Nellie I. McGill to be postmaster at Oregon, Wis., in place of N. I. McGill. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1923.

George L. Leverenz to be postmaster at New Holstein, Wis., in place of W. W. Lauson. Incumbent's commission expired September 5, 1922.

Walter F. Martin to be postmaster at Mukwonago, Wis., in place of A. H. Craig. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1923.

William Frankland to be postmaster at Montfort, Wis., in place of N. M. Yeager. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1923.

William A. Kohl to be postmaster at Mayville, Wis., in place of G. B. Husting. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1922.

Adolph R. Mill to be postmaster at Kaukauna, Wis., in place of Jacob Lang. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1920.

Thomas A. Walby to be postmaster at Hudson, Wis., in place of J. H. Walker. Incumbent's commission expired September 5, 1922.

Frank M. LeCount to be postmaster at Hartford, Wis., in place of A. J. Hemmy. Incumbent's commission expired September 8, 1921.

Sidney C. Goff to be postmaster at Elkhorn, Wis., in place of F. M. Porter. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1923.

Castor H. Kuehl to be postmaster at Brillion, Wis., in place of W. A. Koch. Incumbent's commission expired September 5, 1922.

John C. Chapple to be postmaster at Ashland, Wis., in place of A. D. McDonald. Incumbent's commission expired September 5, 1922.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *December 13, 1923.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father who art in heaven, be with us this day in thought, purpose, and action. Illuminate our minds and cleanse our hearts that Thy will may be magnified in all our labors. O give us plenteously of Thy wisdom and grace that we may reach the highest and the best results and thus add somewhat to the happiness and the progress of our country. Widen the sweeps of peace, contentment, and cooperation among all our citizens. May the duties of this day be so borne that when the evening time approaches we may recall them with an approving conscience and feel in the recesses of our hearts that the smile of Heaven is upon them. We pray in the name of Jesus. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS.

The SPEAKER. Members who have not taken the oath of office and desire now to do so will please come forward.

Mr. JOHNSON, of South Dakota, Mr. McDUFFIE, of Alabama, Mr. EVANS, of Montana, Mr. LINDSAY, of New York, Mr. TINKHAM, of Massachusetts, and Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio, presented themselves at the bar and took the oath of office.

CORRECTION.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask to correct the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Wednesday, December 5. On that date there is recorded the fact that the Delegate from Alaska [Mr. JARRETT] took the oath of office. This is a mistake. It is all right for Alaska, but Mr. JARRETT is the new Delegate from Hawaii. Those of us who have been following attentively the affairs of this wonderful island Territory resent any attempt to even loan Delegate JARRETT to Alaska. He is a worthy successor to the late Prince Kalanianaole, and time will prove that the Hawaiian people made their best selection when WILLIAM P. JARRETT was chosen to represent Hawaii in the Congress of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the correction will be made.

There was no objection.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON DEATH OF PRESIDENT HARDING.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the following Members on the select committee on the death of President Harding.

The Clerk read as follows:

BURTON, KAHN, TILSON, FRENCH, MADDEN, WOOD, HAUGEN, ANTHONY, LANGLEY, WHITE of Maine, GREENE of Massachusetts, McLAUGHLIN of Michigan, DAVIS of Minnesota, WASON, LEHLBACH, PARKER, YOUNG, HAWLEY, BUTLER, BURDICK, JOHNSON of South Dakota, LEATHERWOOD, FLEETWOOD, JOHNSON of Washington, REED of West Virginia, COOPER of Wisconsin, WINTER, ALMON, HAYDEN, OLDFIELD, TAYLOR of Colorado, BOYCE, CLARK of Florida, LEE of Georgia, DUPRÉ, LINTHICUM, COLLIER, DICKINSON of Missouri, EVANS of Montana, SHALLENBERGER, RICHARDS, MORROW, POU, CARTER, BYRNES of South Carolina, BYRNS of Tennessee, GARNER, MONTAGUE.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Senate Resolution 38.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JOHN W. RAINEY, late a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 39.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JAMES C. CANTRELL, late a Representative from the State of Kentucky.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 40.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. BENJAMIN G. HUMPHREYS, late a Representative from the State of Mississippi.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 41.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN, late a Representative from the State of North Carolina.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 45.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. DANIEL J. RIORDAN, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 42.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JOHN M. C. SMITH, late a Representative from the State of Michigan.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 43.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JOHN R. TYSON, late a Representative from the State of Alabama.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 44.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. L. E. SAWYER, late a Representative from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 46.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JAMES V. GANLY, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Senate Resolution 47.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. LUTHER W. MOTT, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved further, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

The message also announced that in accordance with the provisions of Senate Resolution 21, providing for the appointment of seven Senators on the part of the Senate to join such committee as may be appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to consider and report by what token of respect and affection it may be proper for the Congress of the United States to express the deep sensibility of the Nation to the death of the late President Warren Gamaliel Harding, the President pro tempore appointed Mr. WILLIS, Mr. FESS, Mr. HALE, Mr. PHIPPS, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. SIMMONS, and Mr. SHIELDS as such committee on the part of the Senate.

PAYMENT OF SALARIES ON DECEMBER 20.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I present the following resolution and ask for its present consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Joint Resolution 70, authorizing the payment of salaries of the officers and employees of Congress for December, 1923, on the 20th day of that month.

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives are authorized and directed to pay to the officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives, including the Capitol police, the legislative drafting service, and employees paid on vouchers under authority of resolutions, their respective salaries for the month of December, 1923, on the 20th day of that month.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, do I understand from this resolution that it is the purpose to adjourn on the 20th for the Christmas holidays?

Mr. MADDEN. I am not advised as to what the organization proposes to do in that respect. Perhaps the gentleman from Ohio can state.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I do not think any conclusion has been reached as yet, but I will say to my friend there are a number of gentlemen with whom I have spoken who think it might be advisable to adjourn for the holidays on the 21st.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. On the 21st?

Mr. LONGWORTH. That will be Friday, until the Thursday after the New Year; two days after New Year. I would like to get the opinion of the gentleman from Tennessee on that subject.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Well, I am not able to answer now. I was asking for information in that regard. But no definite conclusion——

Mr. LONGWORTH. No definite conclusion has been reached. I would be glad to confer with the gentleman.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Has the gentleman thought over how long the Christmas adjournment should be?

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentlemen with whom I have spoken thought possibly two days after New Year, which would be Thursday, the 3d of January.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That would be about a 10-day adjournment?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes; a little more than 10 days.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the resolution?

Mr. REECE. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there has been a request on the part of the disabled ex-service men who are drawing compensation that some provision be made whereby those boys could receive their December checks before Christmas, and the Director of the Veterans' Bureau has informed me that it will require action on the part of the Congress. I wish to make inquiry of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations whether he thinks such action would be possible?

Mr. MADDEN. I do not think there is any doubt about the action being possible, and I think it would be proper, too. I think it would have to be under a separate resolution from this.

Mr. REECE. I understand that, but I was wondering how it could be initiated and gotten through in sufficient time to let the Veterans' Bureau act.

Mr. MADDEN. I will prepare a resolution and present it to the House.

Mr. REECE. That is very good.

Mr. MADDEN. But I will not be able to do it to-day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. MADDEN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to extend my remarks on the subject of the condition of agriculture in the Southwest.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on the subject of conditions of agriculture in the Southwest. Is there objection?

Mr. SNELL. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, do I understand they are the gentleman's own remarks?

Mr. McKEOWN. Yes; they are my own remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

THE NECESSITY FOR IMMEDIATE RELIEF OF THE FARMERS.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, the agricultural situation in the Southwest presents a very gloomy picture at the present time. The boll weevil and the weather conditions have brought havoc for the last three years to the cotton farmers of Oklahoma. Virtually every farmer is in a bad predicament and facing financial ruin. They are unable to pay their taxes and debts, and are losing their farms by foreclosure proceedings, because they are unable to pay the interest and commission notes due on their lands.

The crop of 1920 was an exceedingly heavy yield of cotton, but the price of this product broke to a point where it was a distinctive loss to the farmer to gather his crop. This situation started the cotton farmers on the road to disaster. I offered in the Sixty-sixth Congress a measure looking to the relief of this situation by providing for storage and loans on farm products until the following year but was unable to get even serious consideration of the measure.

The invasion of the territory of southern Oklahoma by the boll weevil in 1921 and 1922 practically destroyed the cotton crops of those two years, and the farmers having entered into the year 1921 with a large indebtedness unpaid, entered the year 1922 with additional increases of indebtedness and without sufficient funds to meet their taxes and interest payments due on their homes, and the flood and drougth conditions occurring in the year 1923 virtually destroyed the crop for this year, so that the farmers, bankers, and merchants of that section enter the year 1924 with a very heavy financial burden on their shoulders. There are numerous foreclosure proceedings pending in the courts to foreclose mortgages on farms caused by the inability of the farmer to meet his interest payments.

The Federal farm-loan bank has in a number of instances granted relief by making loans, but this relief is not granted in the measure it should be. The Government refuses to make loans sufficiently large to enable the farmer to borrow enough money to pay the amount due on his land. The farm-loan bank offers such small sums to the applicants as to dishearten the farmers, and a very great benefit could be done to the farmers throughout Oklahoma if the farm-loan bank, through its inspectors and agents, would make reasonable loans. There is no use to say to the farmers that the Congress has provided legislation for their relief and for their benefit, and then permit the agents of the Government to thwart the purposes and intention of the law by failure to carry out the spirit and purpose of the law.

There are hundreds of farmers in Oklahoma who have at all times heretofore enjoyed a comfortable living for themselves and family, but who have by circumstances been reduced to a very bad financial condition wholly without any fault on their part.

The decline in the value of farm lands is merely temporary, and the Government, having permitted deflation to take place, should at least fix a more liberal value on the farms than the private lenders of the country. If the Federal farm-loan bank would immediately commence a policy of trying to save the homes of farmers by extending liberal credit to them on farm loans they could save the homes of hundreds of farmers, and the United States would never lose a penny, but in addition thereto, would develop a greater wealth for the country and develop a rural life and rural communities. Nothing can be more disastrous at this time than to withhold the needed credit for the small farmers. It is an unpleasant sight to see farmers struggling under the present conditions, trying to hold on and save a little something out of what they have put into their homes.

I have talked to many of them about their conditions, and the universal reply is "How can I buy anything; I am head over heels in debt, and about to lose my home." I insist that

we do not make so much law as that we should see that the agents of the Government carry out the purpose and intent of the law that the Congress passed for the benefit of this industry.

In addition to this burden the Sixty-seventh Congress passed a tariff law that loaded the shoulders of the already debt-ridden farmers of the country. This law tends to create prosperity in the manufacturing districts of the United States, and results in higher prices to be paid by the farmers for the things they have to buy. Prices for the necessities of the farm have increased rather than decreased.

It is a well-known fact that on an average the consumer pays for the products of the farm three times what the farmer receives for his products. A part of this difference is due to freight rates; but the freight rates, while excessively high, are only about 10 per cent of the spread between the producer and the consumer.

There should be an immediate adjustment of freight rates touching the cattle industry. I contend that the rates on food products should be low, and if there is a loss to the carriers caused by the reduced rates on food products then the rates on other things not so essential to human well-being should be increased sufficient to make good any loss that results from transporting food products at a low rate.

If the business and financial world do not immediately commence to cooperate with the farmer the great basic industry and foundation for permanent national prosperity will be destroyed. Cooperative marketing on the part of the farmer and cooperative buying on the part of the consumer would no doubt greatly benefit both under present conditions, but in the organization of cooperative agents the farmer should not be subjected to large and expensive overhead charges.

It is my hope and wish that this Congress will be able to pass legislation that will result in giving to the farmers a new lease on life and prosperity. Of course, we can not produce good crops by legislation, nor prevent the ravages of pests and insects, floods, and drouths, but we can enact legislation which will extend to the farmer an opportunity to survive these disasters, and have an opportunity to regain financial independence, and to this end I will work energetically and faithfully.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, as it appears that we have no regular order of business to-day, except the address of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR], I ask that on the conclusion of his address I may have unanimous consent to speak for 20 minutes on the relations between the farmers and the industrial workers of the country.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to speak for 20 minutes on the relations between the farmers and the industrial workers of the country at the conclusion of the address of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR]. Is there objection?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman from Alabama will delay his request. There will be a conference of Republican Members after the speech of the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Certainly. I was simply attempting to take up the time when there was nothing else to do. I will postpone my request until to-morrow at the conclusion of the business of the day. Was my request put, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that he may address the House to-morrow for 20 minutes at the conclusion of the routine business. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

TAX-EXEMPTION SECURITIES.

Mr. ROSENBLOOM. Mr. Speaker, one of the first legislative proposals to come before the Sixty-eighth Congress will be the adoption of the amendment to prohibit the further issue of tax-exempt securities.

When this amendment was being considered by the Sixty-seventh Congress, in view of the apparent majority sentiment for its adoption, I believed that it would be well to present one phase of the matter which had not been presented theretofore.

