by indirection.

The very moment that it is proposed to accomplish some specific end by direct compulsion, upon some official, or department at that very moment the amendment ceases to be a limitation. The House can say to a department, this money shall not be expended until certain conditions exist, or that the fund shall not be expended in the test of a certain machine (4 Hinds, p. 620). These would be limitations. But we can not say to a department, you shall not expend this money unless you affirmatively take a certain line of indicated action. That would be dealing with the situation, directly, and not indirectly. The very essence of a limitation is indirection. Take the famous precedent with respect to canteens. In that case an amendment was offered to the effect that no part of the appropriation should be apportioned to any national home for disabled volunteers, that contained a canteen where intoxicating liquors were sold. The amendment did not undertake to say to the trustees of these soldiers' homes, that they should abolish the canteens before they secured the benefit of the appropriation. The amendment did not require the trustees to do anything; it merely contented itself with saying that in those homes in which canteens were found the appropriation should not be expended.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Yes.

My DYER. I am perfectly willing to substitute that word. There is nothing in this that would prevent it. I have no special reason for using the word. I will make that request.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I am dealing with the amendment in its present form. Of course if the gentleman offers it in a different form, it may be in order. I take it for granted that we would be all agreed that if the canteen amendment had been so phrased that it directed the trustees to remove the canteens as a condition precedent to securing the benefit of the appropriation, a point of order to the same would have been sustained. The result desired was secured by indirection. A matter of phrasing, you say. Yes. But all limitations must be accurately phrased so as to accomplish indirectly, what they may not accomplish directly. Even as it was, there was a very vehement contention over the amendment. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] insisted that the amendment "was positive legislation, although in the form of a limitation." He said further: "It is true that Congress can refuse to appropriate, but it is also true that Congress can not against a point of order, by a limitation change the organic law. Here is a provision that though Congress has created these homes, a proposition through the form a limitation may take away the control of the board of managers, and by affirmative legislation in the guise of a limitation change the statute. The Chair might well rule, it seems to me, that while limitations are favored, a limitation in this guise changing the law, is positive affirmative legislation, as it would undoubtedly be construed by the comptroller, and therefore subject to a point of order."

The Chair overruled the point of order, and held that the amendment was a pure limitation, as it undoubtedly was—but if that amendment in anywise resembled legislation, by how much the more is the amendment now pending, obnoxious to this objection.

I do not say of course that an amendment can not be framed to this paragraph which would be a limitation, but I am dealing entirely with the amendment in its present form. I submit to the Chair that this amendment is certainly not an indirect way of securing a result. It does not limit the appropriation to be used only in a bureau, or department where certain conditions exist. It proposes in substance to compel those conditions, to bring them to pass directly. In substance it says to the authorities who would otherwise expend this money, that they shall not secure the same, unless they reinstate every soldier who has been honorably discharged from the Army, and who prior to that time had a position in that particular service. It matters not what may have been the record of the soldier since he was discharged, however unworthy he may have proved to be, the authorities without any exercise of discretion whatever must reinstate him, and all others once holding positions in that service, before the appropriation becomes available for any form of general or specific expenditure. Is not this amendment in substance a requirement, direct, positive, and emphatic, that the authorities shall restore these soldiers, before the fund becomes available for any purposes? Does this specific, and positive requirement, smack in anywise of indirection? If the amendment requires direct, affirmative action, then it is not a limitation, and the point of order is good. It is not a question of giving the discharged soldiers this preferred status. We are all agreed to do this. The question is whether it can be done by this amendment, which is in plain violation of the rules, and of the precedents. There are many rulings in this connection to which I can direct the attention of the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman permit an interruption by the Chair?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is in full sympathy with the views expressed by the gentleman from Virginia, but the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union is entitled to have uniformity of ruling, and, after all, our rules in the House and in committee are based largely on the precedents made. This identical amendment was offered by some one to the legislative bill. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ALEXANDER] was in the chair at the time, and after an exhaustive debate he held the amendment in order. The Chair feels inclined to follow that precedent in order that there may be uniformity of ruling and in order that we may not have a chaotic condition. For instance, in the case referred to the amendment, having been held in order, it was adopted to a former bill. In this instance, if it should be ruled out of order and for that reason not adopted, it would bring about a very anomalous condition. There seems to be a very serious difference of opinion among the best parliamentarians of the House as to the point of order—that is, as to whether or not the amendment is in order—and so far as the present occupant of the chair is concerned he concurs with the opinion of the gentleman from Virginia, but other parliamentarians of equal knowledge and probably superior logic have held otherwise. It seems to me in a case like this the committee itself ought in some way to settle what the future policy of the committee shall be. The Chair merely makes that suggestion for the benefit of a solution of the problem.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. May I say to the Chair in this connection, that while it is true that if the Chair should rule in accordance with his indicated attitude, he would overrule a prior occupant of the chair. Yet on the other hand I call the attention of the Chair to the further fact that the prior occupant of the chair appears to have overruled an occupant of the chair who preceded him.

The CHAIRMAN. But not with the identical amendment. The Chair calls the gentleman's attention to that fact. This is identical, word for word, with the amendment that was offered to a prior bill, and after a lengthy discussion in Committee of the Whole the Chair held the amendment to be in order. If on each one of these bills a different ruling should be made, we would be in a very bad condition. For instance, suppose the present occupant of the chair should sustain the point of order, and then suppose later in the consideration of the sundry civil bill, when a similar amendment was offered, the then occupant of the chair should overrule the point of order.

Now, we would have a condition in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union where the membership would be entirely at sea as to what was likely to be the ruling there, but it does seem to the Chair the present practice is where a ruling has been made on an identical amendment like this, if there is any doubt about it, it is the duty of the Chair to follow the precedents that have been set. In this particular case the Chair on this question would be inclined to do this with the suggestion that he would be very glad if the committee in its wisdom should see fit to overrule the Chair, because that would be but his judgment.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, with the permission of the Chair I will conclude what I have to say in this connection. I have no personal interest in this question. It

has not arisen in connection with any bill that I have had in charge, or in which I have other than a general interest. I am only concerned in maintaining a consistent body of precedents in this connection. It is more important for the precedents of the House to be established on a solid foundation of reason, than for the Chair to follow a single precedent which in the judgment of the Chair, as stated is totally wrong. Amendments offered as limitations frequently present questions of the very greatest difficulty to the Chair. Some of these amendments are so plainly limitations that they leave no room for controversy. Other amendments are so plainly not limitations, that the Chair is not in doubt a moment as to their proper determination. Then there are other amendments that approach the dividing line the twilight zone, so closely, that it is very difficult for the Chair to determine the head under which they fall. But I submit that the appropriate controlling principle to be followed by the Chair in passing on amendments of this character, should be that the artificial creation, known as a limitation, should not be so highly regarded, or carefully cultivated by favoring interpretation, as practically to destroy the rule of the House against legislation on an appropriation bill. This may easily be done, if we lose sight of the fundamental principle relating to limitations, which is that they seek to accomplish some desired end by indirection. It is not in order to legislate as to the qualifications of the recipient of an appropriation, but it is in order to specify that no part of an appropriation shall go to recipients lacking certain qualifications. (IV Hinds, 3942-3952.) A refined distinction, you say, admittedly, but after all a very real distinction. The rule against legislation on an appropriation bill is one so sound in principle, that it is likely to be followed in this House, whatever its political complexion.

We are not dealing with the merits of this amendment, but engaged in determining whether it is in order at this time under our rules. It is perfectly competent for the House to repeal the rule against legislation on an appropriation bill, but so long as the rule stands, it should be enforced.

The controlling feature of a limitation is that by indirection it brings to bear some compulsion, upon officials charged with the expenditure of public moneys. But indirection is not a principle to be admired either in an individual, or a legislative body. Hence indirection should neither be favored, nor cultivated. If an amendment is clearly a limitation, the Chair should readily hold it in order. But if the question is one of difficulty, it should bear in mind that every refining distinction which puts an amendment over the dividing line, and on the limitation side, is in further aid of indirection, and in derogation of the fundamental principle which prefers direction, to indirection. It seems to me that having these principles and the precedents in mind, this amendment is plainly not a limitation. The distinction afforded in IV Hinds, sections 3957-3966, is an obvious one, namely that when you are seeking to secure some result in the way of action, by an amendment to an appropriation bill, it must be done not affirmatively, not by direct compulsion, but by a simple negative on the use of the appropriation.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I shall detain the committee but a moment. It does not seem to me because a ruling has been made which is wrong, assuming it is wrong, that it must be followed because it has been made. We will never have any progress on earth on that basis. I am not a believer in chaos in either substantive or parliamentary law. I recognize the weight of precedents, and it is because I recognize the weight of precedents that I do not want what, to my mind, is clearly and distinctly and beyond dispute a bad ruling to become crystallized by being again followed within a short period of time.

It is perfectly patent upon the reading of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DYER] that it requires affirmative action and is stated in an affirmative way on the part of the department in regard to the reemployment of former men of the Army before these funds can be expended. Now, the question of the desirability of accomplishing that is one thing, and the question of parliamentary law is quite another. And the way to accomplish that, anyhow, is, I think, other than by the proposal of the gentleman, even if it were in order. But I am so clearly convinced it is not in order that I think the Chair ought to determine the matter according to his own judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair, as indicated by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS], is thoroughly of the opinion that this is an encroachment on the legislative prerogative of the House, and that the better part is to construe the rules of the House, or rules governing the Committee of the Whole, so as to prevent, so far as possible, legislation on appropriation bills, or else the other committees of the House will finally be absorbed by the various appropriation committees of the House. But the Chair is confronted with this situation, suggested by the gentleman from Virginia, that the committee ought to possibly in some way arrive at this conclusion. The Chair will be glad to make a ruling either way if by so doing he could get the expression of the committee. His own individual opinion is, however, that this is not in order, and when he makes that ruling he is in direct conflict with the ruling made a few days ago on an amendment of this kind, and, unless a special ruling comes from the House itself, there will be a difference of opinion.

Mr. SHERLEY. The Chair is not responsible for another man's ruling. He is responsible for his own judgment. If the Chair feels that this is out of order he ought so to rule. The precedents are overwhelmingly in favor of the point of order.

Mr. MANN. Well they are not.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman makes that assertion.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman makes one assertion and I make another. They are probably of equal value to ourselves. But the gentleman is seeking on his statement to overrule a decision which nobody disputes by his mere statement that the precedents are the other way. And I say they are not the other way. The precedents sustain the position taken by Chairman ALEXANDER the other day. That is the latest ruling.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. If the gentleman from Illinois raises the proposition that the precedents are the other way, I would like to submit about 25 precedents to the Chair.

Mr. MANN. And I will undertake to submit on any question of limitation a hundred precedents that tend either way and do not cover the case.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Very well. The precedents are here. If you have something to cover the case, you can submit it. I will cover my case by submitting others.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair undertook to look up the precedents as best he could, but there is a later precedent that can be found on an identical amendment, which was made not over 10 days ago. There was no appeal made. It is the latest opinion expressed on the subject. And the Chair is going to overrule the point of order. The Chair would be willing to see it appealed from in order to ascertain the opinion of the committee.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia appeals from the decision of the Chair. The question is: Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the committee?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I think that this appeal is debatable under the five-minute rule. I do not know that I wish to take up much time in this connection, but I do desire to call the attention of the Committee of the Whole to some precedents.

In Hinds' Precedents, volume 4, page 676, an amendment was offered:

Provided, That no part of this sum shall be expended in the further maintenance of the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark.

That would seem to be a clear limitation, yet the Chairman who was presiding at that time, sustained the point of order, and held that the amendment was not a limitation.

Let me call the attention of the committee to Hinds' Precedents, volume 4, page 675, section 3991:

That no part of the money hereby appropriated shall be paid to any employee who, in the opinion of the chief of the division of which he is employed, is incompetent and inefficient for the work in which he is engaged.

This amendment is apparently a limitation, but it was not so regarded by the Chair. I read from IV Hinds, page 679, in which an amendment provided that no part of the appropriation should be paid until the passing of a title. That language using the word "until," was held to be a limitation.