Since the amendment will again be before the House I wish to restate my views for the benefit of the gentlemen who were not present in the last Congress, and also that this particular phase of the amendment may not be lost sight of by the Members generally.

Mr. Speaker, as the result of a campaign of misleading propaganda, it is my opinion that the proposed amendment to the Constitution will pass the House. Although many well-intentioned people, and, I dare say, Members of the House of Representatives, have been beguiled into favoring the bill on the widely advertised theory that it has for its object and sole purpose preventing the investment of large incomes in tax-exempt securities, by means of which such incomes escaped an equitable share of taxation.

If it were possible to prevent money accumulations from escaping their fair share of taxation by the ratification of the amendment under consideration, I pledge that no one would be more industrious or conscientious in his effort toward this accomplishment than myself.

The prevalent opinion that the adoption of this amendment will reach securities already issued is unjustified and untrue. Such securities will continue to be tax exempt. There is no legal way in which they can be reached. The contemplated amendment only provides for such securities as shall be issued after its ratification.

"A man is known by the company he keeps." Let me digress far enough to add that a legislative proposal can be most certainly identified and characterized by its advocates.

Why is it that the same gentlemen who some years ago were exhausting their energy to secure reduction of income taxes on incomes in excess of $67,000 a year, at the expense of incomes under $67,000 a year, are now so devoted to their "professed" interest in the people generally that they use the same majority of people whom they proposed to tax more heavily as the cat's paw of their argument that the proposed amendment should be adopted. Truly "a leopard can not change his spots"—at least not so easily and quickly.

Is it consistent to believe that those same gentlemen who a year ago argued for a reduction of tax on enormous incomes should now be so eagerly championing an amendment whose sole intent and object is to collect a greater amount of taxes from those same inflated incomes? "Verily, do I hear the voice of Jacob, but I feel the hand of Esau."

Where did the money come from that has previously been invested in tax-exempt securities? These incomes are received as dividends from industrial stocks, from oil stocks, automobile stocks—speculation. They are most certainly not the result of conservative bond investment, yielding a far more moderate return of interest on the investment.

It is therefore patent that all securities—including the tax-exempt security under discussion—was infinitely less profitable and attractive than the profits to be derived from further speculation. Why, then, is this money invested in these tax-exempt securities? I am satisfied that there is no desire on the part of possessors of large incomes to invest them in tax-exempt securities unless forced to do so by high rates of income tax. Those securities constitute an entirely safe investment, devoid of the speculative dangers attendant upon speculative stock investment. Allowing for the safety in the security investment, the factor that determines is the rate of return.

When the rate of return from the bond investment, plus the advantage from tax-exemption, approximates the return from speculative stocks, minus the necessary deduction for payment of taxes, accumulated wealth immediately absorbs the issues of tax-exempt securities, not necessarily because they are tax exempt but because of the advantage of increased safety in the knowledge that the net return from such investment will be substantially the same as would accrue from speculative investment after allowing for deductions for payment of taxes as result of such investment.

These same gentlemen who are now asking the adoption of this amendment, when the income tax bill was under consideration by the House, gave every assurance that if the excess-profits tax and other surtaxes were eliminated or reduced it would eliminate the practice of accumulated wealth seeking refuge in tax-exempt securities. Accepting their assurances, this Congress gave them the relief they sought. Why do they now come before you and say it is necessary to stop the issuance of tax-exempt securities in order to accomplish the result they predicted in the first instance? Because, gentlemen, the continued attractiveness of these tax-exempt securities, wherein a goodly portion of their money sought refuge and where it now remains, is no longer to their liking. Immediately a tax is added to further issues of such securities their holdings will automatically increase in value to the extent of the tax.

The economic condition of the country's business has reached a point where speculative industrial investment can not compete with the security and assured return to be had from investment in such securities.

As previously stated, these wealthy gentlemen accumulated their wealth almost entirely as a result of the speculative investment which they largely control and manipulate. But, if people will not invest in industrials, there is nothing for them either to control or manipulate, consequently there is no profit, and again, consequently, they seek to make the issue of tax-

exempt security less attractive, so that investment will again be made through their favored mediums.

I will unceasingly regret my mistake in opposing the adoption of this amendment if the purpose really be to tax colossal wealth its just, fair, and equitable proportion by denying to it the refuge of the tax-exempt security. The slogan, "Stop the rich from evading taxes" is very popular. Is that the real purpose of the amendment? Let us stop for a moment and consider.

First. If it be the purpose of those who advocate this measure to discontinue such securities so that the money will be invested in industrial securities, why do they not say so?

Second. If it be the purpose to so handicap State and municipal securities that, with less attractiveness and advantages, the interest rates can be dictated by the financiers of Wall Street in order to make them salable, why do they not say so?

Third. If it be the purpose to so detract from these securities that they will no longer find a ready market, and the issues must be marketed by these same gentlemen who now seek to tax them and make them less attractive to the purchaser, why do they not say so?

Fourth. If it is the purpose to prevent the Federal Government, the various States, and the municipalities from engaging in what has been regarded as the sanctum sanctorum of private business—the building of elevators, furnishing heat, light, and power, transportation, and other essentials of urban civilization—why do they not say so?

Fifth. If it be the purpose of those advocating this measure to compel the various States issuing bonds for road-building purposes to so embarrass the sale of those bonds by removing the tax-exempt feature in order to retard the road-building program, and by so doing minimize the competition that they are developing to the railroads of our country, why do they not say so?

Sixth. If it be the purpose to remove the guaranty of an interest rate not in excess of 6 per cent for farm-loan purposes, to destroy the farm-loan banks and compel farmers to go into the open market for money at market rate of interest, why do they not say so?

My own State, having authorized $50,000,000 of such bonds to be sold during the course of the next few years, I can not see my way clear to lend my vote to raise the rate of interest which we will have to pay or to restrict the market that there is for those securities under present conditions.

But, gentlemen, I do charge that such things as I have enumerated are susceptible of accomplishment, and are easily possible, with the proposed amendment in force.

I am quite certain, however, that if either or all of the above propositions had been presented to you as arguments for the adoption of this amendment it would have received but scanty consideration. It is indeed cleverly masked. If I can analyze the sentiment of the membership of this House, there is an overwhelming desire to place taxation on the sources best able to bear the tax.

I can not approve of a policy which will deliver into the hands of the capitalists controlling the money markets the power to dictate the rates of interest at which my constituents can secure money for permanent physical improvements of their localities.

If the people of Wheeling, or Fairmont, or Grafton, in the State of West Virginia, wish to build a road or a school and thus add to the capital of their respective community, and the proposal is submitted to a vote of those concerned and receives an indorsement of the necessary two-thirds majority, indicating their desire for and willingness to pay for the new roadway or school, I believe they should be permitted to secure the necessary money as the result of a bond issue under the most favorable conditions. Such permanent physical improvement—the only enterprise for which they are entitled to issue municipal bonds, by sanction of two-thirds majority of the people concerned—are assets and capital not only to the community but to the Nation.

The bonds issued will be paid. They have the best obtainable security—the pledge of two-thirds of the residents and property owners of a given locality. The Nation is benefited to the extent of the tax which purely industrial speculations must bear. Why should additional taxes be heaped not upon the bonds but upon the people? With a tax-exempt security they could find a ready market at 4 or 4½ per cent. By eliminating the tax-exempt provision they would have to return a sufficiently higher income to recompense for the amount of tax they bear in order to meet competition and to find a market. At best, the market would be difficult to find. At least, the interest rate which the people would be compelled to pay would immediately advance from 4½ to 6½ or 7 per cent.

In the absence of a ready market it might be necessary to submit the entire issue to these gentlemen who are asking you to do away with tax-exempt securities.

This would add an additional and expensive service to be extracted from the amount of the issue calculated to build the contemplated improvement. This creates additional tax for the people of those communities. Who is benefited? In this instance there is a minimum cost at which the road can be built—the lowest cost. But you have proceeded to add additional costs with amazing rapidity, so that there will be a sizable difference between the lowest cost and the cost at which the road will actually be completed. This has occurred in the financial end of the transaction. The gentlemen who wish tax-exempt securities eliminated control that end.

The reciprocal provision of this amendment permitting the States to tax Federal bonds to be issued in the future is buncombe, pure and simple. Nothing is more remote than the issuance of further bonds by the United States Government.

While I am unalterably opposed to prohibiting the issue of tax-exempt securities, I would energetically support an equitable law prohibiting any individual, firm, partnership, corportion, or combination from holding more than a stated amount of such securities. This would insure a wider distribution of such issues and prevent hoarding money in such investment solely with the object of evading taxation.

FURNITURE IN THE HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for one minute on a matter of great interest to the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida asks unanimous consent to proceed for one minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, while this House seems to be in the way of liberalization, I want to suggest that for a long time—and I am not so old, either—there has been a rule, as I understand, which forbids Members of Congress having a couch or lounge or something on which they might rest for a few minutes in their offices if they desire to do so. That I regard as a reflection on the integrity and the honor of the membership of this House, and I wanted to raise this question now, Mr. Speaker, in order that the commission having charge of that building might take into consideration the question of allowing the Members who desired it the privilege of having some convenience there if they desire to rest for a few moments some time during the day. [Applause.]

CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA.

The SPEAKER. By the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] is recognized for one hour.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

RUSSIA.

TWENTY GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE AND ASIA HAVE TRADE RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA—EIGHT THOUSAND MILES WERE TRAVELED DURING AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1923, TO ASCERTAIN CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA—THE FACTS STATED AND CONCLUSIONS DRAWN SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, from out of the confused tangle of contradictory reports that have filled the columns of reputable magazines and newspapers in recent years regarding Russia the average citizen has little definite understanding of the merits of the case.

On one side persistent propaganda pictures a great unwieldy government floundering in the hands of a torchbearing anarchistic group, with visions of the French revolution being daily enacted in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow. Lawlessness and disorder throughout Russia are represented to the mind by news correspondents from Riga, Warsaw, Berlin, and news writers in New York, all outside of Russia, whose imagination alone it is hard to believe should be held responsible for the wild, unfounded tales that emanate from these cities.

Contradicting such reports comes an occasional sweeping denial from those who have been to Russia lately, against their discovery of any existing anarchy, nihilism, or lawless communism, all confused terms and equally menacing to many minds. Men who have visited Russia this year come back without loss of life, even with bodies intact, which we are prone to ascribe to a miraculous dispensation of Providence rather than to natural causes.

Charges that the propaganda against Russia is promoted by the holders of many millions of Russian bonds floated

by New York banking concerns during the war, which the present Government refuses to pay, are incredible to the average understanding. Those who make the charges are denounced as communists and soviets, who should be deported because forsooth the woods of our own country are full of people ready to take up the torch against what the communists of Russia term a "capitalistic government." That misguided people and sensational writers exist here and abroad we all know, and to ascertain the facts without being influenced by extremists on either side is no easy task.

WE WENT TO RUSSIA TO LEARN CONDITIONS.

It was to get a normal, first-hand view of actual conditions that I went to Russia. Frankly, I did not know and had not attempted to learn recent Russian conditions from the press or books, because all were alleged to be prejudiced pro or con. I had no distinct idea whether Chicherin, one of the famous diplomats of Europe, was the name of a Russian drink or of a Russian official. Lunachasky, I may have believed, was the name of a two-cylinder horse car distantly related to the drotsky; although a little intelligent reading would have made clear that this was untrue, because one of the famous writers, dramatists, and organizers of modern days is the man who sits at the helm of Russia's educational work.

I was not conscious of any personal bias in the matter and am not now. A natural sympathy for the oppressed may have given my mind a feeling of pity for the Russian people, alleged to be exploited by a few communist leaders, who during semilucid intervals laid down their torches in Russia in order to send over tons of third international literature and shiploads of torchbearers to propagandize America.

However, I never stopped to analyze my understanding or lack of understanding of the subject, because the term "pro-Bolshevist" hurled at innocent spectators is more disturbing than the term "radical" frequently emanating from the same source. In order to set aside any misgivings at the outset, let me say that after looking the ground over as comparatively few people have been permitted to do in recent years, I find myself not a convert to any of the principles of Bolshevism, menshevism, nor communism, nor other "isms." Yet I believe those who sweepingly condemn the soviet form of government are generally without correct information or knowledge of that government.

OPINION OF HIGH AUTHORITY.

Probably no man had a better understanding of the fundamentals of government or had made a more comprehensive or exhaustive study of American political and governmental activities than Lord Bryce, ambassador recently representing Great Britain in this country. His American Commonwealth is on the shelf of every man who desires to know the weak links as well as the strong ties that bind our Government together.

In 1922 Lord Bryce published a work on modern democracies, in which he said of the soviet government:

> It is not necessarily connected with Bolshevism or any form of communism and deserves to be studied apart from any doctrines on its own merits. * * * If we imagine such a constitution honestly worked in an intelligent and educated people, by men desiring only the common weal, it would have two merits; the one that of helping the best talent of the nation to rise to the top; the other that of enabling the opinion of the whole nation to be promptly ascertained without the cost and delay of a general referendum; for the same issue could be simultaneously propounded to all the local soviets and their answers forthwith transmitted to headquarters.

Bryce is a recognized authority, but as his own Government of England would never adopt the soviet system for all-sufficient reasons, so it will never be acceptable in our democratic form of government, to which it is diametrically opposed.

It is for Russia to experiment with, and it is for the Russian people, not our own, to accept or reject or materially modify.

We have an orderly, constitutional way of settling matters in this country, and I firmly believe always will have, unaffected by any of the various "isms" that are floating around in Russia; and yet, with her past centuries of repression and oppression, her wars and destruction of life and property, her suffering from famine, her unprecedented political and economic problems, her ostracism by the world—nay, more, her added difficulties through the efforts of many nations by force to determine her internal affairs; from all these facts it is certain, in my humble judgment, that our form of government would be a hopeless method at this time with which to solve Russia's problems. Let me say at the outset that a dozen years hence there is every indication to my mind that Russia will have taken her place among the first of the nations of the world, and that to-day life and liberty, as the average Russian defines liberty, are about as safe in the great Slav country as in the business centers or farthermost parts of other countries and far greater than ever found under czarist rule. But before expressing conclusions, let me give a brief picture of the situation we found, which I believe will appeal to the average unprejudiced, disinterested visitor to Russia to-day.

FACTS OR PROPAGANDA.

What are the actual facts regarding Russia? Are they truly represented by anti-Russian or pro-Russian propaganda? Are the communists of Russia preparing to convert the world to their theories and does danger exist in our own country from such teachings? Is Russia to be taken into the sisterhood of nations on equal standing? Will that country regain or surpass its pre-war prestige, and what is its future? In my statements I do not assume to represent the opinions of others, but give individual impressions for your consideration.

It is proper to suspend judgment until a picture is presented of the country and its people. From the highest official to the lowest peasant and workman, they seem intelligent, hospitable, and generous to a fault, but the question naturally arises, what other worthy traits do they possess; for hospitality, generosity, and kindliness do not alone make good citizens or a strong country.

Senators LADD and KING and I were invited by Albert Johnson, an agricultural expert of New York, to accompany him and Frank Connes, interpreter for the Supreme Court of New York, on a trip through Russia this last summer. George Bowen, a medical student of this city, accompanied us as secretary, and Don Levine, a brilliant young news writer, joined us at Berlin.

How did the trip originate and what conditions were imposed? A natural question. Johnson and Connes had made a remarkably comprehensive survey of Russian conditions two years before in connection with the Near East Relief Association's great work during the famine. Johnson as an agricultural expert and Conness as an expert interpreter, familiar with many languages, gave pen pictures of Russia's necessities to a Senate committee, and of suffering and hopeless conditions at that time which were hard to comprehend and almost impossible to believe. Two years elapsed, and these two men proposed to the Hearst news syndicate that an unofficial commission be sent to Russia without incurring any obligations from the Russian officials; and with the aid of Johnson and Connes, who had previously traveled 7,000 miles throughout western and southern Russia, it was believed a fair understanding of conditions might be had without other guides or interpreters than were with our own party. The purpose was impartially to ascertain the facts.

OUR COMMISSION FROM MR. MERRILL.

I have had conferences with men in the past, with commissions to propose, almost invariably tied to a string of conditions. The findings of any such commission on Russia would be of little value and its report without merit, due to directing influences, conscious or unconscious, that invariably affect such investigations.

In the case of our Russian trip the highest tribute I can pay Mr. Bradford Merrill, manager of the Hearst news system, is to say that he increased our confidence in the high character of metropolitan press officials generally, for I firmly believe when they really want the truth no personal views of theirs are asked by them to be submitted, but just facts with logical deductions to be drawn from those facts.

This is all that Mr. Merrill asked in the few moments we were together. "Get the facts. We have no interests to serve. You are free to go where you will, form your own conclusions, but get the facts without coloring." With this simple commission and with Johnson in charge to look after arrangements, we entered Russia from Poland, traveling to Minsk and Moscow, where we stopped for a week or more to study the educational system, industrial proposals, judicial procedure, financial and religious problems which confront Russia. There we met all sorts of people without guide or hindrance, from archbishops and other churchmen of various denominations to the different commissars, who correspond to our Cabinet officials, and from these to the cooperative organizations, students, workmen, peasants, and people of all classes to be met in Moscow, for to many people Moscow is Russia.

With a railway mandate authorizing our car to be hitched on any train, freight or passenger, and with every car, drotsky, and other conveyance paid for by the news syndicate, we were advised by the officials to see anything and everything, the good and the bad, without restriction or limitation, and to return prepared to talk frankly, for the Russian officials con-

fessed that many mistakes had been made and conditions were far from perfect or what they hope for when normal living conditions are resumed.

THOSE "15,000 SOVIET AGENTS."

The anti-Russian press stated with usual exactness (?) that we were to be met by 15,000 soviet agents who would guide us through Russia. An additional cipher more or less does not deter the propagandist. Not one agent sought to or would have been permitted to guide us. We told the soviet officials we wished to travel unheralded, to go where we preferred, to change our itinerary on a minute's notice, and all we asked from the railways was good service. The officials are as intelligent as our own people and, without hesitation, conceded it was the only course to pursue.

Literally good service was granted on all Russian railways. During 34 days in one car that was paid for by us we traveled 7,000 miles and never missed a connection, coming in one day ahead of schedule, having changed the itinerary a dozen times during the trip. Another 1,000 miles was added in travel from Moscow to Petrograd and on to Helsingfors, Finland, and by various conveyances when visiting villages, mining towns, oil fields, the mountain countries, and every district of especial interest from the Baltic to the Black and Caspian Seas, and from Poland to the Urals over on the Siberian side. The Ukraine, the Volga region, the wonderful Caucasus, higher and more rugged than Mount Blanc, these we visited and talked with the people high and low, with priest and peasant, with boatmen and railroad worker, those down in mines, and on locomotives. Officials who learned of the many cities, villages, and communities thus visited declared that with our traveling facilities we had covered more than the ordinary person could reach in eight months.

Many things we saw, and much we did not see, but no obstacle was found anywhere. Every facility was offered to us, while two able American interpreters, both of whom were familiar with Russia and had visited the country several times before, gave us an unrivaled opportunity to see and learn things.

WORK, NOT PLAY.

I have only one complaint to lodge against my colleagues on the committee—Senators LADD and KING. The highest praise bestowed during my years of service in Congress came from Jim Mann, who once said whatever small success had been achieved came through hard work. No one ever approached Mann in this particular for laborious and continuous grind. Speaker GILLETT, with a similar argument, compelled acceptance of an undesired task respecting the aircraft investigation by saying he knew it required thankless work that must be performed.

I speak of this, not in a smug fashion, when chronicling the fact that I have a personal log containing over 100 closely written pages covering incidents and interviews with many people at cities and villages visited, but that Senators LADD and KING never failed to perform their full share of the work, and I found myself pressed to the limit to keep up with the pace set by these distinguished statesmen. We formed individual conclusions and examined matters for ourselves, separately or together, as each preferred to do.

Early in the summer I had visited France, Switzerland, including the League of Nations' people at Geneva, different places in Italy, Austria, and Germany, meeting many officials and studying political and economic conditions in the several countries. The information gathered was helpful by way of comparison when traveling through Russia, and incidentally let me say that no American will find in all Europe any place that invites comparison with our own country. The only way to appreciate the blessings we enjoy here is to see Europe.

GLIMPSES OF RUSSIA.

May I ask you figuratively to travel with me across the great Muscovite country and glance at places we visited?

After several days in Poland we entered at Minsk, near the Polish border, which was once the scene of long, hard fighting. It is also a center for Jewish relief distribution and the capital of White Russia, one of four Republics comprising the Soviet Government. In Moscow we spent a number of days, for, like Washington, it is the seat of government from which radiates all the lines that hold together the many races of Russian people.

Five hundred miles to the east is Kazan, a city of about 150,000 people. Kazan University is known throughout Europe. Here both Tolstoi and Lenin were graduated. Two thousand one hundred and eighty-two attended the Kazan University, of whom 906 are peasants, or nearly one-half of the total now registered. Here as everywhere fine churches are in evidence, and a small Kremlin ambitiously invites attention. One thousand six hundred and eighty-nine industries, large and small, were in operation, while of 995 stores doing business, 74 were Government owned and 56 cooperatives, all others individually owned, disproving at the outset a popular fallacy that all business is operated by the Government. This was the heart of the famine which swept the Volga Valley. One hundred and forty-four thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight died in this Province in eight months, and 342,433 left the country due to the famine. Kazan, the capital of the Tartar Province, is rebuilding, reconstructing, and repainting all its civil war ruins that are still visible. It is an index of the regeneration of Russia industrially.

WHERE THE CZAR WAS EXECUTED.

Nearly 600 miles farther to the east, through a country resembling northern pinery slashing, we reach Ekaterinberg, the principal city of the Urals. Here is the center of a mining district in which 180,000 men are employed. The number will be increased each year according to the industrial plan sent out from Moscow and directed by Lomov, one of the strong men of the Government.

For example, an iron factory we visited that now employs 1,200 men will have 4,000 employees by 1926, according to plans, and these plans are reasonably certain to be carried out. Round about, during the war, revolutionary bands roamed all over, planning to rescue the Czar, whose family had been brought here for safe-keeping. Without waiting for orders the local officials decided to end the struggle over the Romanoffs and executed the entire family in a small residence which we visited. The execution was consistent with czarist practices, but from our viewpoint impossible to justify. We were discovered on the night of our arrival by a café band, which at once struck up Sousa's "Stars and Stripes" and later "Alexander's Rag Time Band."

Over 2,000 students are in the Ekaterinberg University, and 60 primary schools furnish educational facilities for this little city, the headquarters for aquamarine stone, the topaz, and other semivaluable Ural stones known the world over.

Chelybinsk is another lively city, just over the Siberian border. Good schools are found here as in Ekaterinberg, and we saw wild drotsky drivers who kept their horses on a keen gallop in attempts to beat a flivver of the vintage of about 1910. Many demonstration farms are maintained by the Government in this Province. One of these we inspected 10 miles out in the country, where the floors of the stable, without exaggeration, were swept and washed as clean as many homes in our own country, while the threshing crew on this 5,000-acre farm would have belied all pictures of Bolshevists seen in cartoons. Not one of the crew numbering 20 or more had whiskers, for in the Slavic country, as elsewhere, women are whiskerless, and the crew was entirely composed of women. Few demonstration farms in this country can compare with this fine farm way off on the edge of Siberia. Senator LADD said so, and he, like myself, claims to be some farmer.

TURNING THE SWORD INTO PLOWSHARES.

Zlatoust is 8 miles over the border in Russia. A factory that employed 16,000 hands during the war, turning out guns, shells, and other necessities, is now used for manufacturing shovels, rakes, hammers, saws, and useful tools that are regenerating a devasted country. In other words, the sword literally is being turned into the plowshare by Russia. Three thousand five hundred men are employed in this one factory, but like other plans the number will be rapidly increased each year to meet the imperative needs of the people. When in the home of one of the workmen named Fidler, I drummed a few chords on an open piano from "America," an air that grows in value by way of comparison with all others the longer you are away from our country. Fidler smiled intelligently and said to our interpreter he always liked to hear the tune "God save the King."

Mr. LINTHICUM. Had you played the "Star-Spangled Banner," our national anthem, he would not have said that.

Mr. FREAR. In Zlatoust, as everywhere visited, the people expressed their gratitude for the help given by America two years ago during the famine which reached even to Zlatoust. The American Relief Association saved many hundreds of thousands of lives in the Volga region alone.

With a brief stop at Ufa, another city of historic interest, we passed on to Samara, back near the center of Russia, on the great Volga. This city with 260,000 present inhabitants was a tragic point during the famine. Johnson and Connes of our party pointed out streets where two years ago they had seen trucks every morning gathering up dead bodies and loading them like cordwood to be carried off and buried. Three million in this region died from disease and starvation, but more than double that number suffered from the terrible pangs of hunger,

for their faces and bodies two years after the plague give continued evidence of its effect. Four thousand students attend the Samara University. We drove out to a village from which all the people had fled during the famine. Most of them are now back, and the beautiful Greek church, for which every little village is famous, and its priest, are living monuments to the saving of many of the stricken people.

SIX HUNDRED MILES DOWN THE VOLGA.

Down the Volga 300 miles to Saratov we traveled on one of the large river steamers that carried 1,350 third-class passengers alone, apart from the more fortunate. The former were huddled together on the lower deck as they had been huddled for years. Beds, watermelons, cradles, wash boilers, babies, and older people, all were piled in one huge jumble. Every boat is crowded with passengers, who get on and off at every landing, for the great river alone furnishes transportation to that region. In America our railways parallel every river in order to get all the river traffic, with the result that the Mississippi, Missouri, and other rivers are practically as deserted as they were before white men first came to their banks, save for an occasional stray-maverick boat or a Government dredge. The Volga is a real river covered with boats carrying commerce.