The limitation permitted on a general appropriation bill, must be a negative prohibition on the use of the money, not an affirmative direction to an executive officer, IV Hinds, section 3975. Mr. WEBB of North Carolina offered an amendment that certain money should not be expended, until a test was made to ascertain the hardness of certain armor plate. The Chair held that this amendment implied that the Secretary must do certain things to get the money, IV Hinds, section 3975. This precedent is precisely in point. Mr. Macon of Arkansas offered an amendment that no part of a certain appropriation should be used to pay transportation charges on American vessels where the transportation charges were in excess by as much as 20 per cent of similar transportation charges on foreign vessels, IV Hinds, section 3982. Held out of order. Mr. Olmsted of Pennsyl-

vania proposed an amendment that no part of a certain appropriation shall be paid the Public Printer unless he conformed the spelling in his documents to the rules of orthography in accepted dictionaries, IV Hinds, section 3985. Held not to be a limitation. Mr. Kerr offered an amendment that no part of an appropriation should be paid any employee who in the opinion of the chief of his division was incompetent, IV Hinds, section 3991. Held out of order. Mr. Hull offered this amendment that no part of an appropriation should be expended in further maintenance of the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, IV Hinds, section 3993. Held out of order. A proposition that no part of an appropriation should be paid until the passing of a title was held to be a limitation, IV Hinds, section 3999. Mr. CLARK of Missouri offered an amendment that no part of an appropriation for stamped envelopes should be expended in printing return cards on them, IV Hinds, section 4006. Held out of order.

An amendment that no proposals to build vessels should be considered unless the bidder then had an adequate plant, was held out of order, IV Hinds, section 4007. An amendment limiting the purchase of seeds to rare and uncommon seeds was held out of order, IV Hinds, section 4014. An amendment using the word "until," was held to be a limitation in IV Hinds, section 3940. There are many other precedents to the like effect as those cited.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the committee?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, as it seems to me to be the manifest purpose of the other side of the House to kill time, I ask to be recognized for an hour.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. CRISP). The Chair would hold that inasmuch as the committee is considering bills under the five-minute rule, the five-minute rule applies to appeals. The Chair will be glad to recognize the gentleman for five minutes.

Mr. MANN. I think the Chair's ruling at this time is correct. I am only going to take five minutes. The present distinguished occupant of the Chair asked me a few days ago, when this matter came up, whether in my judgment the man who took the floor on an appeal was entitled to an hour or to five minutes. I said to him, "Under the old rulings of the House in practice when I came here a man who took the floor on an appeal in committee was entitled to an hour's time, but under the recent ruling he is only entitled to five minutes." I could go through the precedents and find plenty of precedents giving me an hour's time, as the gentleman from Virginia can go through the precedents and find plenty of precedents on either side of a question of limitation on an appropriation bill. But the recent ruling just made on this matter by the present distinguished occupant of the Chair is right now, and the recent ruling made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ALEXANDER] was right on this limitation. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. GARNER] was right in following him.

We can provide on an appropriation a limitation that it can only be expended by redheaded girls. That is a matter of judgment as to whether we can do it or not. We can not under the form of a limitation require an executive to do something he is not previously authorized to do, but if he is authorized to do it we can say he can not spend the money unless he does it.

All these various rulings in the past have, as a usual thing, turned upon the effort of Congress to give to an executive officer additional authority over what he then had and require him to do something which he was not entitled to do before. Of course, if we put in the form of a limitation a requirement that an executive official spending the money shall do it in a certain way, he has to do it. That is his new authority. But we can provide such limitation as we please, that they shall not spend it otherwise.

Here is a case; here is an appropriation of a small amount of money for temporary employees of the Government, and the question is whether by limitation we can say to the department, "You must employ, in the expenditure of that money, old soldiers and sailors who have been discharged."

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. I regret I have not the time. We have a right to say that. There is no other way to reach it. We can not require by positive enactment that they shall do it, but we can put it in the form of a limitation that the money shall not be expended unless they give employment to those people. That is the only way we can really do it. That is a limitation. They can do it or not do it, as they please, now under the law. They have the power to do it or to refuse to do it. But if we say that they must give priority to the boys coming home in this employment, if they spend the money they will have to give them priority. That is the only way, and it is a limitation pure and simple. We ought to sustain the Chair in holding that it is a limitation. [Applause.]

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of the committee to the fact that this amendment is offered at the end of the paragraph which provides $4,000,000 for temporary employees of the War Department. The law now provides that men who are in the civil service and who resign can be reinstated. I think the provision of the law is that this may be done within one year. The President by executive order, I think, has extended that to five years, so far as soldiers, sailors, and marines are concerned. Now, all this amendment does is to provide not that they may be reinstated, but that they must be. As the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] has said, it is only a direction to the executive department. Now, gentlemen, that is a limitation, and the purpose of it, of course, is to give these men an opportunity to get their positions back.

The law is already on the statute books covering that in effect. You and I and the majority of the Members of this House voted to take these men out of their positions in the Government establishments under the selective-draft law. We urged it as a matter of national defense and a necessity to preserve the honor of our Nation. These men have been taken out of their positions. They have gone into this war, and some of them come back and find that others have been put in their places, and when they go and ask to have their positions back as the law says they may be reinstated they find others holding their positions, and the Civil Service Commission says, "We can not give you any relief. We can not put you back and we can not compel the executive departments to put you back."

Gentlemen, there is a good deal to this proposition beside a mere parliamentary situation. There is a good deal to this beside a mere point of order as to what is the thing to be done; and I submit in all fairness and in all justice that not only is the decision of the Chair justified by law but it is justified by what is right as to our duty as a Congress to the men whom we took out of the departments and sent to war. It will be, I hope, an example that will be followed by the industries. We owe them a duty. The distinguished chairman of the Committee of the Whole a few day ago [Mr. ALEXANDER] in deciding this question decided it also according to the law, and it ought not to be necessary now to rise in our places and make technical objections to a question upon which you can find precedents upon both sides and all phases. We ought to submit this as a matter of right and justice. It is not that we shall create new positions for men who have been in the war. I am ready and willing, and I think Congress ought to be ready and willing, to go to the extent of enacting a law to provide that every honorably discharged soldier, sailor, and marine of our wars shall receive preference in employment under the Government. [Applause.] But that is not this question. This is only the carrying out in substance of the law as it is written.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is, Shall the judgment of the Chair overruling the point of order to the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Missouri stand as the judgment of the committee?

The question being taken, the decision of the Chair was sustained.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, in view of what the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DYER] has said, I desire simply to say this: It is known to every man who has had the responsibility of handling bills upon the floor that it is the peculiar duty of the chairman of the committee to make a point of order, irrespective of his judgment as to the merits of the proposal, if, in his judgment, it is subject to a point of order. It is very easy and it is very usual, particularly touching a popular matter, for men to rail at parliamentary points of order and the rules of the House; yet the experience of all legislative bodies from the beginning has shown that nothing is so conducive to wise legislation as a strict observance of the rules that are established by a legislative body. Without that observance you have more or less chaos. Therefore in considering whether a thing is in order or not men must consider something beyond the merits of the proposal itself. They must consider that the letting down of the rules that wisely prevent legislation upon appropriation bills, even for a good cause, will lead to results that frequently are far-reaching and very detrimental. Every older Member of this House who has had charge of bills has repeatedly made points of order irrespective of his personal predelictions touching any particular proposal. It seems to me, therefore, that it is hardly becoming in the gentleman to criticize anyone in charge of the bill for performing a duty that is recognized as necessary by every Member familiar with parliamentary procedure and what it stands for and means.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], to which a point of order was reserved.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SHERLEY: Page 9, after line 9, insert:

"The Secretary of War is directed to consider, ascertain, and recommend to Congress the amounts which in his judgment are due on claims of persons, not employees of the United States, for compensation for disability or death resulting from personal injury sustained from the recent explosions and fire at the plant of the T. A. Gillespie Co. at Morgan, N. J.: *Provided*, That claims shall not be recommended hereunder for persons or in amounts which would not be allowable under the United States employees' compensation act if the individual were an employee of the United States."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, this paragraph was passed over in order that I might have a chance to examine the workmen's compensation act. I have examined it and prepared an amendment to the amendment and I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I understand the gentleman from Wisconsin suggests a proviso to the proposal which is entirely agreeable to me and I offer it as an amendment to the amendment which I have offered.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the amendment of Mr. Sherley:

"*Provided further*, That the report to be made hereunder shall contain a full statement of the facts in connection with the inquiry or death of any person for whom payments may be recommended."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise, report the bill with sundry amendments to the House, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly the committee rose and the Speaker having taken the chair, Mr. CRISP, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15140) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years and for other purposes, and had directed him to report the same back with sundry amendments, with the recommendations that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not the Chair will put them in gross.

There was no demand for a separate vote and the amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. SHERLEY, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

FOURTEENTH AND SUBSEQUENT DECENNIAL CENSUSES.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill H. R. 11984, and I ask unanimous consent that the House reject the report and ask for a further conference.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11984) to provide for the Fourteenth and subsequent decennial censuses.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the conference report be disagreed to.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee has asked unanimous consent that the House disagree to the conference report, and I think he coupled with it the request that the House further insist on its disagreement to the Senate amendments and ask for a further conference.

Mr. HOUSTON. That is the request.

Mr. MANN. I want to ask the gentleman. There were several gentlemen in the House who wished to be heard or make some motion on Senate amendment No. 12.

Mr. GARNER. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. Would it be in order to disagree to the conference report and instruct the conferees? Would a motion to that effect be in order?

Mr. MANN. It is in order to move to recommit the conference report or reject the conference report, and then it is in order to agree to the Senate amendments or to amend them or ask for a further conference, and it is in order to instruct the conferees.

Mr. GARNER. I asked the question because there has been a ruling by the Speaker both ways on the motion to recommit, and it is liable to come up on a very important bill, the revenue bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is wrong.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman is aware that it is in order to recommit the conference report which the Senate has not acted upon. It is not in order to move to recommit a conference report that has been disposed of by the Senate. Here is the Senate amendment, and the language of the bill was that "whenever possible women and honorably discharged soldiers and sailors shall be employed in the positions herein provided for."

The Senate amendment was to strike out that language and insert:

That after the passage of this act preference shall be given to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines, and widows of such, in making appointments to clerical and other positions in the executive departments and in independent governmental establishments.

The conferees agreed upon an amendment providing that "wherever possible, women and honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines shall be employed in the positions herein provided for."

Several gentlemen of the House desire either to be heard or to have a vote or to make a motion in reference to this matter. I am told that gentlemen who have been taking an active interest in the Senate amendment have practically reached an agreement with the members of the committee who will be the conferees, and that if the bill goes back to conference that agreement will be incorporated in the conference report and will be satisfactory to the friends of the soldiers, sailors, and marines. So far as I am concerned, I am perfectly satisfied with the statement which has been made to me upon that subject; otherwise, of course, there would be a vote in the House. I have not conferred with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HOUSTON] about it.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a statement in regard to this matter, as to why it is that I have made the request I have. When the bill was sent to conference in the first instance, it was done by unanimous consent. I was asked at that time if I would be willing to grant a separate vote upon this Senate amendment No. 12. I said that I would be willing to do that. It was the understanding of the House, I suppose, that we were to have a separate vote upon that. When the conferees considered the matter we prepared a substitute embodying some of the features of that amendment, which we thought would be satisfactory to those who wanted a separate vote. However, it was not satisfactory. Then we also thought that a motion could be made by one of those gentlemen to recommit this bill with instructions on this one amendment, and that that would settle the question and give them an opportunity to vote upon the question that they understood they were to vote upon. That brings it up to the present point, when there is some confusion about it. I make the request that we disagree to the report and send it back to conference, and ask for a further conference.

Mr. MANN. But, Mr. Speaker, we accomplish nothing by that, unless——

Mr. HOUSTON. If there is a proposition involved that any Member of the House wants incorporated it seems to me that he can have a vote on that proposition now before we go to conference.

Mr. MANN. Of course, now is the time when you can have a vote. If the conference report is rejected, which, in fairness to the House, in view of the statement made by the gentleman when the matter was sent to conference, he would agree to——

Mr. HOUSTON. Certainly.

Mr. MANN. If the conference report is rejected, any Member of the House can get a separate vote upon any Senate amendment. Any Member of the House can have a separate vote on Senate amendment No. 12. He can move to concur with an amendment in the Senate amendment and have a vote on that. To merely send it back to conference with no further information given to the Members of the House would not advance the matter any, because it is assumed under such circumstances that the conferees will bring the conference report back to the House again identically as they have heretofore, and no separate vote can be taken when the conference report is made.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. CRISP. I have been in conference with the gentlemen in connection with this matter, and I can state to my friend

from Illinois that the object of this motion is to get the matter back to conference, that the majority of the House confcrees and the Senate conferees have agreed upon a provision that is satisfactory to the friends of the soldiers, sailors, and marines.

Mr. MANN. I will say to the gentleman that I made the same statement a while ago, that I understood that it had been settled satisfactorily, and I have been taking a little time in the House since then trying to get that statement into the RECORD from somebody else, because my information was purely hearsay.

Mr. CRISP. That is why I am making the statement. I would say to the gentleman from Illinois that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HOUSTON] is opposed to this proposition, and that the House conferees will be the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HOUSTON], the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. ASWELL], and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. NICHOLS], and I understand from my friend, Mr. VAN DYKE, who is the author of the compromise amendment and very much interested in it, that the gentleman from Louisiana and the gentleman from Michigan have agreed with the Senate conferees that if the bill is sent back in conference they will agree to this proposition that the friends of the soldiers have agreed upon.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman from Michigan has made the same statement to me—not that they have agreed with the Senate conferees but that a majority of the House conferees had agreed—and, as far as I am concerned with that statement, I have no desire further to put the House conferees on record in the RECORD.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. The statement made by the gentleman from Illinois, and also by the gentleman from Georgia, that some matter had been agreed to that is satisfactory to the friends of the soldiers, sailors, and marines I assume to mean is satisfactory to everybody.

Mr. MANN, Well it is certainly satisfactory to the men who are special friends——

Mr. HUMPHREYS. If the gentleman will permit, that being true, it occurs to me it ought not to go into the RECORD that it is satisfactory to the friends of the soldiers, sailors, and marines, and it is unsatisfactory to some Members here of the House.

Mr. MANN. Oh, well, of course, the gentleman from Tennessee is a friend of the soldiers, sailors, and marines.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. There is no question about that, but the RECORD ought to show that or it ought not to show the contrary.

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Speaker, I merely wish to confirm the statement made by the gentleman from Georgia that an agreement has been reached as far as possible for the conferees to reach it and that it is entirely satisfactory as far as we can ascertain.

Mr. FERRIS. Will the gentleman yield? Is it the thought of the conferees, that if they do not get substantially the Senate amendment to bring it back and let us have another vote upon it?

Mr. ASWELL. Yes.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to make a statement in reference to the matter of anyone being a friend of the soldiers and sailors. As that matter has been brought out by remarks I want to state this, I am as much a friend to the soldiers, sailors, and marines as any man who stands on the American continent. The only question in this matter was to what extent soldiers, sailors, and marines who have been honorably discharged from the Army should be made eligible to appointment. One amendment is favored by a portion of the Members that absolute preference should be given to those who are honorably discharged. I insisted on the provision that provided that the director should select these men if they were otherwise qualified and competent to discharge the duties. Now, I want the soldiers and sailors to have preference in everything, but the real soldier, the good sailor, the real patriotic man ought not to want to get an opportunity to get a Government position in which he can not render good service. There might be some man who had a uniform and who might want an easy job, who might have had an easy job lately in some clerical position, and he might be swift to get one of these positions, and I did not want to have those men put upon the same footing as the men who fought at Chateau-Thierry and in the Argonne Forest, whether capable or fitted for the work or not. [Applause.]

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield? I ask that the Clerk may read just what, substantially, they have agreed upon so that we may know as a matter of information.

Mr. HOUSTON. I am perfectly willing. I preferred the other amendment, as reported by the conference committee; other gentlemen preferred that, and that seems the end of it.

Mr. DYER. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VAN DYKE] has the substance of it.

Mr. VAN DYKE. This is the amendment.

Miss RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask the chairman of the committee what is in the amendment in regard to women?

Mr. VAN DYKE. The amendment will be read, and the lady from Montana can understand exactly what it is.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

That hereafter in making appointments to the classified and other positions in the executive departments and in independent governmental establishments preference shall be given to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines, and widows of such if they are qualified to hold such positions.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I want to make this one observation: That amendment, of course, can not be otherwise than satisfactory to the membership of this House. Now, that provision, provided they are qualified, is a mere statement of what the law now is. No man can be employed, no woman can be employed in the Government service unless they are qualified for the position that they seek; and putting that in there, in my judgment, is unnecessary. It is now the language of the law, and I can not see anything that can be accomplished by it. It is mere surplusage.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I insist on my request that the House further insist on its disagreement and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the House insist on its disagreement and ask for a conference.

Miss RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, the House amendment included women and the Senate amendment included women, and I think it is not fair to include merely the widows of soldiers, inasmuch as there are many sisters and mothers of soldiers who would like this work. It seems to me that leaving out women, instead of including them, as both the House and Senate did——

Mr. HOUSTON. I will state to the lady from Montana that women were not included in the Senate amendment. This is the Senate amendment exactly, so far as reference is made to women.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit me, I believe the lady from Montana refers to the amendment in the conference report that was submitted to the House and is now under consideration. The report did agree to include women, even though not related to soldiers, and to be given preferential consideration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Miss RANKIN. I object.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report and move to reject it; and on that I ask the previous question.

Mr. MANN. Several things would have to be done first. The gentleman would have to ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the conference report.

Mr. HOUSTON. I call up the report, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MANN. It has been called up.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

Mr. MANN. It has been reported.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. MANN. It has not been read. He would have to dispense with the reading of it. It was only reported by title.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the conference report. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The question was taken, and the conference report was rejected.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I move to disagree to all the amendments en bloc except No. 12, and to further insist upon the disagreement on that.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman moves to disagree to all the Senate amendments en bloc except No. 12, and to insist on the disagreement to No. 12.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VAN DYKE. Mr. Speaker, I move to concur in the Senate amendment No. 12 with an amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota moves to concur in the Senate amendment No. 12 with an amendment which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. VAN DYKE moves to concur in Senate amendment No. 12, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate insert the following:

"That hereafter in making appointments to clerical and other positions in the executive departments and in independent governmental establishments preference shall be given to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines, and widows of such, if they are qualified to hold such positions."

Mr. VAN DYKE. Mr. Speaker, on that I move the previous question.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. Is it in order to amend this?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VAN DYKE] has just moved the previous question.

Mr. MANN. Give the lady from Montana a chance to offer an amendment.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, the motion for the previous question is pending.

The SPEAKER. That is just what the Chair stated a moment ago. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. DYER. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 46, noes 41.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I ask for tellers.

The SPEAKER. On this vote the ayes are 46 and the noes are 41, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON] demands tellers. Those in favor of taking this vote by tellers will rise and stand until they are counted.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, I think we can settle this quicker by a yea-and-nay vote, and I make the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia makes the point of no quorum. Evidently there is no quorum present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll. The question is on ordering the previous question. Those in favor of ordering the previous question will, when their names are called, answer "yea"; those opposed will answer "nay."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 177, nays 77, answered "present" 1, not voting 174, as follows:

YEAS—177.

Almon	Eagle	Lazaro	Romjue
Anderson	Essen	Lea, Cal.	Rouse
Ashbrook	Ferris	Lee, Ga.	Rubey
Aswell	Fields	Lesher	Rucker
Bankhead	Fisher	Lever	Sanders, Ind.
Barkley	Flood	Little	Sanders, N. Y.
Barnhart	Fordney	Lobeck	Sanford
Beakes	Foster	London	Shallenberger
Bell	Gallagher	Lonergan	Sisson
Beshlin	Gandy	Longworth	Slayden
Black	Garner	Lufkin	Small
Bland, Ind.	Garrett, Tex.	Lundeen	Smith, T. F.
Bland, Va.	Glynn	McArthur	Snook
Brand	Goodwin, Ark.	McFadden	Snyder
Brodbeck	Gordon	McKeown	Stafford
Browning	Gray, Ala.	McLemore	Steagall
Buchanan	Green, Iowa	Magee	Stedman
Burnett	Greene, Vt.	Mann	Steele
Burroughs	Hamlin	Mansfield	Stephens, Miss.
Byrnes, S. C.	Harrison, Va.	Martin	Sumners
Byrns, Tenn.	Hastings	Mays	Taylor, Colo.
Caldwell	Haugen	Merritt	Thompson
Campbell, Pa.	Hayden	Moon	Tillman
Candler, Miss.	Heflin	Moore, Pa.	Tilson
Carlin	Holland	Morgan	Towner
Carter, Okla.	Houston	Morin	Van Dyke
Cary	Huddleston	Oliver, Ala.	Venable
Chandler, Okla.	Hull, Tenn.	Oliver, N. Y.	Vinson
Cleary	Humphreys	Olney	Wason
Collier	Hutchinson	O'Shaunessy	Watkins
Connally, Tex.	Ireland	Overstreet	Watson, Pa.
Crisp	Jacoway	Parker, N. J.	Watson, Va.
Crosser	Jones	Phelan	Weaver
Dallinger	Kearns	Platt	Welling
Darrow	Keating	Polk	Whaley
Decker	Kehoe	Purnell	White, Me.
Dempsey	Kettner	Quin	Wilson, Ill.
Denton	Kiess, Pa.	Ragsdale	Wilson, La.
Dickinson	Kincheloe	Rainey, H. T.	Winslow
Dies	Kitchin	Rainey, J. W.	Wright
Dixon	Knutson	Ramsey	Young, Tex.
Dominick	Kraus	Ramseyer	Zihlman
Doughton	Kreider	Rayburn	
Dyer	LaGuardia	Robinson	
Eagan	Larsen	Rogers	

NAYS—77.

Anthony	Davis	Greene, Mass.	King
Austin	Denison	Griest	Kinkaid
Bacharach	Dillon	Hadley	La Follette
Baer	Dowell	Hamilton, Mich.	Lampert
Blanton	Elliott	Haskell	Langley
Bowers	Esch	Hollingsworth	McCulloch
Cannon	Fairchild, B. L.	Hull, Iowa	McLaughlin, Mich.
Clark, Pa.	Fairfield	Igoe	Mapes
Classon	Focht	James	Miller, Minn.
Cooper, Wis.	Foss	Johnson, Wash.	Miller, Wash.
Currie, Mich.	French	Juul	Mondell
Curry, Cal.	Good	Kelley, Mich.	Moores, Ind.
Dale	Graham, Ill.	Kelly, Pa.	Mott
Nelson, A. P.	Rankin	Sloan	Volstead
Nelson, J. M.	Reed	Smith, Mich.	Ward
Nichols, Mich.	Rose	Steenerson	Wheeler
Osborne	Rowe	Sweet	Wood, Ind.
Paige	Scott, Iowa	Temple	
Raker	Scott, Mich.	Timberlake	
Randall	Sherwood	Vestal	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1.

Littlepage.

NOT VOTING—174.

Alexander	Elston	Kahn	Sears
Ayres	Emerson	Kennedy, Iowa	Sells
Benson	Estopinal	Kennedy, R. I.	Shackleford
Birch	Evans	Key, Ohio	Sherley
Blackmon	Fairchild, G. W.	Lehlbach	Shouse
Booher	Farr	Linthicum	Siegel
Borland	Fess	Lunn	Sims
Britten	Flynn	McAndrews	Sinnott
Browne	Francis	McClintic	Slemp
Brumbaugh	Frear	McCormick	Smith, Idaho
Butler	Freeman	McKenzie	Smith, C. B.
Campbell, Kans.	Fuller, Ill.	McKinley	Snell
Cantrill	Fuller, Mass.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Stephens, Nebr.
Caraway	Gallivan	Madden	Sterling
Carew	Gard	Maher	Stevenson
Carter, Mass.	Garland	Mason	Stiness
Chandler, N. Y.	Garrett, Tenn.	Montague	Strong
Church	Gillett	Mudd	Sullivan
Clark, Fla.	Godwin, N. C.	Neely	Swift
Claypool	Goodall	Nicholls, S. C.	Switzer
Coady	Gould	Nolan	Tague
Connelly, Kans.	Graham, Pa.	Norton	Taylor, Ark.
Cooper, Ohio	Gray, N. J.	Oldfield	Templeton
Cooper, W. Va.	Gregg	Overmyer	Thomas
Copley	Griffin	Padgett	Tinkham
Costello	Hamill	Park	Treadway
Cox	Hamilton, N. Y.	Parker, N. Y.	Vare
Crago	Hardy	Peters	Voigt
Cramton	Harrison, Miss.	Porter	Waldow
Davey	Hawley	Pou	Walker
Delaney	Hayes	Powers	Walsh
Dent	Heaton	Pratt	Walton
Dewalt	Heintz	Price	Webb
Dill	Helm	Reavis	Welty
Donovan	Helvering	Riordan	White, Ohio
Dooling	Hensley	Roberts	Williams
Doolittle	Hersey	Rodenberg	Wilson, Tex.
Doremus	Hicks	Rowland	Wingo
Drane	Hilliard	Russell	Wise
Drukker	Hood	Sabath	Woods, Iowa
Dunn	Howard	Sanders, La.	Woodyard
Dupré	Husted	Saunders, Va.	Young, N. Dak.
Edmonds	Johnson, Ky.	Schall	
Ellsworth	Johnson, S. Dak.	Scully	