At Saratov, a city of 250,000 people, we found conditions better than expected. Here, too, the civil war and famine wrought great havoc, but the people are recovering. The Saratov Province had 160,000 pupils in its 1,966 elementary schools. In the city is a university with 4,350 students, of whom 2,563 are taking a five-year medical course. Education is being pressed hard all over Russia since the Czar's overthrow and along lines laid out by the commissar of education at Moscow.

Thirty per cent of the university students, we were told, are from the peasantry. Saratov has the finest market building seen in all Europe. It is about 600 feet long, of concrete with high arches, and every booth occupied and doing business. In all these cities the churches were open and services unmolested. Fifteen thousand Siberian cattle are being shipped in to the Province by cooperative societies to help the peasants on their farms.

From Saratov to Tzaritzin, for another 300 miles, we again sailed down the wonderful Volga. From the boat we could see cities and villages; great factories, some idle; churches everywhere, and stacks of watermelons as high as village houses and fully as large—the stacks. The Tzaritzin watermelon, or "arbuse," as it is called in Russian, is equal to anything I ever ate in the melon line. It is famous throughout lower Russia and saved many people from starvation when other crops failed during the famine.

While on the boat we learned that 15,000 expatriated Muscovites were returning to Russia, a country from which they had been driven by the Czar. Communism, Greek Church oppression, tales of suffering, all these are of no moment to those who are coming back to their native land from Canada and the United States.

COMPARATIVE TAXES.

Tzaritzin is much like other Russian cities, with its beautiful churches, well-behaved people, and 100,000 pupils in the various schools of the Province, 80 per cent of whom are peasants. Taxes, I was told, averaged about 85 cents per head—our money—this year, compared with $4.50 to $6 in pre-war days. Here we leave the Volga, which flows into the Caspian Sea, about 500 miles distant. By rail to Rostov, a city of 300,000 people, is several hundred miles to the south. Modern and attractive as anything yet seen is this city on the Don River, with its wide streets and handsome buildings. Denekin and his White army blew up everything they could reach before their hasty evacuation. The only thing we were told that prevented the soldiers from carrying off the rest of the buildings, including the cathedral and railway station, was that their arms were filled with other valuables.

We attended service in the cathedral and I never heard more exquisite music than in that old church where hundreds stood reverently while the richly gowned priests chanted the service. We visited two villages near Rostov in an effort to learn, first hand, peasant conditions. Rostov is destined to be one of the great ports of Russia and of southern Europe, for it is at the mouth of the Don River, opening into the Sea of Azof, and it is the natural port for an immensely important trade, when the Donitz coal basin and southern Russian agricultural districts are fully developed. Near the Sea of Azof we climbed to the top of a Turkish fort that overlooked the river and was a strong fortification during the Crimean War. From this point one could see the region where 70 years before, under Czar Nicholas the First, the Slavs engaged in constant warfare with their Turkish neighbors.

THE CAUCASUS.

We stopped at Mineral Water and Patygorsk on our way to the Caucasus Mountains, and in these villages met many people and saw a summer resort among the mountains that would be a credit to any country. At Vladikoskof, about 800 miles from Rostov, on the north side of the Caucasus, we left our car and took an automobile for a 140-mile ride across the range through the striking mountain scenery. I have been across the Rockies at different points, through the mountains of the four large islands of the Hawaiian group, also in the Philippines and in the Alps of southern Europe, but this military road over the Caucasus, with a 7,800-foot pass amid snow-covered peaks and picturesque valleys, is in my experience unparalleled. For 14 hours we traveled over to Tiflis, reaching the capital of the Transcaucasian group after midnight. The mountains are frequented by bandits who hold up cars. They held up our post car two weeks before our arrival and again two days after we crossed the mountains, taking all the valuables of the passengers excepting Russian rubles, which are not yet valuable.

Cases of heart palpitation on the trip occurred, first in a narrow bend of the road near a precipice of a thousand feet or more, where a number of fast-riding horsemen came dashing toward us but suddenly turned up the side of the mountain in a racing contest. When we later reached a bend in the road several hundred people on the mountain were to be seen awaiting the winner's arrival.

Nearly everybody in the Caucasus wears a conspicuously long dagger, and in addition many carry revolvers or guns, so that these walking arsenals and the sight of three armed guards on our car was not conducive to restfulness where frequent hold-ups are recorded. Neither did the fact that the Government usually shoots all bandits and tries them afterwards help the situation. The Government has reduced banditry materially and all are executed without mercy, but, like rabbit stew, it is useless to prepare the stew until you catch the rabbit.

NEAR EAST RELIEF WORK.

At Tiflis we met the Near East relief organization in that well-built yet ancient city high up in the mountains. I will not attempt to describe it but it is well worth going many miles to see, for the streets and buildings like the customs are characteristic. Many of our fair-haired youths are supposed to have descended from the Caucasians who live close to old Mount Ararat. The Georgians are a splendid type of people, handsome, courageous, progressive, and hospitable, and their capital city is a busy place, well provided with churches and schools. Here we learned of manganese, potash, and other concessions held by British and Germans in the adjoining mountains.

Alexandropol, far down in Armenia, south of the Black Sea and farther down than Constantinople, was our next stopping place. This is the headquarters of the Near East Relief, where many thousands of Armenian orphans are cared for by this great philanthropic organization. Twelve thousand of the little fellows and girls, all orphans, paraded for us. You do not appreciate the tragedy of war so keenly when in the midst of it, but the sight of thousands of helpless little children, bright as any you would care to meet, dependent on the charity of the world to live, brings a different phase of war close home. The Near East is caring for 30,000 or more, and the joint Jewish distribution agencies at Kiev and Moscow are providing for a like number of Jewish orphan children. Under the Czar's Government 100,000 Jews were killed in the pogroms, rivaling in fatalities the massacre of Armenians by Turks in their regular "killing bees." All Jewish and Armenian massacres were stopped by the Bolsheviks, who extend equal protection to every race living under the Soviet Government.

Of an estimated 3,000,000 orphans caused by war and famine, we were told the Soviet Government is providing for 1,500,000, but its burdens are exceptionally heavy, due to the many wars, so the soviets are unable to care for others than their own at this time.

We did not see Mount Ararat, a few miles distant, on account of haze, but as the communistic atheists and Greek Church have not come to any agreement on several questions, including the authenticity of Noah's ark-building experiment or its complement of animal sailors, we left the next day for Baku, the greatest oil field in the world.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST OIL FIELD.

Baku is something more than an oil field. It is a fine busy city far down on the Caspian, with shipping commerce and factories that unexpectedly come upon one, on the great inland sea.

A volume could be written on Baku alone. Separate chapters on the Caspian, 84 feet below the level of the ocean; the 6,000

oil wells with derricks built side by side like a great forest of massive trees; the oil wells driven into the sea through land filling along the shore; the greatest electrical-power station in all Russia; the shipping from Persia and countries bordering the Caspian; the lumber yards which I also visited, and the breakfast menu of beefsteak prepared in more than one case on the sidewalk with small charcoal burners. The beautiful country club with an outdoor theater, its well-dressed people, and its open-door hospitality that threatened a rebellion on the part of Senator LADD, when the brilliant youthful governor 29 years of age directed that our car be unhitched from the train in order that we might be entertained by them. Senator LADD's protest prevailed, for we were not asking entertainment or accepting hospitality that interfered with our study of conditions in Russia.

TRAIN HELPS BATHING FACILITIES.

On the way north along the Caspian, throughout an entire day, the continuous massive snow-topped range of the Caucasus guarded us on the left while the train skirted along the seashore, the tracks often a hundred yards distant from the water. Old castles of bygone nobility and monasteries were pointed out similar to other ruins seen throughout the country, sometimes dating back around the tenth century. In describing the easy schedules of passenger trains that stop from a few minutes to an hour at large stations, I am reminded that when the train pulled up for a 40-minute stop at Derbent several of our party, following the example of scores of others, ran from the train and plunged into the warm water of the world's greatest inland sea. It was refreshing, and to my surprise the water was not particularly salty as I expected to find it.

Throughout this trip in southern Russia we saw numerous picturesque costumes varying from Persian, Turk, and Tartar, many of which we had seen before only in pictures, but they appeared to clothe normal human beings not very different from the rest of us.

Camels were occasionally seen in the fields or along the roads, a dozen or more at a time. Licorice root piled many feet high on cars at some of the stations gave an understanding of some of the products of the country. Sunflowers grown for man and beast are found everywhere through southern Russia. In solid fields, often covering several acres of land, they formed the largest part of a villager's crop. Peasants' holdings here, depending on location, vary from 2½ desitines per member of the family to 5 desitines, or a maximum of about 20 acres, though usually less in extent. This land, occupied by license or lease under the Czar, is now given in perpetuity by the present Government, depending on the circumstances and region, and descends from one generation to another, although the right of sale to strangers is generally restricted or not allowed without permission.

RUSSIA'S COAL FIELDS.

The Donitz coal region north of Rostov was another interesting place visited on our way back to Moscow, when we covered again many cities and villages. Something like 800 coal mines, large and small, if I remember the figures correctly, are being operated here in a district able to supply the whole of Russia if need be. In central, northern, and eastern Russia we saw great forests of small timber, largely pine, which serve for fuel purposes. Peat was stacked up in different sections, indicating a fuel supply for centuries will be available for this people.

We visited the coal region villages, and I went down into a mine with an interpreter. The dim candle dip made it a gloomy place to work, but a dozen workmen gathered around, and all joined in the conversation. Complaints were made that wages were not paid promptly by the Government, that has nationalized the mines, and also that wages were too low to meet ordinary cost of necessities. No fear seemed to be evidenced when criticizing or complaining of alleged shortcomings of the Government, but when the question was asked far down in the mines and at other places around the mines if times were better than they were two years ago, or if they preferred the present Government to that of the Czar, the answers were unanimously in the affirmative.

Even in this coal region the homes were clean and neat and new paint, with other repairs was observed after an absence of several years, due largely to wars and famine. Here, also, the village churches stand out conspicuously and hold services without restriction, according to the villagers with whom I talked.

THE CAPITAL OF THE UKRAINE.

Karkov is the new capital of the Ukraine Republic. For hundreds of miles around the well-farmed fields gave an impression of the Illinois or Dakota country, although corn was rarely seen. This is the great bread basket of Russia that growing rye, wheat, and other small grains that furnish rye bread and black bread, the main food of the peasantry of Russia.

I visited the courts of Karkov and other places of special interest, including some small industries. An official investigator, who hears criminal complaints before trial, gave interesting details that I found largely reflected elsewhere from Moscow to Tiflis. The investigator was a prosecuting officer for 15 years before the war. His annual income at that time averaged about $5,000. Now it does not reach more than one-tenth of that amount, but he is giving to the Government the best that is in him.

Eighty per cent of all cases tried are for larceny. Destitution and want following the war may furnish some explanation for this proportion. Fifteen cases of murder had been brought during the past year, and cases of graft, banditry, and lesser offenses made up the balance. Drunkenness, assaults, or brawls are rather unusual offenses, and no more frequent than in this country, on the average. Food was fairly reasonable, but clothing and shoes of the cheapest kind are higher in price than here. A novel sight not infrequently met in Karkov and other cities, including Moscow, was the wearing of white canvas shoes with high heels minus stockings, which cost much more than in this country. This footgear was not worn by men.

Karkov is a fine city with numerous churches, some of which we visited. As the new capital of Ukraine it is destined to be an important city when the country's industries are rehabilitated.

THE MECCA FOR RUSSIAN PILGRIMS.

Kiev, several hundred miles to the west, with about 500,000 inhabitants, is one of the oldest and one of the most interesting of all the many interesting cities of Russia. Although 300 miles from the Polish border, Kiev was taken and retaken by one army or another during the recent wars 21 times. No further attempt to describe the furious fighting need be offered. Its broad main avenue, nearly double the width of our Pennsylvania Avenue, is lined on both sides with fine private and public buildings. Pilgrims come hundreds of miles barefooted to the Kiev Uspenski Cathedral that stands like a sentinel above the river with its seven gilded domes. They gather around the entrance on the old monastery grounds by hundreds, attending service in the several churches that front the plaza.

The churches, the catacombs, more interesting than those of Rome, all give a touch of color found nowhere else in the world. Here again we talked with priests and peasants, Jewish rabbis and university professors, with villagers out in the country, and with storekeepers and Government officials, trying to get a fair cross section of public sentiment.

Kiev, the "Mother of Russia," with its many churches overlooking the Dneiper, with its factories, its sugar trust that includes most of the beet sugar manufactured in Russia, its great university, its Jewish pogroms, and many other things of special moment worthy of study, is a city where one could spend months profitably.

MOSCOW.

From Kiev we travel back to Moscow, where constant sessions with Government officials or private parties were again the rule. Here we sought to check up the results of our investigations and to meet officials missed on the first visit. The Kremlin, Czar's palace, Sparrow Hill, where Napoleon watched the fire that spelled his first Waterloo, the Red Square, Ivans Church, these with the great Moscow exposition and other places were visited while studying people and conditions wherever possible to do so.

No description of mine can place before you the panorama of Moscow with its Kremlin and its 1,600 churches, many with great gilded or strikingly colored domes, which were viewed from an airplane while sailing over this famous city that again is teeming with life. Its walls were battered during the fighting, and its streets are still in need of repair, but throughout all the terrible ordeal the people maintained their art galleries and their many theaters, including the ballet, that can be seen only in Moscow to get its proper atmosphere. Books have been written on Moscow, so I will only say that apart from the dilapidation and destruction caused by the war, the city and its people are all that fancy paints, and both are destined to take an important place in world affairs in the near future.

PETROGRAD AND PALACES.

Petrograd, too, is written about so generally that it seems unnecessary to note what we saw or people visited. The Winter Palace, the Hermitage, Russia's great museum, with rare vases and statuary dating back to the Christian era, the wonderful

pictures for which the museum is famous, including Rembrandts brought back from Moscow where they were removed for safe keeping during the war, all have been described frequently by those better able to undertake the task. Few Americans have seen the Peter and Paul prison, on the Neva, across from the Winter Palace, and comparatively few Russians other than those having an enforced residence under the Czars. We visited many of the cells that have a history all their own, and then drove out to several palaces of Nicholas II and former Czars at Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk.

To my mind one of the most tragic pictures left by the print of the iron heel of modern progress is found in these palaces of the Czar, the most beautiful I have ever seen. In France the old Kings' palaces have been turned into museums. In Austria and Germany we found them thronged with visitors, and here in Russia the different palaces that a decade ago were the homes of the greatest in the land are now show places belonging to the government. Few monasteries remain, few palaces are left in private hands, and this picture, more than any other, marks graphically the beginning of a new era. The Russian, German, and Austrian revolutions, all have written the last pages of dynasties that flourished 10 years ago. To-day they have taken their place side by side with the French Revolution, while the palaces of the kings, the czars, and emperors of yesterday only remain public monuments to discredited monarchistic governments of that same yesterday.

A TRAGIC PAGE FROM NORTHERN RUSSIA.

Although we traveled many thousands of miles, we did not go into northern Russia above Petrograd. Far to the north, 1,000 miles distant on the Arctic Ocean, is a vast country but little known. I have talked with men who traveled through this country and with men who lived at Archangel on the White Sea and Murmansk on the extreme north shore of Lapland, where the railway ends, above the Arctic Circle. There the sun shines continuously during every 24 hours for four months in the year and as regularly the night is continuous for 120 days.

The American Government in conformity with an allied agreement offered to use $5,000,000 as its share in the task of feeding the occupied area of northern Russia during 1919 and 1920. This chapter that has never been made public, to my knowledge, is supplied in part from responsible Americans who know the facts.

The charges and counter charges of what occurred during the occupation in the Arctic Circle I will not here discuss, but I may say that early in 1919 it was learned that the American Government had sent its troops (about 4,000) to northern Russia for the purpose of protecting alleged stores of ammunition, arms, machinery, and supplies which had been sent to aid Russia in the war. No supplies were there, and nothing was found to guard but the supplies brought by the troops themselves. When the American troops finally left Archangel and Murmansk after over 18 months' occupation large stores of food and abandoned supplies fell into the hands of the "dreaded Bolsheviks."

American soldiers sent to Archangel, I am credibly informed, were first used to suppress a general strike which followed the kidnaping of the local Russian government, and then they were sent to the Bolshevik firing line to fight the Russians.

Before giving up their hold on north Russia the British sent hurried calls ostensibly to save being cut off and driven into the sea. Again the American Government sent about 2,000 more men to rescue their comrades, this time a fine body of American Engineers under General Richardson. A part of his force, instead of rescuing their American compatriots, found themselves sent from France to aid in an advance movement against the Russians, with whom America was at peace, and on an entirely different front. There they were thrown into battle, hundreds of miles distant from American soldiers on the Archangel front whom they had come to rescue, and nearly 3,000 miles distant from the seat of war in France, Belgium, and Germany.

Hereafter in this discussion I will call attention to 8,000 American troops in Siberia who were aiding Kolchak in his war to overthrow the Soviet Government about the same time in 1919, nearly a year after the armistice.

It is estimated that $15,000,000 worth of food was sent to Archangel on the joint allied account. When the last American abandoned the northern outpost large quantities of stores remained, including many barrels of cocoa marked "Red Cross" that were stacked up on the wharf. The substance of the whole matter is that in a country that had ever depended almost entirely on fish and game, the American Government was prevailed upon to help starving Russians whose crops had failed on the Volga, 2,000 miles distant, crops that never reached the Arctic Circle in times either of feast or famine. American troops, however, arrived in time to fight the Bolshevists, with whom our country was at peace; that was to meet the demands of our allies.

Lest I may be charged with indulging in speculation, I assert that the records of the Government will disclose facts substantially as stated.

In this northern Russian country the fisheries and fur business now hold out inducements to American capital. Particularly it has been urged for the construction of cold-storage plants, canning factories, smoking and drying outfits, and so forth.

Elsewhere in Russia we found this same invitation extended toward American capital, that, however, must act through the Government in obtaining working concessions.

RUSSIAN PEASANTS WHO ALONE EQUAL OUR OWN TOTAL POPULATION.

What is the indictment against the present Russian Government? First, its manner of induction into office, and, second, the character of the Government itself.

How did the Soviet Government come into power? The course of events is well understood but the causes are not clear to many. Russia's 130,000,000 people of to-day consisted before the war, as now, of 85 per cent peasantry. Of the balance of the population, 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 were estimated to be factory workers before the war, leaving approximately 5 to 10 per cent for the well-to-do czaristic circle, the rich merchants, the bourgeoisie, and those who live by their wits but do not work.

Of these, the peasants who furnished over four-fifths of the population may first be considered. For centuries they were serfs and not much better than slaves when the World War broke in 1914. After a half century of emancipation they were little better off, according to some authorities, than during their serfdom. Their allowance of land for cultivation was cut by their old landowners to about one-half, the best portions taken by the former master for himself. The land was sold to them at double its actual value, while land holdings in 1860 of 13 acres per family, due to a doubling of peasant population, were reduced to less than half that amount by 1914. When he was landless and "hired out" the peasant's daily wage during the first decade of the present century averaged from 18 cents to 40 cents per day, without board, on which to support a family. In 1912 official figures show that 82 per cent of all the population was suffering from disease, and that peasants were more scourged than the townspeople. One physician to every 21,900 people living in the country was reported at this time, whereas in our own country the average was one to 800 persons. Twenty-seven doctors in our farming districts for every doctor in Russia's peasant districts before the war, and more than 82 per cent of the people there diseased. That is a picture of conditions hard to visualize.

THE RUSSIAN PEASANT IN 1913.

The Russian peasant before the war lived below the plane of the French peasantry during the seventeenth century, according to some writers. His hog or steer if once owned went to pay debts and taxes of which the latter were 65 per cent, compared with the present 21 per cent rate, based on statements of commissars. Bread grains consumed in America for five years immediately preceding the World War were 22 hundredweight annually per capital consumption. In Germany the rate had fallen to 10 hundredweight, and in Russia, the lowest of any reported country, consumption was only 7.6 hundredweight, or about one-third of the average American grain consumption.

Undernourished, diseased, working long hours in a hopeless, wretched routine, without education or bare necessities of life, living in darkness literally and figuratively, for oil to burn during long winter nights cost money, do you need to know more of pre-war conditions among the peasants to get their viewpoint?

When he was ordered into war to fight, the peasant fared somewhat better because soldiers were fed, but fighting at the front with knowledge that his wife and little ones were famishing back in the village made him still more bitter. Fighting for things he knew not what, fighting dumbly, numbly, the strain on the peasantry reached the breaking point when the Czar's Government fell.

THE PEASANT AND COMMUNISM.

He knew that the Czar had 2,000,000 acres of land, great wealth, costly jewels, and many wonderful palaces. He knew that scattered among the village lands some 165,000,000 acres belonged to 110,000 nobles; that these lands were gifts from the Czar, handed down from one generation to another. Then he broke loose and seized the first life preserver offered. Com-

munism stepped in and suppressed the nihilists and anarchy by promising that the 165,000,000 acres and other Government lands should be divided among the peasants; that taxes would be reduced newly allotted property rights and family rights protected, food for all, education and a few rays of sunshine thrown in.

We can well understand, when the White soldiers who served with the former Czar thereafter swept through the villages under Denikin, Kolchak, and Wrangell, why the peasants flocked to the standards of the soviet army and drove out the last remnant of the old, unbeatable Cossacks. Although they faced armies alleged by them to have been financed in part by the people of the United States, the peasant armies under communist leaders drove the invaders from beyond their borders. No money drew them to arms, no hope of glory. They were ready to die for a country that would give them some degree of civilized life, some hope of education and enlightenment, with a possibility of eventual participation in governmental affairs.

This is the story told by many lips, simply, quietly, but none the less with grim satisfaction.

They were not worried because the communists were executing, deporting, or driving from the country the former nobility and those who had lived and profited by concessions or other favors from the Czar. They knew that the communists were practicing the lessons learned under the Czar of executions and deportations, and these peasants were content to serve under the red flag.

The civil war passed and although the Whites were supported by practically every civilized nation that had been making the world "free for democracy," these simple peasants, fighting for home and a new protecting government, drove off all the invaders and made the land free for Russians.

PEASANTS AND THEIR LEADERS.

That in brief is the background of the revolution in which 85 per cent of the people bore their share of war's burden at a time when they were just emerging from the Czar's war, where 14,000,000 Russian were engaged and where millions had previously laid down their lives. Bujinney, one of the Cossack villagers, a former sergeant of cavalry under the Czar, told his story by candlelight during an interview lasting over three hours. Starting with four men in his village, after a raid by the Whites, he fought the White soldiers wherever found, and by sheer force of will and ability this villager, this peasant soldier, soon raised an army of 23,000 sabers, and successfully defeated Denikin and Wrangell in many battles. To-day he commands 120,000 soldiers in the Red army. Petrotsky, another young general in command of all the military schools, said he acquired English, which he speaks fluently, while completing a four-year course at Columbia University, New York.

The dean of the College of Science, University of Paris, told me at his home that Trotski, the idol of the soviet, present commander of the Red army, was the most brilliant student in his Paris University classes. This does not detract from the oft-repeated charge that he was known as a "soap-box orator" on the streets of New York when proscribed by the old Government. So were a majority of the 17 commissars who direct the new Government, and in nearly every case they are graduates of universities. Many speak English and several other languages fluently, and most of them have also been graduated from prison cells, where they were cast by their oppressors. These are the men for whom and with whom the Red army of peasants fought during the revolution and whipped the tried soldiers of the Czar.

I am expressing no opinion of the trend of their new birth of freedom or of their communistic government beyond saying that of the 400,000 communists probably not one peasant out of a thousand belongs to that political party. Whether the number reaches one out of every hundred, which, of course, is not the case, the peasants are accepting the present Government, and while objections occasionally come from those who have few comforts and less pleasures, heavy taxes and other troubles to bear, without exception all said that times were far better than two years ago, and with rare exceptions they preferred the present Government to that of the Czar.

CLODS WITH BRAINS.

What of these clods who for centuries have been kept in darkness and now with rare protests accept the modified communistic government under which they live? How many of these downtrodden creatures are really worth worrying about by our own people, whose opportunities for a century and a half have been limitless? In number the Russian peasants, as stated, compose 85 per cent of the 130,000,000 people living in the new Soviet Government, which makes in round numbers about the same total population now found in our 48 States, including all colors, races, and sects. These 110,000,000 peasants are the backbone of Russia.

One day over five years ago I was riding in the elevator of the Grenwold Hotel, New Orleans, with a bright, keen-looking, well-dressed youth stopping at the same hotel. We entered into conversation and later I learned he was a Russian whose family of peasants had been banished to Siberia by the Czar's government, if I remember correctly, for surreptitiously attending a secret night meeting where an itinerant teacher gave instruction in education, then under the ban. The cause, if cause was alleged, in any event was trivial, and the family of mother, sisters, brothers, all were started off for Siberia. Over the border they escaped with the connivance of their guard through means that indicate even the Czar's troops had hearts. After a perilous journey, largely by night amidst much suffering, they escaped through a Baltic port and came to America. The youth then told me of peasant life in Russia, of finding dead bodies in the village streets in the mornings after a visit from the Czar's soldiers, who terrorized the people by their atrocities.

"We did not notice the killings particularly," I remember he said. "The people became hardened and seemed too weak to resist."

Food, clothing, and the necessities of life were scarce in the village, and I remember he said he generally went barefooted like many other children in winter, because boots or shoes were a luxury. That was over 10 years before the European war broke out, and although food, clothes, and other comforts are still scarce in many villages, the reason is due to wars, famine, and calamities that have come in recent years rather than to oppression.

This peasant youth, who 15 years ago was trudging with his mother and sisters through bleak Siberia under guard, is today a prominent young business man with offices on Fifth Avenue. I visited his $35,000 new home recently, over on Long Island. Rather different from the huts seen in Russian villages; and it came to me with much force that the peasants of Russia had stuff in them that only needed opportunity to bring forth strong men. Is this a solitary instance?

A FAMOUS PEASANT.