So the previous question was ordered.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. DEWALT with Mr. DUNN.
Mr. BOOHER with Mr. TREADWAY.
Mr. MAHER with Mr. TINKHAM.
Mr. CAREW with Mr. GOODALL.
Mr. DOOLING with Mr. STRONG.
Mr. ESTOPINAL with Mr. EMERSON.
Mr. LITTLEPAGE with Mr. COOPER of West Virginia.
Mr. RIORDAN with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.
Mr. CARAWAY with Mr. BROWNE.
Mr. WHITE of Ohio with Mr. NORTON.
Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi with Mr. REAVIS.
Mr. KEHOE with Mr. MUDD.
Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia with Mr. WALSH.
Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina with Mr. GARLAND.
Mr. GRIFFIN with Mr. PORTER.
Mr. DONOVAN with Mr. HAMILTON of New York.
Mr. HAMILL with Mr. LEHLBACH.
Mr. SCULLY with Mr. MASON.
Mr. BENSON with Mr. STINESS.
Mr. BRUMBAUGH with Mr. COSTELLO.
Mr. POU with Mr. WOODYARD.
Mr. HELM with Mr. BUTLER.
Mr. JACOWAY with Mr. HICKS.
Mr. HELVERING with Mr. EDMONDS.
Mr. MCANDREWS with Mr. GOULD.
Mr. MONTAGUE with Mr. HUSTED.
Mr. LUNN with Mr. KAHN.
Mr. NEELY with Mr. MCKENZIE.
Mr. OVERMYER with Mr. MCKINLEY.
Mr. PARK with Mr. NOLAN.
Mr. PRICE with Mr. RODENBERG.
Mr. SABATH with Mr. SIEGEL.
Mr. TAGUE with Mr. SMITH of Idaho.
Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas with Mr. SNELL.
Mr. WEBB with Mr. SWIFT.
Mr. THOMAS with Mr. WILLIAMS.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. A quorum is present. The Doorkeeper will unlock the doors. The previous question is ordered, and the

question is on concurring in Senate amendment numbered 12 with the Van Dyke amendment.

Mr. MANN. Upon that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. KREIDER. Mr. Speaker, may we have that amendment read?

The SPEAKER. Without objection the Clerk will report the Van Dyke amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. VAN DYKE moves to concur in Senate amendment No. 12, with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate, insert the following:

"That hereafter in making appointments to clerical and other positions in the executive departments and in independent governmental establishments preference shall be given to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines, and widows of such, if they are qualified to hold such positions."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 244, nays 1, answered "present" 0, not voting 184, as follows:

YEAS—244.

Almon	Edmonds	Knutson	Ramsey
Anderson	Elliott	Kraus	Ramseyer
Anthony	Esch	Kreider	Randall
Ashbrook	Essen	La Follette	Rankin
Aswell	Fairchild, B. L.	LaGuardia	Rayburn
Austin	Fairfield	Lampert	Reed
Bacharach	Ferris	Langley	Robinson
Baer	Fisher	Larsen	Rogers
Bankhead	Flood	Lazaro	Romjue
Barkley	Focht	Lea, Cal.	Rose
Barnhart	Fordney	Lee, Ga.	Rouse
Beakes	Foss	Lesher	Rowe
Bell	Foster	Lever	Rubey
Beshlin	French	Little	Rucker
Black	Gallagher	Lobeck	Sanders, Ind.
Bland, Ind.	Gandy	London	Sanders, N. Y.
Bland, Va.	Garner	Lonergan	Sanford
Blanton	Garrett, Tex.	Longworth	Scott, Iowa
Bowers	Glynn	Lufkin	Scott, Mich.
Brand	Good	Lundeen	Sherwood
Brodbeck	Goodwin, Ark.	McArthur	Sinnott
Browning	Graham, Ill.	McCulloch	Sloan
Buchanan	Gray, Ala.	McFadden	Small
Burnett	Green, Iowa	McKeown	Smith, Mich.
Burroughs	Greene, Mass.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Smith, T. F.
Byrnes, S. C.	Greene, Vt	Magee	Snook
Byrns, Tenn.	Griest	Mann	Snyder
Caldwell	Griffin	Mansfield	Stafford
Campbell, Pa.	Hadley	Mapes	Steagall
Candler, Miss.	Hamlin	Mays	Stedman
Carlin	Harrison, Va.	Merritt	Steele
Carter, Okla.	Haskell	Miller, Wash.	Stephens, Miss.
Cary	Hastings	Mondell	Sumners
Chandler, Okla.	Haugen	Moon	Sweet
Clark, Pa.	Hayden	Moore, Pa.	Taylor, Colo.
Classon	Heflin	Moores, Ind.	Temple
Cleary	Holland	Morgan	Thompson
Collier	Hollingsworth	Morin	Tillman
Connally, Tex.	Houston	Mott	Tilson
Connelly, Kans.	Huddleston	Neely	Timberlake
Cooper, Wis.	Hull, Iowa	Nelson, A. P.	Towner
Crisp	Hull, Tenn.	Nelson, J. M.	Van Dyke
Crosser	Humphreys	Nichols, Mich.	Venable
Currie, Mich.	Hutchinson	Oliver, Ala	Vestal
Curry, Cal.	Igoe	Oliver, N. Y.	Vinson
Dale	Jacoway	Olney	Volstead
Dallinger	James	Osborne	Wason
Darrow	Johnson, Wash.	O'Shaunessy	Watkins
Davis	Jones	Overstreet	Watson, Va.
Decker	Juul	Paige	Weaver
Dempsey	Kearns	Parker, N. J.	Welling
Denison	Keating	Phelan	Whaley
Denton	Kehoe	Platt	Wheeler
Dillon	Kelley, Mich.	Polk	White, Me.
Dixon	Kelly, Pa.	Pou	Wilson, Ill.
Dominick	Kettner	Purnell	Wilson, La.
Doughton	Kiess, Pa.	Quin	Winslow
Dowell	Kincheloe	Ragsdale	Wood, Ind.
Dyer	King	Rainey, H. T.	Woodyard
Eagan	Kinkaid	Rainey, J. W.	Wright
Eagle	Kitchin	Raker	Young, Tex.

NAYS—1.

Gordon

NOT VOTING—184.

Alexander	Cooper, W. Va.	Emerson	Gregg
Ayres	Copley	Estopinal	Hamill
Benson	Costello	Evans	Hamilton, Mich.
Birch	Cox	Fairchild, G. W.	Hamilton, N. Y.
Blackmon	Crago	Farr	Hardy
Booher	Cramton	Fess	Harrison, Miss.
Borland	Davey	Fields	Hawley
Britten	Delaney	Flynn	Hayes
Browne	Dent	Francis	Heaton
Brumbaugh	Dewalt	Frear	Heintz
Butler	Dickinson	Freeman	Helm
Campbell, Kans.	Dies	Fuller, Ill.	Helvering
Cannon	Dill	Fuller, Mass.	Hensley
Cantrill	Donovan	Gallivan	Hersey
Caraway	Dooling	Gard	Hicks
Carew	Doolittle	Garland	Hilliard
Carter, Mass.	Doremus	Garrett, Tenn.	Hood
Chandler, N. Y.	Drane	Gillett	Howard
Church	Drukker	Godwin, N. C.	Husted
Clark, Fla.	Dunn	Goodall	Ireland
Claypool	Dupré	Gould	Johnson, Ky.
Coady	Ellsworth	Graham, Pa.	Johnson, S. Dak.
Cooper, Ohio	Elston	Gray, N. J.	Kahn
Kennedy, Iowa	Norton	Sells	Taylor, Ark.
Kennedy, R. I.	Oldfield	Shackleford	Templeton
Key, Ohio	Overmyer	Shallenberger	Thomas
Lehlbach	Padgett	Sherley	Tinkham
Linthicum	Park	Shouse	Treadway
Littlepage	Parker, N. Y.	Siegel	Vare
Lunn	Peters	Sims	Voigt
McAndrews	Porter	Sisson	Waldow
McClintic	Powers	Slayden	Walker
McCormick	Pratt	Slemp	Walsh
McKenzie	Price	Smith, Idaho	Walton
McKinley	Reavis	Smith, C. B.	Ward
McLaughlin, Pa.	Riordan	Snell	Watson, Pa.
McLemore	Roberts	Steenerson	Webb
Madden	Rodenberg	Stephens, Nebr.	Welty
Maher	Rowland	Sterling	White, Ohio
Martin	Russell	Stevenson	Williams
Mason	Sabath	Stiness	Wilson, Tex.
Miller, Minn.	Sanders, La.	Strong	Wingo
Montague	Saunders, Va.	Sullivan	Wise
Mudd	Schall	Swift	Woods, Iowa
Nicholls, S. C.	Scully	Switzer	Young, N. Dak.
Nolan	Sears	Tague	Zihlman

So the amendment was agreed to.

The following additional pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. CANNON with Mr. SLAYDEN.

Mr. WALSH with Mr. MARTIN.

Mr. LUFKIN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY], my colleague, was called away. If he were here he would have voted "aye."

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House ask for a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, and on that I demand the previous question.

Mr. MANN. While that technically does not send the Senate amendment No. 12 to conference, I suppose the conferees will consider it.

The previous question was agreed to.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER appointed as conferees on the part of the House Mr. HOUSTON, Mr. ASWELL, and Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE DELAWARE RIVER.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the Speaker lay before the House the bill S. 5354, to extend the time for completing the bridge across the Delaware River, a similar bill being on the House Calendar.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the bill (S. 5354) extending the time for completion of the bridge across the Delaware River authorized by an act entitled "An act to authorize the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Delaware River," approved the 24th day of August, 1912.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the time for the completion of the bridge now in course of construction across the Delaware River, which the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, were authorized to construct, maintain, and operate by an act entitled "An act to authorize the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Delaware River," approved the 24th day of August, 1912; and for which the time of completion thereof was extended until the 24th day of August, 1919, by an act approved the 27th day of December, 1916, be, and the same is hereby, extended for a period of three years from the 24th day of August, 1919: *Provided*, That in all other respects said bridge shall be completed and shall be maintained and operated in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

House bill 14508, a similar bill, on the House Calendar, was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the Van Dyke amendment.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I make the same request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Ohio ask unanimous consent to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the Van Dyke amendment. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho, at the request of Mr. FRENCH, was given leave of absence for the day on account of illness.

MEMORIAL EXERCISES FOR THE LATE SENATORS HUGHES AND JAMES.

Mr. EAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, February 23, be set aside to hold memorial exercises on the life, character, and public services of the Hon. WILLIAM HUGHES, late Senator from the State of New Jersey.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I make the same request on the same date for memorial exercises on the late Senator OLLIE JAMES, of Kentucky.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Jersey asks unanimous consent that February 23 be set aside for holding memorial exercises on the late Senator HUGHES, of New Jersey, and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] makes the same request touching the late Senator JAMES, of Kentucky. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] may be excused for the day on account of illness, and I wish to announce that if he had been here he would have voted "aye" on the previous question and also for the Van Dyke amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks made this afternoon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the Agricultural appropriation bill.

Mr. MANN. Pending that, will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. LEVER. Certainly.

Mr. MANN. Whether he desires to have the House meet at an earlier hour to-morrow?

Mr. LEVER. Pending that, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-night it adjourn to meet to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. to-morrow. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, how long does the gentleman expect this evening session to last?

Mr. LEVER. We have 1 hour and 53 minutes left for general debate, and I thought we would conclude that.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman does not expect to proceed under the five-minute rule?

Mr. LEVER. No.

Mr. MANN. And there will be no other business come before the House?

Mr. LEVER. No other business that I know of.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. to-morrow?

There was no objection.

The motion of Mr. LEVER was then agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. HAMLIN in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I will ask the gentleman from Iowa to yield some of his time.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 25 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. DILLON].

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Chairman, shall we destroy monopoly in land ownership and at the same time furnish farms for the soldiers, sailors, and marines?

For years we have been wantonly wasting our landed resources while our tenant system has been robbing the fertility of the soil. Land monopoly has been wrecking the small farmer and driving him into the city. While these processes have been going on the farmer has been left to shift for himself. He looks for an honest market in vain, as there is none. He finds the speculators in control of his markets, and through their agencies the products are followed from the farm to the consumers.

The Government is spending millions of dollars in an effort to stimulate production on the farms. Much of these vast appropriations is of doubtful value. What the farmer needs is protection from the combination of speculators that is exacting nearly 54 per cent of the cost to the consumer of farm products.