Our party met an official of the Soviet Government in Moscow and learned from him that the new Moscow Exposition was started primarily for the education and instruction of the peasants of Russia. The method of construction of village homes in the different Provinces, growing of crops, machinery used, and other interesting phases of peasant life are there placed before all in a graphic way. Scores of groups of peasants from villages throughout the country were seen at the exposition every day under the leadership of different men, each distinguished by a band around one arm, climbing through the demonstration village huts with shouts of surprise and often general laughter. We saw them and heard them. Yes; they laugh again in Russia. The same official told us of the new Government's plan for educating and raising the peasantry out of the slough of despondency in which they had been floundering for centuries. He seemed to understand the needs of the people and spoke as intelligently as any member of our party there questioning him, for he is a man of marked ability, modest but forceful. While we were talking, Joe Davidson, one of the world's famous sculptors, was fashioning a clay bust that within the two hours became a speaking likeness. The next day we heard this official and General Bujinney talk to the Red army on the Red Square, where both men were received with frequent cheering and enthusiasm. Both speakers asked the soldiers, then about to finish their military-school training, to go home and teach the people of the villages, as they are required to do, the rudimentary studies, and in addition to help raise the standard of citizenship throughout the country. It was simple, wholesome advice, according to our interpreters, who followed it closely, and it all related to the peasantry rather than to military glory.

The explanation was simple, for General Bujinney, whom I have before described, formerly a Cossack peasant loved agriculture and was a good instructor in that field, while the other official who with Bujinney was photographed with us that same day on the Red Square in like manner was a former peasant. His father and mother till the soil in the home village, while their son regularly visits them and also covers cities and villages to the far eastern borders of Siberia in his private Government car, for we were with Kelinin, the President of Russia, ruler of the greatest country in territory and population in all Europe, a man of the people, a peasant who would rank with the average statesman of our own coun-

try. What he may lack in long training he makes up in horse sense and keen intelligence, for he is no accident.

There are countless peasants to-day in Russia walking around barefooted and groping for the light of a higher civilization who would be able to fill the shoes of Bujinney or Kelinin or of statesmen of our own country if the door of opportunity once opened for them. That, they now confidently predict, has come to pass.

I have briefly described the peasantry who make up the great bulk of Russia's population, few of whom are communists, now reaching out for light through schools and other avenues afforded by the new Government.

RUSSIAN WORKMEN BEFORE THE WAR.

A word may be offered as to the workmen who are variously estimated in the railways, mines, and factories to reach between three and four million employees. Among these are found a large number of the 400,000 communists who are said to rule Russia. Again one must revert to conditions before the war under which these workmen lived to find their background and understand their motives for supporting the present Government. In 1912 a recognized authority states of Russia that—

nowhere in the world is there an industry that pays labor as little as ours. On the average, the English workingman gets $291 a year, the German $239, and the Russian at the bottom of the list gets less than $127 a year.

In 1912 when raw labor commanded $1.65 per day in the industrial centers of the United States, Russian labor we learn received 30 cents a day with which to feed and clothe a family. Hours of work were limited to 11½ hours per day back in 1897, but even this limitation we are told was not strictly respected.

Tolstoi relates many incidents that seem incredible when compared with living conditions in our own country. Men without overcoats in 20° of frost carrying on their backs 20 stone loads during 36 hours at a stretch are among the examples cited. To use one of Tolstoi's descriptions—

Living under conditions far worse than those of dray horses, yet only complaining of insufficient accommodation in the room where they warm themselves. What a feeling of torture to men who never get enough sleep and who are half frozen, when instead of resting and being warmed, they have to creep on the dirty floor under the shelves and then in the stuffy vitiated air become weaker and more broken down.

I have only given an extract of conditions set out at length among some of the workmen not far removed from the slavery of serfdom. In order to keep the operatives in subjection, it is reported that in 1912, the year before the war, the Russian workers in 4,245 establishments paid 4,000,000 fines aggregating $350,000.

Another writer says of that period—

the sanitary and hygienic conditions of the Russian factory are horrible. Men, women, and children sleep side by side on wooden benches in damp and crowded barracks, sometimes in cellars, often without windows.

Laws punishing strikers and other harsh measures, some of which were later modified, all served to make the worker as bitter and dumbly protesting as the peasant in the fields.

WORKMEN AND COMMUNISM.

When the blow fell and the fear of the army and of the Czar was gone these peasants and workers revolted and those who were in their way stood no more chance than did the aristocracy in the French Revolution. When communism pointed out that the Czar's many palaces and the great wealth that had been hoarded in a few hands was theirs within reach they became communist supporters and were as harsh in their terms and treatment of their oppressors as their oppressors had been with them.

It has been said that the revolution would have come without Lenin or Trotski or other leaders who now are conspicuous in the Soviet Government, as it has been said that the present Government is strongly established and would continue to exist, even though Lenin and Trotski and many other leaders were dropped out to-morrow.

This may well be believed, because when conditions are ripe leaders arise in every crisis, as in our own wars and in other great revolutions against tyranny; but after studying conditions before the war and conditions now it is simply marvelous that the revolt following the Russian civil war was not a lasting carnival of crime, followed by a gradual breaking up of the great Russia for years thereafter. Two elements have entered into the resurrection of Russia—the level-headed understanding of the Slav, the Jew, the Caucasian, the Tartar, and all who make up the population of the Muscovite country, and the firm grip of the communist leaders who are believed to have kept their pledges to the people.

WHAT THE COMMUNISTS OFFERED.

To insist that a handful of communists could lead the great mass of the Russian people back into peaceful occupation and hammer the different races and differing factions into a cohesive group government without their consent and cooperation is a mild fancy. It is doubtful if any other government could have met the same situation and guided the people through their heavy trials with equal certainty. This I find is not an original thought, but impresses the average person who visits Russia and studies conditions past, present, and future.

The revolution against czarism may be compared to the sudden liberation of an untamed elephant that for days has been kept on half rations and, grown sullen with harsh treatment, breaks his bonds and runs rampant. To tempt the creature with wisps of hay or seek to bind him with wisps of straw is to invite destruction to all within reach. Confronted by over a hundred million people breathing the air of liberty for the first time in history, the communists held out a substantial promise of lands to the peasant, better wages to the workmen, and better living conditions, education, and real comforts for all. With that promise they handed out an ultimatum that all opposition would be crushed with an iron hand. Instead of ignoring the offer the hundred-odd million Russians took them at their word and gave them a trial. The experiment has lasted six years and has demonstrated that the Soviet Government from all indications has come to stay, and, whatever we may say, those most concerned are fairly well satisfied.

In five years Poland, adjoining Russia, has had 10 administrations, and the former President was assassinated only two months before our arrival in Warsaw. Unrest was evidenced everywhere in political circles. Poland has 30,000 000 people and 1 soldier for every 100 of her population, while next door a country of 130,000,000 has had but one administration during five years, 1 soldier for every 200 of her population, and has definite plans of reconstruction that are being followed in every department of government.

RUSSIA, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

What of Russia's past cruel governments that the Bolsheviks finally displaced? Russian history dates far back into the early centuries. Many tribes were brought together by great Russian rulers, who gradually combined the Finns and Lapps in the north, the Poles in the west, the Tartars on the east, and the Caucasians, Armenians, and other races on the south, until after many wars all were molded into a government that through all the centuries was continuously ruled by the swords of the Czar's minions.

Ivan the Terrible, who centuries ago put out his enemies' eyes for amusement and who celebrated his reign by executing 3,470 people in the Red Square, was only one of many of the rulers preceding Peter the Great. Peter was succeeded by Catherine, his wife, and several other Peters and Pauls divinely appointed by themselves. Then came the Nicholases and Alexanders who reigned until 1900, when Russia through conquering wars reached from the Arctic to the Caspian and Black Seas, and from Germany on the west to the Pacific on the east. Siberia, with the Mongols and Tartars, were all thrown together with the Slavs, Jews, Poles, and other races. Wars were fought with neighbors on the east, south, and west. Russia at that time seemed the greatest and most powerful of all the countries in the Eastern Hemisphere.

The Japanese war disclosed its internal weakness, and when the European war broke, the lack of national spirit, bitterness of internal dissensions, and rottenness of the Government's administration had become notorious not only to the world at large but also to the Russians.

THE PROBLEM.

Statisticians will tell you how many million men were killed, how many wounded, and how many never again were heard from in the Russian Army from the time Czar Nicholas mobilized his army in 1914, answering Franz Joseph of Austria, down to March, 1917, when the peasants and workmen overthrew the old Government. Statisticians do not attempt to describe the sufferings among the peasants and workmen during that war. They can not estimate the smoldering revolting spirit with which millions forced under arms saw a weak, grafting Government throw their brothers into the bogs and marshes by hundreds of thousands without regard for lives of men who had always been kept in subjection. When the people released from the war stretched their muscles, figuratively, they found leaders under a provisional government ready to take control.

Nicholas II abdicated March 16, 1917, and the Kerensky government assumed power.

The Kerensky government was between two fires. On one side the old Czarist Russians still dreamed of the return of the

monarchy, and on the other the Bolshevists had no faith in the so-called bourgeoise, because it was claimed they owned the capital, by means of which they exploited the workers. The issue was made clear by Lenin within a month after the Kerensky government succeeded the Czar, when he declaimed before the Petrograd Soviet:

We do not need such a republic as exists in other countries, a republic with functionaries, police, and a permanent army. I consider that our provisional government emanates from the capitalists. I will be asked, "Therefore you are against government?" No; this is a slander. On the contrary, a government is necessary, but it must be the firmest revolutionary government.

I have quoted the above to give in a nutshell the schisms in the revolutionary forces and their cause. That Lenin modified his views on armies, police, property rights, and communism is no part of the discussion here. He had an idealistic communism to offer the people, whereas Kerensky could only go half way. Lenin's extreme views were changed after he was given responsibility, proving the old story that it is easier to criticize than satisfactorily to execute.

On May 3, 1917, the army revolted and refused longer to fight against Germany and Austria on the ground that it was a war of conquest.

From that day until November, 1917, when the Kerensky government was overthrown, the issue was drawn between the property or capitalistic class, as it was called, and the Bolsheviks, who were composed of peasants, workmen, and many soldiers of the disbanded army.

THE PATH OF REAL WAR.

No region of Europe, we were told, except the northern part of France, has suffered devastation from the civil war which followed comparable to that which swept over Minsk and White Russia. We saw this country on crossing the Polish border with many remains of the conflict. Buildings battered with shells and their accompaniment of fire, and similar ruins later were seen all over Russia. While the border country saw hard and continuous fighting, the same fierce conflicts and complete wiping out of villages and living things came to the entire people with the civil war that followed the exit of Kerensky. I was told that about two-thirds of the villages of White Russia were burned, and nearly all of the cattle and horses were killed or driven off.

We traveled over the Slav country in our 8,000-mile journey, and in practically every city the standing walls left by fire, sometimes by shell fire, the destroyed railways, lights, sewerage plants, and waterworks left these cities facing tremendous tasks of reconstruction. There were stone railway bridges frequently with only a few spans remaining. Fighting trenches still exist all through the Volga region and out into Siberia where Kolchak or Denikin or Wrangell's men left their destructive trail. These White soldiers, including the Polish soldiers, were largely financed by the Allies after Kerensky came into power and long after his exit.

It was hard to accept all the tales of wanton destruction of life and property. From 1918 to 1920 all Russia seemed to be a battle ground, when the people fled before advancing armies as from a scourge. Fathers fought against sons, particularly in the Don Cossack country, where White troops were composed of the old famous Czar's cossack riders. Men were burned in the streets and children killed in the merciless warfare, while women were victims of all the crimes of which drunken, licentious, looting soldiers are capable. Bujinney and others told us these shocking tales, all much alike. Finally the White soldiers were driven out and the peasants gathered around the smoking embers of their homes. It seemed that nothing more could come to a distressed, harassed people whose young manhood had been taken away by five or six years' almost continuous warfare on a great battle field during the revolution where every community became a war-storm center, swept with destruction and desolate beyond description.

War is usually accompanied by disease and other calamities which follow in its trail. In 1920 came the great famine that continued through 1921, only two years prior to our visit. Figures mean little in describing such horrors; 3,000,000 lives were lost through starvation and disease in the Volga region alone; the weaker ones went first. Women and children who had been driven for two years from pillar to post were little able to meet the new enemy that sapped the vitality of those who were left. Swollen bodies, deep lines in wizened faces are still met constantly, especially on trains where peasants are returning every day to begin life anew. Horses and cattle with which to start again were hard to find and few had money to buy, even if to be procured.

That was the desolate Russia of two years ago.

WHAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FACED.

I have briefly described conditions up to two years ago in order that you may understand the problems that faced the new Soviet Government. Our Southern States were slow to recover from the Civil War. Fifty years after the peace at Appomattox many traces still remained of that conflict. Russia saw the same kind of a frightful war, lasting five to six years, supplemented by an equally frightful famine. Widespread disease still lingers, for it is only three years since the last sounds of battle were stilled and two years since the worst famine in all its history left its frightful trail.