Years ago when competition existed the farmer dealt largely with the consumer, but now the transportation companies, the packing companies, the grain exchanges, and the gamblers in food products have erected toll gates all along the market routes from the farmer to the consumer and are exacting unheard-of profits. They do so without any fear of action on the part of the Department of Justice.

In order to break up monopoly in land ownership, to reduce tenantry and assist those soldiers, sailors, marines, and others who desired to become farm owners I introduced, on December 12, 1918, House joint resolution 366. As a basis for this resolution I cite certain facts showing the extent of land monopoly in the United States. I cite the facts that there is in the United States a constant increase in landlord ownership and a constant centralization of ownership of lands in monopolies controlling vast areas, as evidenced by the following: Fifty-four foreign corporations and individuals own an area of land in the United States exceeding the combined areas of the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Delaware; 63 owners, individuals and corporations, in the United States have holdings of land exceeding the combined areas of the former German Empire, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland; the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. has 4,381,000 acres of land in California and Oregon; the Northern Pacific has 3,017,000 acres of timberland and millions of untimbered land; the Weyerhauser Timber Co. owns 1,945,000 acres of timberland; in Florida five holders have 4,600,000 acres of timberland and 187 largest timber holders have over 15,800,000 acres of timberland; the Government has granted to railroads and for internal improvements subsidies of 337,740,000 acres, equal to one-sixth of the total area of the United States; the Texas Land Grant Syndicate owned 3,000,000 acres in Texas; a British land company owns 300,000 acres in Kansas; Sir Edward Reed controls 1,000,000 acres in Florida; an English syndicate controls 2,000,000 acres in Mississippi; 100 men in Sacramento Valley, Cal., own 17,000,000 acres; four men in one county in California own 1,500,000 acres, while 433 own 5,968,556 acres.

In addition to the citations in the resolution the following can be added: There are 35,000,000 acres of land in the United States that are rented out by owners, each of whom owns more than 1,000 acres; 32 men own 45 per cent of the northern peninsula of Michigan; 16 families own more than 47,000,000 acres of land in the United States; two English syndicates own 1,300,000 acres in the State of Missouri. The report of the Federal Bureau of Corporations shows that 105,600,000 acres, one-twentieth of the whole land area of the United States, is owned by 1,694 persons.

The legislative part of my resolution reads as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to acquire title by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise to large holdings of lands suitable for agriculture and take title thereto in the name of the United States: *Provided*, That all purchases of such lands must be at a reasonable value. That the land so acquired shall be divided in units of such size as the Secretary of the Interior may determine, and he shall have authority to place thereon necessary buildings and other appropriate improvements. The units thus provided shall be sold by the Secretary of the Interior to bona fide settlers, preference being given to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines. The sale price shall be sufficient to cover the full cost of the land, improvements, and administration. Five per cent of the sale price shall be paid in advance and the remainder shall be distributed over a period of 40 years commencing two years after the date of the initial payment. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of $100,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution, and the money received for the land sold under the foregoing provisions shall be placed in a revolving fund and used as necessary in the further administration of this joint resolution. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be required to give full force and effect to this joint resolution.

Home ownership of land will become impossible if monopoly of land ownership is not in some way restricted in the near future. The policy of this Government ought not to be in favor of unrestricted alien ownership of our land. Neither should the Government allow foreign or domestic corporations or individuals to obtain a monopoly on millions of acres of our best land, to the detriment of those who are anxious and willing to make their homes on and develop these lands in small tracts.

In 1880, 25.6 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants, while at this time the percentage of tenant farmers has risen to about 40 per cent. It is a startling fact that prior to the war we were losing 100,000 of our people every year by emigration to Canada. They were American farmers, and their incentive was to secure land on which to make their homes. This emigration is likely to continue unless we recognize the necessity of providing these people an opportunity to become home owners in this country. We must take action to retain our people, reduce tenancy, and make it possible for those who desire to become home owners.

We need not go far to ascertain the reason for the decadence of agriculture in the United States. When the public domain was opened for settlement the farmers largely refused to continue being tenants. It was natural that they should prefer ownership to tenancy, and they became homesteaders. From every section of the country came these homesteaders, ready to endure droughts, hardships, and trials as pioneers. Nothing could dampen their tireless energies in their effort to obtain homes for themselves and families.

But now since the good land open for homestead is practically exhausted, tenancy has increased year by year until it presents a perilous situation in this country. It is a startling fact that is everywhere recognized that eastern farms are rapidly being abandoned. It is said that 800,000 acres of agricultural land in the State of Connecticut alone have been practically abandoned. New Hampshire has 2,000 idle farms, many of which can be purchased for less than the cost of the buildings. Idle farms in great numbers are found in every Eastern State.

It might be well to inquire why farming in the Eastern States has ceased to be profitable and why the farms are being abandoned. The real fault lies with our present marketing and distributing system. When those in control of the terminal markets destroyed the local markets of the farmers and brought the farmers of the East in competition with the farmers of the South and West the opportunity for the eastern farmer to make a living was destroyed and he was compelled to retire. This in addition to the fact that industries in the cities offered better opportunities for the small farmer to make a living caused him to move into great manufacturing centers. When eastern farmers were in a large measure eliminated then these combinations became actively engaged in securing absolute control of the distribution of food products.

The tenancy system also in a large measure was a factor in the abandonment of farms. There is no incentive for the tenant to improve the farms. The more he increases the fertility of the soil, and the more he increases the improvements of the premises, the more rent the landlord requires him to pay. For that reason the tenancy system permits improvements to decay and does not conserve the productiveness of the soil.

Home ownership for the farmers becomes impossible if corporations and individuals, both domestic and foreign, are permitted to monopolize all the valuable lands. Alien ownership should be prohibited. It is said that 89 per cent of the farmers in Denmark are home owners, while in Great Britain 87 per cent of the farms are tilled by tenants. In one country we have home owners and in the other landlords.

History is but repeating itself. Ancient Italy was a country of small farms during the prosperous days of the Roman Empire. The money lenders made loans at usurious rates of interest, foreclosed the mortgages, and ejected the farmers. The lands became vested in landlords who imported slave labor to carry on the farming industry. This constituted the beginning of the decay of the Roman Empire. The Latin writer, Pliny, says that the large estates were the ruin of Italy and of her Provinces.

Let us look a moment at England. A few years ago the average duke owned 142,264 acres, the average marquis owned 47,500 acres, the average earl owned 30,217 acres, and the average baron 14,152 acres. Absentee landlordism was responsible for the emigration which drained Ireland of one-half of her population. England has seen the error of landlordism. The process of eradicating landlordism in Ireland commenced in 1903, and now a commission is at work preparing plans for doing the same in England and Scotland.

Since 1903 the English Government has expended $550,000,000 in the purchase from landlords of an acreage of land equal to one-third the total area of Ireland, and subdivided it for sale, and thus distressed Ireland has been converted into a nation of home-owning farmers. This plan will not cost the Government anything, as the purchasers are repaying the amount appropriated by paying for this land in installments with interest.

New Zealand has appropriated over $65,000,000 for the purchase of large estates, which have been subdivided and sold to home owners. Since this policy was adopted the agricultural population has increased more rapidly than the population of the cities. This same policy has been adopted by Australian States, and has been a great factor in increased production. Before the war commenced the Russian Government equipped farms for 3,000,000 home settlers and purchased millions of dollars' worth of farm machinery. Let it be remembered that the lands so provided for the farmers for homes was of the better class of land, and not land that had to be reclaimed.

My resolution creates no commission, but authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to purchase large holdings of agricultural land, and to resell it in small tracts to those desiring to become home-owning farmers, giving preference to our soldiers, sailors, and marines, who constituted the best Army the world has ever known. This will cost the Government nothing, as the purchasers will repay any expenditures made by the Government by making small annual payments for 40 years. The purpose of the resolution is not only to provide homes for soldiers, sailors, and marines, but, in addition thereto, it seeks to destroy landlordism and land monopoly.

If the policy I am urging is adopted, it will make immediately available for our soldiers, sailors, and marines millions of acres of the best agricultural land in this country, and it will not be necessary to wait for the reclamation of swamp, stumpage, and arid land.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DILLON. I yield.

Mr. BAER. I presume the gentleman is receiving hundreds of letters from soldiers asking what the Congress is doing with reference to providing lands for them. Does not the gentleman believe there will be a great deal of criticism of the present administration unless it brings some bill on the floor before long to improve or reclaim lands?

Mr. DILLON. I have received numerous letters on that subject, but if we are to rely upon reclamation of stumpage lands, arid lands, or swamp lands, we will not be able to furnish immediate land for the soldiers.

Mr. BAER. The gentleman's plan is to use the right of eminent domain?

Mr. DILLON. Yes; go out and condemn the land and buy it from these big landowners.

Mr. BAER. The gentleman is aware that Canada is doing that now, and I think in Australia they are also using the right of eminent domain, and they have appropriated $200,000,000 for that purpose, the equivalent in this country, according to proportionate wealth, of $2,000,000,000.

Mr. DILLON. No matter what kind of land is furnished, it will be necessary to reorganize our marketing system by breaking up combinations at the terminals and the control by combinations of the routes which farm products must take to reach the consumer if we intend to keep the people on the farms. It is useless to talk about placing the people on the farms unless they can be kept there. The decay of agriculture in this country is year by year becoming a menace and something must be done to make farm life more attractive. No nation can long survive and escape decay that has not a policy that will insure home-owning farmers. We should now adopt a progressive policy that will insure the stability of our Government. [Applause.]

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMPSON], a member of the committee.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this bill carries an appropriation of $31,691,562. The last-year bill carried $27,875,353. The increase in the present bill over that of last year is apparently $3,816,209. Under various food-stimulation acts, however, we added to the last-year bill until the department was authorized to spend $38,907,216. Not all this sum was spent, and we have transferred the unexpended balance of $2,102,880 to this bill. While the present bill carries $3,816,209 in excess of that of last year, it is in fact $7,215,654 less than was available to the department during the last fiscal year. The Agricultural Department is not a leech on the people, like the War and Navy Departments. We appropriate billions to support and carry on the activities of those departments, and no good comes from them. That which goes in does not come out again. We sustain them simply because the evil of war is still abroad in the world. Not so with agriculture. Whatever goes into the improvement and the increase of its activities returns multiplied manifold. The Department of Agriculture at this time collects and turns into the Treasury $8,802,836 receipts from the national forests, the sale of seed and of nitrate of soda to farmers, and various other minor items—more than one-fourth of the amount it costs the people.

The importance of this bill can not be overestimated. All the activities of the Government as they relate to the importance of agriculture and farm life are under the supervision of and receive the sympathetic advice, support, and assistance of the department. The activities of the department are directed by different bureaus, the most important of which are the Weather Bureau, Bureau of Animal Industry, the Bureau of Plant Industry, Forest Service Bureau, Bureau of Chemistry, Bureau of Crop Estimates, Bureau of Public Roads, and Bureau of Markets, though there are a number of other bureaus whose work is quite as important.

BUREAU OF FARM MANAGEMENT.

Here a systematic and scientific study is ceaselessly carried on to assist the farmer in improving the methods of farming and managing his farm. The example of those who have suc-

ceeded and their methods are carefully studied by experts, and the result is given to those less successful. The economic use of animals, the cost of production with respect to animals and crops, the profits, and so forth, are all carefully gathered and distributed to the farmers throughout the country.

WEATHER BUREAU.

The work of this bureau is so well known and has become so valuable to all classes of our citizenship that a recitation of its activities would be a work of supererogation.

BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY.

This is one of the most important bureaus in the entire Government, and the capable and conscientious work performed by it, silently and unknown to most of us, has been of more importance to our country in the life and health not alone of animals, but of the people as well, than could possibly be measured by the dollar mark.

Under its control is the quarantine inspection, the eradication of animal tuberculosis, tick eradication, dairy products—in value second only to corn. The corn crop last year was estimated to be of the value of three and one-half billion dollars; dairy products, two billion; wheat, one billion eight hundred million; cotton, one billion six hundred million. Such a large income to our people can not be too carefully safeguarded—animal husbandry, the stamping out of the foot-and-mouth disease, dourine eradication, hog cholera, and related work of every kind. It is safe to assert that 10 times the cost of the department is saved to the American people annually by the work of this bureau alone.

On this bureau there also devolves the important work of inspecting every pound of meat which is slaughtered by the packing houses. When we reflect that this runs into millions of animals, weighing hundreds of billions of pounds and mounting into billions in value, we catch some glimpse of the magnitude of the task. On the importance of this work and its careful and painstaking execution depends to a large extent the life and health of the people, not alone of our own country but the entire world. Millions of tons of these products have been consumed since the beginning of the war, and there has been no "embalmed beef" scandal, largely due to the faithfulness and efficiency of this service. The employees, 2,950 in number, scattered throughout the country, are among the most able, skilled, and competent in the Government service. They are engaged in a peculiarly hazardous task; their work takes them over floors shoe-mouth deep in blood. They go from rooms of extreme heat immediately into those icy cold. They handle meat affected with every character of disease—tuberculosis and other infectious germs. By exposure to such germs they are likely at any time to contract typhoid, tuberculosis, and other forms of disease. They are called to their work at all hours of the day and night, to which no other class of Government employees are subjected. They are working in the great packing houses of the country, and are liable at any time to be injured by machinery or to contract blood poisoning from accidental wounds.

Moreover, the larger part of them receive pay ranging from $1,080 to $1,600 per year. We increased the basic pay of 2,932 of these men by $120 a year, which, when added to $240 increase temporarily carried in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, will give them a living wage. Laborers everywhere are entitled to receive a living wage. It is a short-sighted Government that will not come to the relief of those who toil. I am glad to say that this administration has exerted its every effort to better the conditions of the working people by fixing eight hours as a basic day's work, establishing a living wage, prohibiting child labor, and providing sanitary conditions. We hear some complaint, it is true, emanating from uninformed sources relating to the wages paid working people. It is complained that at a wage ranging from 30 cents to 80 cents an hour, according to the skill of the laborer, from $2.40 to $6.40 can be earned in a day of eight hours. Ought not a laborer receive this amount? The man who receives the highest wage, $6.40, is evidently a skilled laborer. Deducting 52 days from the 365 days in a year, for Sundays, there is left 313, allowing no holidays and no Saturday afternoons off. The working man is also supposed to be well at all times and to be able at all times to secure a job. If it were possible for such a condition to exist, his income during the year would be $2,003.20. Out of this he must purchase clothing for his family, feed them, send the children to school, and furnish them with such amusement as is possible. I am quite sure that no responsible person would complain that this was too large an income. I am not so much interested in seeing a few pile up great fortunes as I am that all should be reasonably prosperous. We hear a great deal these days about bolshevism. It seems to be an odious word. I feel—I am sure as all others do—that where conditions to which it applies exist there must be something radically wrong, but in our condemnation we should draw a distinction between the few wily agitators who have inaugurated that situation and the great masses who are its ignorant and unwilling victims. Even these agitators are not solely responsible for the conditions that have made possible the situation. Those conditions have their roots back through the centuries, when those who understood the great forces in human life, that controlled the feelings in living people were in control. This feeling can be kindled by the presence of one or several of a series of factors: A common country, especially if it is a well-defined physical region, like an island, a river basin, or a mountain mass; a common language, especially if it has given birth to a literature; a common religion; and that much more impalpable force, a common tradition or sense of memories shared from the past.

In Russia, by the exercise of all the prejudice growing out of these conditions, autocracy kept itself in the saddle and ruthlessly rode down the people for many centuries. The Government thus carried on became to those people a synonym of oppression, corruption, and plunder. They saw their earnings taken, their homes destroyed, and their families outraged and violated by the power of might. The great masses of the people where bolshevism prevails are ignorant and superstitious and do not know the truth. Vast bodies of people with brains and money at their disposal have been interested in obscuring the truth from them, and have used every instrument in their power to do so. In this situation they were easy prey for the agitator, who is interested in them just so long as they serve his purpose. As between the agitator, on the one hand, and the exploiter, on the other, as a disinterested people we can have no choice. Our interest is in the great masses that have been exploited by both. The time has arrived when the world is not so much interested in what a man has as in the use he makes of it. We are living in a new age and amidst a new civilization, though it may not yet be perceptible. We have not yet attained to the lofty heights of the golden rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them," but we are growing better from age to age. The best way to destroy socialism, bolshevism, and anarchy is to remove the cause. We can destroy neither by denunciation or destruction. "Faith without works is dead." There is no danger of bolshevism in this country, for our people are a reading and intelligent people. The great masses of them may not dress so fine, nor be possessed of so much of this world's goods as some, but they are quite as patriotic and perhaps much more intelligently interested in the welfare of their country and of mankind. One of the most dangerous menaces of our country is partisanship. Just a few days ago one of the leading men in my State, a Republican, who knew better, or could for the asking have known better, asserted by editorial and in a published interview that it was in the air not to make good the guarantee to farmers on their wheat. No such thought ever entered the head of anyone here. On the contrary, the matter has already been submitted to the Congress and is now before the Committee on Agriculture. Just as soon as we dispose of the pending bill a bill to make good that guarantee will be introduced, promptly reported, and will pass Congress and become a law before the 4th of March.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. LEVER. And that bill will pass probably without a dissenting vote in the House.

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not think there will be a dissenting vote on either side of the House.

Those in authority, as well as the American people, have their honor at stake in this guaranty, and there will be no question about making it good. And again, now the foremost man of the world to-day, and not only of to-day but of all time, is across the sea devoting all the energies and resources of his giant mind to the establishment of a league of nations, which will forever drive war from the world. Every partisan big and little throughout the country is barking at his heels trying to discredit him in the eyes of the world, and bring shame on their own country. No matter what they may say, he is representing the sentiment of the American people at Versailles.

BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY.

This bureau has to do with the protection of plants of all kinds from different diseases, investigation of soil fertilizing, crop climatization, dry-land agriculture, foreign seed and plant introduction, new and rare seed, forage-crop investigation, and kindred activities, and is one of the most important of our Government's activities.

BUREAU OF CROP ESTIMATES.

Among the most important activities of the Government is the work of the Bureau of Crop Estimates. The public at large, however, is so well acquainted with the work of this bureau that I will not enter into any detailed explanation. It is sufficient to say that under the activities of this department, the condition of the different crops of the country—corn, cotton, wheat, oats, and so forth—is estimated from time to time, and finally the amount of production is estimated. The work has been so conscientiously performed that I have heard no complaint against it. Both the producer and the consumer accept as approximately correct the conscientious work of this bureau.

Mr. BAER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes.

Mr. BAER. That statement seems to be contrary to the reputed statement of the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Houston, who seems to give out the impression through the newspapers that we have an overamount of production in this country all of the time, that we do not need wheat, or that we do not need something else. I do not know that Secretary Houston made that statement, but there are such reports in the newspapers.

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not know whether the Secretary made such a report or not. We ought to have more production, and I think the Secretary has made that statement. I am sure the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BAER], who ought, if he does not, to represent the farmers of that State, should do what he could to encourage the Secretary in that statement.

Mr. BAER. Oh, I am discouraging him in the statement that he is not encouraging production.

Mr. THOMPSON. The gentleman is entirely inaccurate. The Secretary is trying to encourage production, and if the gentleman from North Dakota has made a statement to his people that there ought not to be production, he is in error altogether.

Mr. BAER. But I am trying to counteract the reports that are coming out from the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. THOMPSON. The Department of Agriculture has never made any such report.

Mr. BAER. That we do not need wheat. He is not encouraging the production of wheat.

Mr. THOMPSON. The Secretary of Agriculture has never made that statement.

Mr. BAER. The newspapers report him as saying that, and I presumed it was on account of high prices.

Mr. THOMPSON. I wish the gentleman would bring them in.

Mr. BAER. I shall, and I shall insert them in the RECORD.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, the report I saw was to the effect that the Secretary of Agriculture had made a report that production of wheat this year would possibly exceed the production of wheat made in any past year, owing to the increased acreage, and the very splendid condition of the wheat crops. I have never yet seen where the Secretary of Agriculture discouraged it.

Mr. BAER. He said that he did not especially encourage wheat production.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. I have not seen that statement.

Mr. LEVER. If the gentleman will yield to me, the Secretary has sent out a notice to the effect that he thought it wise for the farmers to increase their production of feed crops and things of that kind rather than to increase their wheat crop and I think the Secretary is entirely right about it because there is a great shortage in feeds.

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, I do not know whether that is true or not, Mr. Chairman; and a little later on in my speech I will quote a statement from Mr. Hoover appealing to the American farmer to produce. We never have been in this country, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in need, we have always been appealed to from an international standpoint. The American people at all times have fed themselves, but there has been an appeal to the American people to which the American farmer has patriotically responded to take care of an international situation, a situation brought about by war.

Now, I want to say to the gentleman who asked the question, the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BAER] and my good friend, the chairman of this committee, that if it were merely a matter of taking care of the American situation there never has been such a situation that would have appealed to the American farmer to produce more. They have been appealed to to take care of a situation brought about by war. We did that during the war and now that the war is over, however, there are a great many of our enemies—the central empires, Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Polanders, Bulgaria, and Turkey—who must be taken care of. Now, I do not think, when we come to guarantee this wheat price—which we are going to do, and no Republican over there need worry about that, the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BAER] need not worry about that—we are going to take care of those farmers in this guarantee of wheat we have made. I do not think, regardless of that, that the wheat demand will be less than what it has been in the past.

Mr. LEVER. I agree with the gentleman entirely.

Mr. THOMPSON. I think the central empires will consume all we have, all our surplus, and consume it at the price at which we guarantee it.

Mr. HAUGEN. If the gentleman will permit, I would like to suggest I do not believe it is fair to assume that any Member of Congress would for a minute contend that this Government should repudiate any contract or that there can be any question of what a Member of Congress would have done in that respect. I take it that everybody will agree that the Government would be the last to repudiate a solemn obligation.

Mr. THOMPSON. I am sure, and the gentleman need not elaborate that any more, that we all agree to that.

Mr. HAUGEN. I do not believe the gentleman should refer to one side of the House in the language that he has, that anyone on that side of the House need not have any concern about it, which is implying that there is only one side of this House that stands for integrity.

Mr. THOMPSON. Oh, I do not for a moment refer to the other side of the House for that purpose. I simply referred to the gentleman from North Dakota, who apparently to me is attempting to make a partisan issue of this question.

Mr. BAER. Not in reference to price fixing. I simply wanted to bring up the fact of increased production, and I agree with the gentleman, when he reads Mr. Hoover's statement that he will find I agree with Mr. Hoover, that we want to increase production; but in the same report I read Mr. Hoover's statement I read a statement of Secretary Houston, who said it was not necessary to raise much more wheat.

Mr. THOMPSON. I read Mr. Houston's statement at St. Louis the other day saying that it would not be necessary to encourage spring planting. I presume that is the matter to which the gentleman referred?

Mr. BAER. Yes.

Mr. THOMPSON. That is quite a different proposition from what the gentleman made in his statement; the matter of encouraging spring production and the matter of the necessity of spring production are two different matters entirely.

Mr. BAER. I am in perfect agreement with the gentleman, and I certainly want to be fair with him.

Mr. THOMPSON. I will be glad to be questioned, but I want the gentleman to be fair entirely.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS.

There is no more important bureau in the Department of Agriculture, or, in fact, in the entire Government than this. It has to do with the construction of good roads—not peacock boulevards constructed from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, or from the Atlantic to the Pacific—but country roads, community roads, leading from the farm to the local market. No greater incentive to production can be extended than by the construction of a system of public roads which will enable the farmer at all periods of the year and under all weather conditions to haul his products to the local market or shipping point. If this can be done easily and expeditiously over a system of good roads, it will add materially to the production of the country, will increase the number of our population residing on the farms and decrease the incentive to remove from the farm to the city.

It is a demonstrated fact that consumption of farm products is increasing at a much more rapid rate than production. If this consumption continues to increase in proportion to the production during the next three decades as it has during the past three, we will be face to face in this country with famine. If we, as we should, are willing to look into the future and face this problem, we will begin at this time to encourage and promote every movement that looks toward making farm life more pleasant and agricultural pursuits more profitable. I do not believe there is any other one thing that would more promote a "back-to-the-farm" movement than the building of good roads. It has been often said that we have in the United States the best railroads in the world and the poorest dirt roads, and this is true. We have been, during all the history of this country, neglecting the farmers of the country, the source from which originates all wealth, and giving our attention, governmental and otherwise, to the promotion of the interests of those engaged in other lines of business.

Mr. LAZARO. Will the gentleman yield in this connection?

Mr. THOMPSON. I will be glad to do so.

Mr. LAZARO. I take it that when the gentleman advocates good roads, of course in order to help the farmers of the country, he means to give them better transportation?

Mr. THOMPSON. That is exactly what I mean; from the farm to the local place of shipment.

Mr. LAZARO. The gentleman will admit, I think, that in order to have real transportation you have to have not only good roads, but railroads and waterways? You have to have a combination, do you not?

Mr. THOMPSON. I agree with that.