The monarchist government had failed the people. For years men had fought and died to secure greater opportunity for better government for the people. Some slight concessions had been granted before Nicholas II cast his fortunes with the Allies, but the cause was discredited by his wife, who was believed to be connected with intrigues to overturn her husband's plans.

The communists furnished a vehicle for collecting into one cohesive group all discordant elements with their racial and religious prejudices, their deep-seated hatreds for the class that had held them so long in bondage—hatred by a people who had suffered tortures of a living hell, if half the tales told are true.

It is not necessary to approve or disapprove such a government, nor is it possible to compare it in any way to our own. We are now dealing with Russia and its existing Government.

Mr. BLANTON. I understand the gentleman asserts that the soviet is controlled by 400,000 communists.

Mr. FREAR. Just ask a question, and I will answer.

Mr. BLANTON. If that is true, then the most astounding thing that has occurred over there is an autocracy where 400,000 men can control 135,000,000.

Mr. FREAR. If that is the question, let me say that before the Soviet Government came into power one man controlled all of Russia. [Applause.] The Czar's word was an edict, and after the overthrow of the Czar's régime they brought back from Siberia to Russia 80,000 men, women, and children who had been banished by the Czar. The Czar banished many bishops and priests. If a priest dared say anything against the Czar's régime, he was liable to banishment; if he dared say he was opposed to vodka, from which the Government derived a revenue, he was liable to be banished. Twenty-eight bishops were banished by the last Czar, and innumerable priests were also banished. We all know that 400,000 communists could not govern or control 130,000,000 people for a moment if they were not giving them better government. But that is what they are doing. They are saying to the peasants, "For the first time in all history you are going to have your lands to hold for yourselves and your heirs." And they are giving them other rights which they never had before. The peasants are saying, in effect, "We are willing to accept this Government on probation; we are putting you on record, and the continuance of this Government depends on the good record you make." That is the extent of government they are surrendering to the 400,000 communists, assuming that they are all communists. But of course they are not.

Mr. WARD of North Carolina. You have spoken about the distribution of the lands among the peasants. Where was the title to those lands before this Government made the distribution? Was it public or private property; and if private property, what compensation was given for it?

Mr. FREAR. Two million acres belonged to the Czar, and 165,000,000 acres belonged to the nobles and others, including the 2,000,000 acres owned by the Czar. The gentleman asks what compensation was given. No compensation was given—no more than we gave when we confiscated the property of Tories who left us in the days of the Revolution. I am not discussing the justice or injustice of it.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I would like to have the gentleman go into the system of government a little further, if he will.

Mr. FREAR. I will explain that briefly.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION.

No extended discussion of the present soviet organization can be offered at this time, but in order to understand the Government's powers, its distribution of responsibility and method of legislation and administration, a brief outline is here submitted.

The present Soviet Russian Government is primarily composed of four allied Republics. Of these, Greater Russia comprises within itself 10 smaller autonomous Republics with 720 counties and 10,403 townships. Archangel, Moscow, Petrograd, Omsk, and the larger part of Russia is embodied in this Republic. Second, the Transcaucasian Republic on the extreme southern

border, which includes two autonomous Republics of 54 counties and 609 towns in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia. Third, the Ukranian Republic of 53 counties and 706 towns, including the great agricultural district around Kiev, Karkof, and Odessa. Fourth, White Russia, a small district adjoining Poland with Minsk for its principal city.

Politically administered, first, come the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, including members selected by electors of the towns and counties under the constitution, and who in turn select; second, an All-Russian central committee of about 360 members, these select; third, the executive committee; and fourth, the president, who is now Kelinin, a genuine peasant of marked ability. It is undoubtedly a closely knit form of government and resembles some of the propositions offered when our own Government was in the process of organization after the Revolution.

Seventeen commissarats, corresponding to our President's Cabinet, includes heads of the different departments of foreign affairs, internal affairs, foreign trade, finance, justice, education, labor, economics, railways, agriculture, army and navy workers, and peasants' inspection, social service, and other branches of government. The constitution, which is attached to these remarks, contains two fundamentally significant paragraphs under the Rights of Republics and Citizenship. One reads:

The Union Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of town soviets and soviets of town settlements in the proportion of one delegate for every 25,000 electors and of representatives of provincial soviet congresses in the proportion of one delegate for every 125,000 inhabitants—

And another—

Each of the contracting Republics retains its right to leave the union if it so desires.

I am making no defense for discrimination in the first provision any more than for the wholesale disfranchisement of certain people in our country whose constitutional rights, due to color, are controlled by local conditions. Officials offer explanations for the provisions that to them seem all sufficient; and after all, the Soviet Government is for Russians and may well be compared only to the Czarist Government under which they formerly lived. Imperfect as it no doubt will be found, in due time desired changes will be made to meet the will of the people.

In the words of President Coolidge, recently offered to Europe as to America's diplomatic attitude on the release of the Kaiser from Holland, it is an internal matter for Germany to decide. The Russians are the ones to determine their own internal affairs. They appear to be developing a capacity for government that already is demonstrating an ability to act alone without the aid or direction of older Governments of the world.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF BOLSHEVISTS.

Those who are accustomed to accept Bolshevists and Bolshevism by descriptions contained in the anti-Russian press are certain to have a surprise on meeting their leaders and those who make up the rank and file of Russia's population. Before the European war we were never alarmed over the personal appearance of the peasant or workman or of others living in Russia when the Czar's Government executed and banished thousands at will. What has made the difference in personal appearance in the mind of the propagandist between the peasant of to-day and of yesterday, or of the workman drawing 30 cents before the war and more than double that amount to-day? Safety razors were never excessively popular among these peasant people from all accounts before the war, nor are they generally used now, but the average Russian is as far removed from the ordinary cartoon that represents him as the anti-Russian news articles printed in many papers are wide of the truth.

The communists who compose the leaders of the Soviet Republic are likewise normal-looking and normal-acting men, so far as my observation goes. I saw and talked with many of them. Kalinin, the President of Russia, resembles in some respects a distinguished Illinois Member of the last Congress now deceased, and the qualities of leadership of both men were of an equally high order. Komloff, acting Premier in Lenin's absence, is a modest, courteous gentleman, who speaks Russian, German, and French, but could not "speak United States," the only language we knew. We talked through an interpreter, but he understood much that we said. He is a writer and organizer, and with Kalinin and Chicherin, Foreign Minister, would pass down Pennsylvania Avenue among a group of House Members without bystanders distinguishing the Russian from the American.

Chicherin speaks English fluently, as does Krassin, who looks, talks, and dresses like any ordinary business man. Trotski, like Chicherin, is known throughout Europe for his ability, one as an organizer the other as a diplomat, and no one familiar with the facts will seek to discredit either by their looks or abilities, much as we may differ from their views on communism, in which views Chicherin is not an extremist. The same is true of others we met—Yakovenke, commissar of agriculture; Sokolnikov, commissar of finance; Kameneff, the commander; Bujinney, the dashing cavalry leader; and on down the line with officials in the various Provinces and cities, who, generally speaking, are quiet-spoken, modest-acting men of plain dress. I believe we were all agreed as to their force and ability, whether they came from the ranks of the peasants, teachers, or military, from furniture makers or shopkeepers, from railway employees or factory workmen or women. We met throughout Russia many officials—judges and others in authority, coming from all these classes—and, generally speaking, they were as normal in actions and appearances as those of our own land or of other countries I visited. If occasionally one would appear to be different, it only proves the rule; but in ability to fill the position for which selected I did not meet one who was not, apparently, familiar with his duties and qualified for the work.

Possibly this statement is unnecessary, but all acquainted with the facts will agree that the popular conception of the Bolshevist leaders and Russians generally to be gathered from cartoons of the day are about as wide of the mark as they would be if applied to men in this country.

RUSSIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICA.

A query comes from many people as to the attitude of the Russian people and the Soviet Government toward the United States and the reasons therefor. The course pursued by responsible American officials subsequent to the overthrow of the Czar, through rendering aid to the Soviet Government's enemies, and later through refusing trade relations, whereby Russia is handicapped in its plans for rehabilitation, have been matters of serious moment and deep regret, according to several soviet officials with whom I talked; but the aid given by our country to these starving people during 1920 and 1921, they say, will never be forgotten. This was the message sent by every Russian from the highest to the lowliest, whether official, worker, or peasant.

The American Relief Association, according to one eminent English journalist, Sir Philip Gibbs, saved from starvation many millions of people in the Volga region alone, despite the fact that railway transportation in Russia had practically broken down after the war. Approximately $60,000,000 was expended in this work, $24,000,000 of this vast sum having been appropriated by the American Congress, and all administered under direction of Col. William N. Haskell, whom I met in Berlin. To use a statement from Colonel Haskell:

America's aid in Russia's darkest hour has placed the people under an obligation never to be forgotten and has undoubtedly won the lasting good will of the Slavic race.

That was reflected in every part of the country we visited, while everywhere the American Relief Association's work, known as the "Ara," created a bond of sympathy that opened every door to us.

When we stopped on the threshold of permanent help and refused to grant trade relations it was a matter of disappointment to a people who do not understand the devious ways of interrupting a work half finished when it meets with opposition founded on political, diplomatic, or financial reasons, or all three combined.

NO RESTRICTIONS TO THOSE INTERVIEWED.

Without assuming to answer charges of omission or commission by the Soviet Government, it is proper to present briefly explanations or justifications offered by that Government's officials for unprecedented acts with which to meet unprecedented conditions. We talked with nearly every leading official of the central government of Moscow whom we could find time to interview, a score or more in number, and, with the exception of Lenin, the Prime Minister, who has been confined to the Kremlin for over a year with illness, following his attempted assassination, we met practically all the responsible officials who direct the policy and administration of the Soviet Government.

Many priests and other clerics of high church standing were interviewed, including Archbishop Tikhon, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church. His frank and illuminating answers during a talk of about two hours gave us a fair understanding of church affairs from the man who directs the policy of a

church organization of 60,000 priests now under his leadership. In like manner we talked with Kratinisky, the priest who organized the living church movement in the Greek Church.

Unaccompanied by officials or disturbed by any attempted courtesies or suggested surveillance, we talked with peasants, miners, factory men, railroad men, employees in the oil fields, and all who might be able to give some characteristic color to the picture of a new Russia.

Contrary to expectations or impressions created by anti-Russian propaganda, found the people generally unafraid and frank in their interviews, often criticizing the Government for its heavy taxes, shop rents, and methods of taking over and handling living accommodations in private homes; criticisms of its past, and sometimes alleged present, oppression of the church, of police methods; denunciation by the occasional member of the intelligentsia and the comparative few who had been dispossessed of large properties; and other minor complaints occurred, similar to those found at any station or industrial or agricultural center of other lands. These were all heard; some were well grounded from the standpoint of the people interrogated and from our own understanding; but remembering that practically every proposition has two sides, it was unsafe to accept complaints on the one hand or eulogies on the other, of conditions, without investigation.

SOME CRITICISMS AGAINST RUSSIA.

Criticisms have been directed mainly, and sometimes fairly, against, first, Russian communistic government; second, confiscation of private property and refusal to assume the last government's bonded indebtedness; third, the treatment of the church.

I shall not try to weigh these criticisms, as I am giving only personal impressions received from things seen and things heard from apparently reliable sources. To meet or fully discuss any particular criticism might properly occupy all the time allotted on the entire subject, but a few observations are offered that will afford an understanding of the position taken by those in authority and places of responsibility.

Without seeking to draw any comparisons, I well remember that few men in our own early history ever suffered from criticism more than Washington during his terms as President. No man was hampered more than Lincoln by critics North and South and abroad during the trying days of the Civil War. In like manner public men and governmental policies in this country and abroad are sometimes subjected to severe abuse. As time passes and a clearer perspective appears judgment becomes fairer, wiser than before. With this background and conditions I have described in the Russia of the past, let us try to get the viewpoint of Russian Government officials to-day and leave their plans for rehabilitating their country to the Russians.

First. What of the communist party that controls the Soviet Government and maintains a central organization that rules with a strong hand in a sort of benevolent dictatorship, a party we are to compare not with our own but with a selfish oppressive autocracy previously maintained by the czars. The purposes and plans referred to later are sometimes idealistic, but in execution of educational, industrial, and other governmental policies they are working by practical means to accomplish desired results.

COMMUNISTS NUMBERS REDUCED ONE-THIRD.

The Russian communists numbered over 680,000 two years ago. They now number about 400,000 members. These members control the government and its policies. The aims and ideals of the youthful and enthusiastic communists once encompassed a dream of world domination, and small groups of such communists of more or less liberal views exist throughout the world. But dreams of universal communism are only held by those who little understand the psychology of the world when confronted with communistic doctrines as applied to Russia. Even there general communism applied to all property and all individual effort has received many changing, liberalizing amendments. Led by Lenin, proposed modifications have continually been adopted. Officials explained the necessity for such action when the application of communism came into conflict with hard, practical, ecomonic principles.