Mr. LAZARO. Do not leave out waterways.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. THOMPSON. Will the gentleman from South Carolina yield me more time?

Mr. LEVER. I will be very glad to yield to the gentleman 10 minutes more, because he is making a very interesting speech.

Mr. THOMPSON. In 1900 we produced 1,619,415,263 pounds of butter; in 1910, 1,491,652,602 pounds. In 1900 we produced 298,344,642 pounds of cheese; in 1910, 320,532,181 pounds, an increase of only 0.07 per cent. In 1900 we exported 209,348,284 bushels of corn; in 1910 we exported 36,802,374 bushels, a decrease of 172,545,910 bushels within the 10-year period.

By comparison it will be found that the quantity of the present crops produced in the United States increased about 10 per cent between 1900 and 1910. This increase is substantially the same rate as the increase in the number of farms, which is 10.9 per cent, and the increase in the acreage, which was 9.9 per cent, the aggregate average production of these crops per farm and per acre remaining substantially unchanged during the decade, while the population of the country increased at a rate more than twice as great as the crop production, and the increase in the population of our cities being three and one-half times as great. These figures need no elaboration; no comment. They speak a condition which, if permitted to continue even for an inconsiderable length of time, as we reckon time, with the rapid increase in population, will bring want and hunger to the country. There were 6,361,502 farms in the United States, according to the census of 1910. Of these 1,327,439, valued at $6,330,236,951, were mortgaged for $1,736,172,351, or 27.3 per cent of their value.

The world has not produced in all the tide of time another genius so great, so masterful, so overpowering as Napoleon. In war he was its foremost marshal; in peace its greatest constructive statesman; in literature and art its most generous patron; in law, the author of a code which for simplicity, brevity, and comprehension is without a peer; at all times the faithful friend and patron of agriculture. In the last days of his restless and eventful life he looked back with more pride on the encouragement that he had extended agriculture than on any other achievement of his illustrious career.

At the close of his life, when asked what he considered the greatest and most beneficial acts of his career, after a pause he replied: "The system of roads and agricultural fairs I have given France will be most beneficial to her."

Mr. LAZARO. Will the gentleman yield in that connection?

Mr. THOMPSON. I will be glad to do so.

Mr. LAZARO. Napoleon also recognized the importance of building up the sugar industry in France at that time, did he not?

Mr. THOMPSON. I am not acquainted with that. If the gentleman says it is so, I will be glad to accept it.

Mr. LAZARO. Yes; he did.

Mr. THOMPSON. It required almost a century of time and the recurrence of war to corroborate that statement; but there are none among us now who will not agree that the roads of France and her agricultural system saved her and civilization in the great cataclysm through which the world has just passed. [Applause.]

A few months ago I stood before his tomb and wandered about the galleries of the great dead. I saw no reference there to his achievements on fields of glory. His claims to immortality were based on achievements in civil life. I read the inscriptions surrounding the tomb of this man of immortal memory. They were:

1. The Legion of Honor. "I have aroused every possible emulation, rewarded every merit, and extended the confines of glory."
2. Public Works. "Everywhere that my rule has passed it has left lasting traces of its benefits."
3. Protection of Commerce and Industry. "Free trade favors all classes, excites all imaginations; it is identical with equality and conduces naturally to independence. True industry does not consist in working with all means known and bestowed; art and genius consist in accomplishing in spite of difficulties and in thus finding little or nothing impossible."
4. The Chamber of Finance. "It is my desire that, by means of an active supervision, infidelity may be repressed and the legal use of the public funds guaranteed."
5. The University. Decree of May 10, 1806: "There shall be formed, under the name of Imperial University, a body intrusted exclusively with the public instruction and education in the whole empire."
6. The Concordat. "The Church of France is reborn in light and concord."
7. The Napoleonic Code. "My one code, by its simplicity, has done more good to France than the mass of laws that preceded me."
8. Creation of the State Council. "Cooperate in the plans I form for the prosperity of the nations."
9. The Reformed Administration. "Without order, administration is but chaos."
10. Restoration of Public Order. "The principles of the unruly leaders vanish; faction bends; parties are blended; wounds are healed; order seems once again to emerge from chaos."

Not one relates to fields of blood. I am persuaded, Mr. Chairman, that long after the puny reputation of the best of us has faded away, we will be remembered by posterity by what we left rather than by what we consumed ourselves.

THE BUREAU OF MARKETS.

Perhaps of more importance than any of the other bureaus is that of the Bureau of Markets. We increased the appropriation for this bureau in this bill from $2,023,255 to $2,689,365.

At the very threshold of the question of production is the one of finding a market for that production. Without a market, and a profitable market, the farmer will soon cease to produce. Not only will he soon cease to produce but he will also soon cease to be a farmer. He will move away to the city and engage in some other occupation.

The last census discloses some startling facts in this connection. The increase of population in the rural districts is not keeping pace with the increase in the cities. The ratio of increase during the decennium between 1900 and 1910 was 3 to 1 in favor of the cities. During the same decade the increase in population in the United States was more than twice as great as the increase in farm products. During the same 10-year period the supply of meat animals—sheep, swine, and cattle—decreased a little more than 7 per cent. The census figures for the same period further disclose that the number of tenant farmers also increased. The average profit of the farmer on invested capital is about 5½ per cent, and the fact that he is compelled to pay an interest rate greatly in excess of his profits explains why so many farmers are abandoning the farms and moving to the congested centers of population. More than 60 per cent of our population reside in cities and towns having a population of more than 2,500, and less than 40 per cent reside in the country and towns containing a population of less than 2,500, and there is actually residing on the farm not to exceed one-third of our population.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. THOMPSON. I can get through, I think, in about five minutes.

Mr. LEVER. Well, if the gentleman thinks he can I will yield him all the time I have—five minutes more.

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not like to take that.

Mr. LEVER. I will be glad to have the gentleman go on. He is making an interesting speech.

Mr. HAUGEN. I will be glad to yield some of my time to the gentleman.

Mr. LEVER. I will yield five minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. THOMPSON. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] yields me five minutes, and the gentleman from South Carolina can reserve his time.

Farming is the most important industry in the world. Without the farm all other business would stagnate and die, the railroads would cease to run, the banks and mercantile establishments could no longer operate, and grass would grow in the streets of our cities. No other business can succeed without the farmer, but the farming business can succeed, if left unfettered, without the aid of any other business.

The establishment of a marketing system I regard as of the utmost importance. We can not hope to encourage agriculture except by making it a profitable pursuit. It struggles, naturally, under many handicaps. It is a year in and year out job. The work is hard and must be carried on during all kinds of weather conditions. The investment is large in proportion to the expected returns. The hazard is great. All character of pests and blasts constantly threaten the farmer. Drought and flood alternately injure or destroy his crops. He and his family are isolated. Schools are bad and inaccessible. The roads are impassable. There is no social diversion for his family. He produces without an assurance that he will receive a profit on that production. His production is subject to the whims of the board of trade gambler. He has no marketing system. He does not know to-day what market was flooded yesterday and where there was a demand for his production. He is a prey of the middleman. Every industry has been looked after and some governmental step taken to protect it, except the farmer. This bureau is busy right now trying to remedy these evils. Money appropriated is being used in an effort to bring the producer and consumer together, thereby reducing the overhead

charges, doing away with the middleman, and procuring for the producer a greater price for his product while at the same time the consumer is enabled to purchase at a reduced price.

The importance of sustaining the farmer and continuing him in that important business is suggested in the headlines of the Washington Post of Monday morning over an interview given out by Herbert Hoover at Paris on the day before. These headlines read:

Aid farmers, he says—Hoover declares problem of food production serious—World will need it all—Serious thinking required to prevent prices falling below a fair return during the transition period before signing of peace—Thereafter economic law to rule.

There is a new element in the agricultural problem which we will shortly be called on to face. More than four millions of men who were called into the Army will shortly return to take up life anew. A large part of these men went to war from the farm. They have made sacrifies for us. While we remained safe at home, they went forth, some to come again wounded, some with an arm or leg gone, others blind, others still in health but with positions gone, and some will never return. They have answered the final call. These heroes, one and all, whether they return in safety or died at the front, offered all that we might be protected and that our country might live. I am among those who believe that a grateful country can not afford to be niggardly with these men. I favor giving each of them—officers and men alike—a year's pay, dating from their discharge, at the rate of $30 per month. This will amount to $360 each and be all too small for the sacrifice they have made. [Applause.] It will amount to about a billion and a half dollars, but what if it does? There has just been reported from the Committee on Appropriations and passed by the House a bill turning back into the Treasury $7,179,156,944 in cash and canceling authorization of contracts aggregating $8,221,029,294, making a total of $15,400,186,238 appropriations already made and authorized to carry on the war. This vast sum was saved by the heroism of these, our sons; and even if it costs a billion and a half dollars to give them a year's pay, they have saved us thirteen and a half billion dollars by the amount we are just now returning into the Treasury.

We must also immediately enact the law prepared by Secretary of the Interior Lane and recommended by President Wilson, which will provide for the irrigation of the dry and draining of the swamp land. This, together with the cut-over land of our national forests, will provide for these heroes a home. The money expended in the draining and irrigation projects will provide work for them and prevent a period of unemployment, which, if permitted, is likely to produce in this country what we are all striving to avoid—bolshevism. It comes with poor grace from us who remained safe at home to talk about high taxes when it comes to taking care of those who offered their lives for us. We can not do too much for them.

Mr. Chairman, he would be a poor patriot who would advance the welfare of one class of our people to the injury of another. He would be an enemy rather than a friend of his country. We have attempted to carefully avoid such in this bill. Instead I fear we have stopped short of giving the farmers that to which they are justly entitled. We have not yet traveled so far from the tragic circumstance of war that we can forget the debt of gratitude the world owes the sturdy farmers for the great part they played in the victory the allies have just won. The Nation owes a debt to itself to see that these faithful men are not driven from farm life.

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied.

[Applause.]

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] to use some time.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I had agreed to yield time to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BAER], but he has so generously yielded his time to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMPSON] that I believe we will not ask for any more time now.

Mr. LEVER. I ask that the Clerk read the first paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums be, and they are hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, in full compensation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, for the purposes and objects hereinafter expressed, namely:

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and Mr. RUBEY having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. HAMLIN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15018) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, had come to no resolution thereon.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until Thursday, January 30, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting tentative draft of a bill to regulate the precedence of temporary officers in the Navy (H. Doc. No. 1741); to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the president of Washington & Old Dominion Railway Co., transmitting report for the 12 months ending December 31, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1742); to the Committee on the District of Columbia and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting the report of an inspector of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers (H. Doc. No. 1743); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. TILLMAN, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 11715) to authorize the drainage of certain lands in the State of Arkansas, counties of Mississippi and Poinsett, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1009), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. JONES, from the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 15145) providing for the employment by the United States Government of soldiers and sailors of the United States and prescribing the preference to be extended them in filling clerical and other vacancies, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1016), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. MOON, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, to which was referred the resolution (H. J. Res. 368) extending the period of Government control and possession of the telegraph and telephone systems of the United States, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1012) which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BURNETT, from the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 15302) to prohibit immigration for a period of four years, and for other purposes, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1015), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, private bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the Committee of the Whole House, as follows:

Mr. TIMBERLAKE, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 2487) permitting Frances Mack Mann to purchase certain public lands, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1006), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. TILLMAN, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13400) granting to certain claimants a preference right to purchase certain public lands in the State of Arkansas, reported the same without amendment,

accompanied by a report (No. 1007), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13800) for the relief of the claimants of certain unsurveyed lands in Mississippi County, Ark., reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1008), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 14208) for the relief of Mrs. Mamie Duffer, of Shannon, Miss., reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1010), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. CRAMTON, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 11919) for the relief of Rebecca C. Pepper, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1011), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. MERRITT, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13189) for the relief of Susie Currier, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1013), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

ADVERSE REPORTS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. BLANTON, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 11964) for the relief of the P. J. Carlin Construction Co., reported the same adversely, accompanied by a report (No. 1014), which said bill and report were laid on the table.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CLEARY: A bill (H. R. 15325) to amend section 6 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the operation of transportation systems while under Federal control, for the just compensation of their owners, and for other purposes," approved March 21, 1918; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FARR: A bill (H. R. 15326) proposing an amendment to the United States Criminal Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEVER: A bill (H. R. 15327) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to establish standards of classification for fertilizer, to regulate the sale and shipment thereof in interstate and foreign commerce, to prevent deception with reference thereto, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TOWNER: A bill (H. R. 15328) providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Osceola, Iowa; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: A bill (H. R. 15329) to provide for the enlargement of the public building at Cumberland, Md.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MERRITT: A bill (H. R. 15330) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Norwalk, Conn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. POU: A bill (H. R. 15331) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a post-office building at Louisburg, N. C.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15332) for the purchase of a site for and the erection of a post-office building at Smithfield, N. C.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 15333) requiring The Adjutant General of the United States Army and the Secretary of the Navy to furnish certain data to the adjutants general of the several States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROBINSON: A bill (H. R. 15334) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Thomasville, N. C., two German cannon or fieldpieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15335) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Wadesboro, N. C., two German cannon or fieldpieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15336) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Monroe, N. C., two German cannon or fieldpieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15337) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Lexington, N. C., two German cannon or fieldpieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MADDEN: A bill (H. R. 15338) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, and all acts amendatory thereof, by providing for equal and identical rights, accommodations, and privileges for all persons applying for interstate transportation, and prohibiting discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MOTT: A bill (H. R. 15339) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the village of Pulaski, N. Y., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCOTT of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 15340) increasing the limit of cost for a Federal building at Cheboygan, Mich.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. STINESS: A bill (H. R. 15341) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of West Warwick, R. I., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15342) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Narragansett, R. I., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RUBEY: A bill (H. R. 15343) to provide for the erection of a post-office building at Mountain Grove, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15344) to provide for the erection of a post-office building at Lebanon, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SANFORD: A bill (H. R. 15345) to increase the limit of cost for the Federal post-office building at Cohoes, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GRIEST: A bill (H. R. 15346) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Lancaster, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SINNOTT: A bill (H. R. 15347) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Vale, Oreg., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15348) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Pendleton, Oreg., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 15349) to provide for the preparation of plans for designs for a memorial or statue of Theodore Roosevelt, in the city of Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. ESTOPINAL: A bill (H. R. 15350) making an appropriation for erecting and equipping and otherwise providing a quarantine station at or near New Orleans, La.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DOWELL: A bill (H. R. 15351) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Knoxville, Iowa; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15352) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Indianola, Iowa; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SCULLY: A bill (H. R. 15353) for the erection of a Federal building for the United States post office at Red Bank, N. J.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CONNALLY of Texas: A bill (H. R. 15354) for the purchase of a site for the erection of an addition to the post-office building at Waco, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. HUSTED: A bill (H. R. 15355) to provide for the erection of a public building in the village of Nyack, N. Y.; to the Commitee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15356) authorizing the purchase of a site and to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of White Plains, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BOWERS: A bill (H. R. 15357) donating a captured German cannon or field gun and carriage to the city of Belington, Barbour County, W. Va., for decorative purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15358) donating a captured German cannon or field gun and carriage to the city of Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, W. Va., for decorative purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15359) donating a captured German cannon or field gun and carriage to the town of Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, W. Va., for decorative purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15360) donating a captured German cannon or field gun and carriage to the town of Moorefield, Hardy County, W. Va., for decorative purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15361) donating a captured German cannon or field gun and carriage to the town of Terra Alta, Preston County, W. Va., for decorative purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 15362) to provide for the erection in the city of Washington, in memory of Theodore Roosevelt, of a museum of history and the arts; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. PRICE: A bill (H. R. 15363) for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Easton, Md.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15364) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Elkton, Md.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. KINCHELOE: A bill (H. R. 15365) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Owensboro, Ky., two German cannon or fieldpieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER: A bill (H. R. 15366) providing that Indians and other persons residing on Indian reservations shall be subject to the State and Territorial laws relating to marriage, health, and education; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. EVANS: A bill (H. R. 15367) for the purchase of a site for and the erection of a building for the use of the post office and other Government offices at Lewistown, Mont.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SANDERS of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 15368) for an extension to the post-office building at Terre Haute, Ind.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. VESTAL: A bill (H. R. 15369) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Winchester, Ind.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DICKINSON: A bill (H. R. 15370) to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish a German cannon with carriage and cannon balls to the Young Men's Christian Association at the city of Clinton, Mo.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15371) to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish a German cannon with carriage and cannon balls to the city of Urich, Mo.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15372) to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish a German cannon with carriage and cannon balls to the Warrensburg State Normal School, Warrensburg, Mo.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GOULD: Resolution (H. Res. 534) directing the United States Food Administration to furnish the House of Representatives with certain information; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PARK: Resolution (H. Res. 535) authorizing a clerk to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. BENSON. Resolution (H. Res. 536) to pay Benjamin C. Green, clerk to the late J. F. C. Talbott, a Representative in Congress, $166.66; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. BURNETT: Resolution (H. Res. 537) providing for the consideration of H. R. 15098; to the Committee on Rules.

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of Idaho urging Congress to provide a more equitable application of Federal aid in the construction of post roads in the sparsely settled States; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of Idaho asking that a day be set apart for memorial services in honor of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DILLON: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota requesting Congress to make appropriations to indemnify owners of lands inundated by waters from Lake Andes, Charles Mix County, S. Dak.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. FRENCH: Memorial from the Legislature of the State of Idaho recommending the passage of S. 5088 and H. R. 13354; also other good-roads aid in sparsely settled States; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial from the Legislature of Idaho on Col. Theodore Roosevelt; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington favoring the passage of the revenue bill, with the exemption of grape, loganberry, and apple juices from taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLAND of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 15373) granting a pension to Sarah E. Dillon; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MASON: A bill (H. R. 15374) granting a pension to Miranda McKnight; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOTT: A bill (H. R. 15375) tendering the thanks of Congress to Gen. John J. Pershing, United States Army, and the officers and men under his command; and to Maj. Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Provost Marshal General, and the members of the local and district boards throughout the United States, Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OLIVER of New York: A bill (H. R. 15376) granting a pension to Charles T. Winans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY: A bill (H. R. 15377) granting an increase of pension to John Purkaple; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15378) granting an increase of pension to John McCormick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15379) granting an increase of pension to John Reynolds; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15380) granting an increase of pension to Amanda L. Sevier; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15381) granting a pension to Hannah Lovell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15382) granting a pension to Henry Gass; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15383) granting a pension to Elizabeth Barnes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIORDAN: A bill (H. R. 15384) for the relief of the owners of the steam lighter *Rudolph*; to the Committee on Claims.

By. Mr. SMALL: A bill (H. R. 15385) to provide for the reappointment of Walter Chamberlain as captain of Infantry, in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Petition of Knox Lodge No. 654, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Freight Handlers, and Station Employees, of Mount Vernon, Ohio, favoring continued control of the railroads by the Government; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, evidence to accompany H. R. 3573, granting increase of pension to Mary A. Nichols; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BROWNING: Petition of teachers of public schools, Paulsboro, N. J., favoring Senate bill 4987, providing for the establishment of a department of education; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. CAREW: Petition of New York State Federation, requesting immediate establishment of an equitable retirement system for Federal employees; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, petition of New York Produce Exchange, appealing to the President of the United States to remove war measures and restrictions and practice of price fixing; in addition the board of managers of the flour trade request the Food Administration to issue statement that the present method of handling the 1918 wheat crop and prices thereon will not be changed; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of fifty-fifth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, demanding repeal of postal zone law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of executive council of the New York Federation of Labor, favoring the repeal of the postal zone law at earliest possible date; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: Petition of Bronx Board of Trade, Third Avenue and One hundred and thirty-seventh Street and Lincoln Avenue, New York City, favoring legislation on the control of wires by the Government; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of the Merchants' Association of New York City, relating to revalidating of contracts; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Bronx Congress, 914 Prospect Avenue, New York City, adopted at its one hundred and thirty-fourth session January 19, 1919, affirming faith in a democratic universal league of nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HAMILL: Petition of Rotary Club of Jersey City, N. J., to change the name of the Panama Canal to the Roosevelt Canal; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

By Mr. HAMLIN: Papers to accompany House bill 15136, granting a pension to Leonard Walker, guardian of Flora Wall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HUTCHINSON: Petition of Engineers' Club, of Trenton, N. J., favoring the enactment of legislation which will continue control and operation of the wire systems by the Government until Congress shall have studied the question and determined upon a proper and safe procedure to be followed when they are returned to private ownership; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Petition of traffic and transportation bureau, Tacoma Commercial Club, and Chamber of Commerce, Tacoma, Wash., favoring the revival and restoration to the Interstate Commerce Commission of certain powers taken away or suspended by the Federal control act approved March 21, 1918; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MOTT: Petition of Chamber of Commerce, Oneida, N. Y., urging continuation of Federal control over lines of communication until Congress has time to determine upon permanent policy; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. NEELY: Petition of Royal Window Glass Co., Grafton, W. Va., urging that pending tax bill be kept down to $4,000,000,000; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Bank of Mount Hope, W. Va., urging that new tax bill be kept down to $4,000,000,000; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of National Bank of Fairmont, W. Va., urging that the tax bill be kept down to $4,000,000,000; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of officers of Lodge No. 326, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, Grafton, W. Va., urging Government control of railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. POLK: Petition of Wilmington Clearing House Association and members of savings banks relative to forthcoming liberty loan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Farmers' Institute, held at Selbyville, Del., indorsing plan for league of nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Manufacturers' Association of Wilmington, Del., relative to revenue bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WASON: Resolutions adopted at a regular meeting of the Manchester, N. H., Council, No. 195, of the Order of United Commercial Travelers of America, favoring the return of the railroads of the United States to their original owners; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, resolutions adopted by the New Hampshire State Federation of Labor, favoring the enactment of a law which will bring about Government ownership of railways; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *January 30, 1919.*

(*Legislative day of Tuesday, January 28, 1919.*)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Bankhead	Henderson	Nugent	Spencer
Brandegee	Hitchcock	Overman	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Johnson, Cal.	Penrose	Swanson
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	Pollock	Thomas
Curtis	Knox	Ransdell	Thompson
Fernald	La Follette	Robinson	Trammell
Fletcher	Lenroot	Saulsbury	Vardaman
France	McKellar	Shafroth	Wadsworth
Gay	McNary	Sheppard	Walsh
Gerry	Martin, Va.	Simmons	Wolcott
Hale	Nelson	Smoot	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-three Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the roll of absentees.

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. KIRBY, Mr. NEW, Mr. POINDEXTER, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. SMITH of Arizona, Mr. STERLING, and Mr. WOLCOTT answered to their names when called.

Mr. POLLOCK. I desire to anounce the absence of the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] on account of illness. I should like to have this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. McKELLAR. I announce the absence of the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] on account of illness.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] is absent owing to illness.

Mr. PITTMAN, Mr. KING, Mr. HARDWICK, Mr. WARREN, Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky, and Mr. POMERENE entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is detained by illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-six Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

RESPONSE OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, yesterday, in the course of my remarks, I was asked by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] if a certain response that had been made by the Soviet government of Russia had been put in the RECORD or was intended to be put in the RECORD by me. I responded then that I did not have such a response. This morning the Senator from Colorado has handed to me the response to which he then referred, and because of his suggestion yesterday and his request that it be put in the RECORD, I ask that it be printed without reading in the RECORD this morning.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The all-Russian congress of Soviets expresses its appreciation to the American people, and first of all to the laboring and exploited classes in the United States for the message sent by the President of the United States to the congress of the Soviets in this time when the Russian socialistic Soviet republic is living through most difficult trials.

The Russian republic uses the occasion of the message from President Wilson to express to all peoples who are dying and suffering from the horrors of this imperialistic war its warm sympathy and firm conviction that the happy time is near when the laboring masses in all bourgeois countries will throw off the capitalist yoke and establish a socialistic state of society, which is the only one capable of assuring a permanent and just peace as well as the culture and well-being of all who toil.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 5354) extending the time for completion of the bridge across the Delaware River, authorized by an act entitled "An act to authorize the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Delaware River, approved the 24th day of August, 1912."

The message also announced that the House disagrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11984) to provide for the Fourteenth and subsequent decennial censuses; recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 12 to the bill and agrees to the same with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate; further insists upon its disagreement to the remainder of the amendments; requests a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. HOUSTON, Mr. ASWELL, and Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan managers at the further conference on the part of the House.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 15140) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. GERRY presented a petition signed by sundry citizens of Newport, R. I., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the national ownership and Government operation of all railroads in the United States necessary for the furnishing of transportation to the people of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. THOMPSON. I present petitions in the form of telegrams pertaining to good-roads legislation, one from the Kansas Editorial Association in convention at Topeka, another from the Kansas Good Roads Association, and another telegram from the governor of Kansas, transmitting information relative to the action of the Kansas Legislature. The telegram from the governor of Kansas is very short, and I should like to have it printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. On what subject are the telegrams?