Mackenzie, a close student and an able writer whom I met in Moscow, had this to say in 1922 regarding the liberalizing of the Government's communistic principles:

In practice, the past year has witnessed a great diminution of the propaganda and decline in the enthusiasm of the party. Many members have lost heart; many have resigned; many have been expelled. The movement of to-day reminds me of nothing so much as the aftermath of a big religious revival. Much solid work has been accomplished, but fervor has exhausted itself and has been succeeded by tepid apathy. The organization goes on and does its task, but the individual has largely lost his fire.

This estimate seems fair, but in addition it might be said that when theories in government were brought into contact with varying types of human nature and difficulty of putting all into the same economic groove with loss of individual ability and enterprise, then modifications became imperative.

PRIVATE BUSINESS RETURNING.

To the objection urged with communist leaders that their form of government does not recognize or respect rights to acquire and hold property as do other governments, they replied that many private interests were doing business for profit in every city in Russia. Ninety per cent of all small business places in Moscow, Petrograd, and other cities apparently are in private hands. Statistics gathered in some of these places, I believe, will verify the general statement. Large business interests like oil, coal, sugar, steel, banking, and other industries have been nationalized and property confiscated by the Government, which, however, in turn leases out or rents different plants or enters into a profit-sharing agreement with the one to whom the lease or concession is granted.

We went far down on the Caspian Sea to Baku, as stated, where the Soviet Government has also nationalized all of the great natural oil resources, and where some 1,800 producing wells are working at this time in the greatest oil region in the world. I drove around with Morris, an American who has a contract with the Government to produce oil, and he pointed out the wonderful possibilities of the Baku field when operated by American methods.

The Government distributes oil throughout Russia at a nominal profit compared with our own system, which gives away all our natural resources and creates fabulous wealth for a few multimillionaires with profits of $775,000,000, or 775 per cent on the capital investment reported by one oil company in 10 years.

When it is remembered that a recent Senate investigation disclosed, if I remember correctly, that a dozen officers of this one company received over a million dollars in annual salaries that were deducted before profits were estimated, a fair comparison between the two systems from a consumer's standpoint can be obtained. All the salaries of the President and 17 commissars of Russia do not reach 2 per cent of the salaries of the 12 officials of this one New Jersey oil company.

The same general answer to railways, coal, sugar, steel, and other interests was offered by soviet officials when the practical control of public utilities and other interests that have been nationalized by the Government are compared with the right to unlimited individual incentive permitted in this country. There the Soviet Government divides the profits with the operators.

While well-grounded criticisms may be lodged against the Government's method of nationalizing industries, responsible officials from the commissars down to the subordinates have definite constructive proposals for handling these industries that can not be brushed aside by sweeping denunciation or misrepresentation.

Some of the industries are being placed in private hands when the Government finds it difficult or impossible competently to handle the business, and as the "government trust," so called, is required to pay the same taxes, and is a competitor in the same field, a fair test of government management as opposed to private management will be afforded.

The subject could be discussed in its many phases, but I am only seeking to place before you a bird's-eye view of conditions rather than any fixed conclusions reached in the general scope of communistic control in Russia.

CONFISCATION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Confiscation of private property and refusal to pay the former Government's debts owing to our country and to Russian private bondholders in this country are against the Soviet Government, urged by many critics in this country.

This subject was discussed with President Kalinin, Commissarat Chicherin, and other officials who apparently have given the subject much thought. Without heat or excitement these officials quietly placed before us their views which, in some respects, were not unlike precedents found in past and present history, but all officials disclaimed any purpose now or in the future to repudiate any just debts or obligations of the Soviet Government. They are familiar with the history of the world and suggested acts of various governments, not as precedents but to show the range of the subject.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes, certainly.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman referred to the fact that raw materials were needed.

Mr. FREAR. Their industries are working only about 35 per cent of full capacity, largely due to lack of raw materials.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. And the gentleman mentioned specifically cotton.

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. What is it that prevents them from getting the raw materials?

Mr. FREAR. There is no trade agreement, and they complain that they can not get into close relation with the people here. They can get in close relation with the people of Great Britain and other countries for their products. Remember, there are 20 Governments that have trade relations with Russia, all of the Governments surrounding them, and France is undertaking to put a trade agreement into effect, according to a press statement made a few days ago. They say that the difficulty is in having any basis on which to work in the lack of a trade agreement.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman said that the Government operates the industries?

Mr. FREAR. Largely so, but not entirely. They lease a great many of them—the sugar factories among others.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Did they confiscate them in the first instance?

Mr. FREAR. I think so, quite generally.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Took them from private owners?

Mr. FREAR. Yes; I so understood in many cases.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Did any of these gentlemen over there say anything about paying us what they owe us? [Laughter.]

Mr. FREAR. They said as much about it as the gentleman knows France has said. The gentleman knows that France has not said anything about $4,000,000,000 they owe us. In Germany we have lost practically every dollar that was owed to us from private owners because of depreciation in the value of the mark. Outside of England and Czechoslovakia, we are simply questioning to-day whether we are going to get anything from the other countries of Europe that owe us money—many billions of dollars. Russia is not paying comparatively few creditors for all they had from our Government was less than $200,000,000, or thereabouts, on the Bakhmeteff proposition, which I have set forth elsewhere in my remarks. I think the Russian Government ought to pay other bonds that were issued by the Czar's Government, because the salvation of the Soviet Government depended on the Allies, whose work on the western front protected the Russians from the Germans at that time.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes; certainly.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Did the gentleman ascertain how much of the loan made to the Kerensky government by this Government ever reached Russia?

Mr. FREAR. Oh, I am grateful to my friend from New York, for that money was used to pay American manufacturers of munitions of war. None of it ever went to Russia; at least none to the present Soviet Government so far as we could learn.

Possibly we may have forgotten that in one form or another the same question of confiscation has arisen in the past, and then, as now, provoked discussion and difference of opinion.

In Westminster Abbey is an ornamental marble slab erected to John Wesley, founder of a great religious denomination that has placed its churches in every hamlet of this land of ours.

When I paused to read the inscription several weeks ago I chanced to glance at another memorial erected near by to a deceased English patriot by the name of Wraggs, whose sole claim to fame apparently arose through his flight from America during the Revolution and confiscation of his property by American colonists. Mr. Wraggs, through love for the mother country, deserted the Colonies and sailed for England, but was lost in a storm, and the galaxy of renowned military and naval heroes resting in Westminster was thereby increased by one. He loved his King, forfeited his property to the colonists, and was enrolled among those who preferred royalty to the new democracy of America. So the story goes and the marble monument speaks for itself.

A few feet to the right of the Wesley slab was also noted a simple marker erected for another supporter of the King, who had been captured by the American Army and, notwithstanding many "estimable personal qualities," was condemned to death and shot as a spy. John Andre and Wraggs are on either side of Wesley. Both lost their lives for their King, and one, like hundreds of others, lost the property he possessed through confiscation, a small sacrifice indeed when compared to life.

THEN AND NOW.

That occurred nearly a century and a half ago, when the stern hand of war slew enemies and confiscated enemy property while making this land of ours free and independent. It preceded the French Revolution by only a few years, and then was witnessed unprecedented confiscation up to that time. War is ruthless, for in later years 4,000,000 southern slaves, valued at $4,000,000,000 or more, were confiscated in America or set free, as you may choose to regard the emancipation proclamation. In somewhat like manner holders of Confederate bonds and Confederate currency became poor investors, due to the fortunes of war. These illustrations were informally discussed but not by responsible officials.

About five years ago many billions of property in this country, comprising great breweries and hundreds of thousands of saloons, were wiped out by statute without compensation under a police power second only to the power of war. In Germany the depreciated mark has absolutely confiscated several billions of private mortgages and other securities existing before the war, some of which were held in this country. The same result occurred in Austria, Poland, and even in France and Italy, where debts have been scaled down to three-fourths or wiped out by cancellation in depreciated currency. Billions of dollars in the aggregate in these European securities now held in this country have been lost to American holders.

Again, nearly $4,000,000,000 indebtedness by the French Government to this country is certain to be lost if Germany is dismembered and reparations fail, while, strange to say, Americans who have been most loudly and persuasively urging a cancellation of English, French, and other foreign obligations owing to this country and amounting to about $11,000,000,000 in the aggregate, vociferously protest against Russia's recognition because she will not agree to pay bonds of a former Government amounting to less than 3 per cent of the total amount due from our allies. In one case the debt is national, in the other the bonds are held by private hands.

These instances of direct or indirect confiscation were not suggested as precedents, because every case stands on its own merits, but from various sources come reminders that have been briefly discussed.

RUSSIA'S COUNTERCLAIM PROPOSAL.

Russian officials claim that the $187,000,000 given by American officials was for a paper government of Bakhmeteff, and part of this enormous sum was turned over to him after the Kerensky government had been deposed.

When asked why they urged a counterclaim in this case, the same people, speaking unofficially, said that Russia had never been at war with America. She had helped us in our Revolution and her people have always been our friends. They look upon America as the great advanced agent of civilization, although they do not agree with all our policies or form of government.

Specifically stated they claim the Kerensky provisional government went into power March 16, 1917, when the Czar was overthrown. About seven and one-half months thereafter, on November 7, 1917, the Kerensky government gave way to the Bolshevik government, that has remained in continuous power for over six years, and up to the present time.

On June 9, 1919, and for some months prior thereto (H. R. 132, p. 43, 1919), after having been in power for over a year and a half, the Bolshevik government was strongly assailed by Kolchak, a counter revolutionist who claimed to have set up a separate government at Omsk, Siberia. On that day the Allies made public a letter to Kolchak, set forth in the hearings, from which is quoted:

> The allied and associated powers wish to acknowledge the receipt of Admiral Kolchak's reply to their note of May 26 (1919). They welcome the terms of the reply which seems to them to be in substantial agreement with the propositions they have made, and to contain satisfactory assurances for the freedom, self-government, and peace of the Russian people and their neighbors. They are, therefore, willing to extend to Admiral Kolchak and his associates the support set forth in the original letter.
>
> LLOYD GEORGE.
> WILSON.
> CLEMENCEAU.
> MIKINO.

The "original letter" is dated May 26, 1919, and is found on pages 43 and 44 of the hearings. One provision reads:

Since the signature of the armistice, on November 11, 1918, they (the Allies) have kept forces in various parts of Russia. Munitions and supplies have been sent those associated with them at a very considerable cost. * * *

This letter was signed by the same high officials representing the Allies, and frankly sets forth that military forces have been kept by the Allies in various parts of Russia, aiding the counter revolutionists who were seeking to overthrow the Bolshevist government. About that time Secretary Baker stated that among allied troops in Siberia there were: United States, 8,477; French, 1,076; English, 1,429; and Czechs, 50,000.

I quote from another communication received by me:

I have positive knowledge that in October, 1919, the American S. S. *Black Arrow*, flying the American flag, sailed from the port of New York for the port of Novorossisk on the Black Sea, loaded with arms and ammunition which were intended for and were, in fact, delivered to the representatives of the armies of General Denikin, at that time invading Russia in an effort to overthrow the existing (Soviet) Government.

PAXTON HIBBEN.

From an American soldier, a former member of the American Relief Association in Russia, an American whose ancestry dates back to the sixteenth century, comes this note that speaks for itself. It alleges that while our soldiers were at Archangel on the north, and in Siberia on the east, fighting against Russian soldiers in 1919 in an effort to destroy the existing Soviet Government, that our ships were carrying arms and ammunition to Denikin on the Black Sea nearly one year after the armistice had been signed.

These arguments are urged as a counterclaim against the bill of $187,000,000 paid by the United States to Bakhmeteff, no part of which went to the present Government. I am expressing no opinion as to its merits.

Our own country, the soviet officials said, joined Russia's enemies, helped blockade her ports, and by military force and moral support attempted to crush the present Government, then representing the Russian people. No page in the last war's history, they say, is as hard to explain as America's effort, jointly with the Allies, to destroy a friendly Government while promising to leave to each country its right of self-determination and to make democracy free in Europe as well as America.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Last week the President of the United States said of Russia in this Chamber:

Whenever there appears any disposition to compensate our citizens who were despoiled and to recognize that debt contracted with our Government, not by the Czar but by the newly formed Republic of Russia; whenever the active spirit of enmity to our institutions is abated * * * our country ought to be the first to go to the economic and moral rescue of Russia. We have every desire to help and no desire to injure.

Far be it from me to question the high authority that gave utterance to a policy which the President says will govern the administration in dealing with Russia. Compared with American losses, either by confiscation or repudiation of bonded issues, the people of England have lost many times all the losses of our own people or of our Government, and yet without any expressions of sympathy or deep interest in the Russian people England has governmental trade relations with those who have not acknowledged the English debt.

France has far more than England at stake and yet is arranging for trade relations. A dozen countries have full diplomatic relations, according to a statement from Russian officials attached to these remarks. Presumably the people of these countries have lost ten times the amount involved in American losses, personal and governmental, and yet the richest Government in the world will not resume trade relations until our debts due from Russia are promised payment. That condition if applied by us to some of the most powerful nations of the world might prove embarrassing because many billions of dollars would then be involved instead of 3 per cent of the total actually loaned by this Government to the Allies. Some of these debts may be legitimate Russian obligations, but I am giving the situation presented by the record.

FINANCIAL BOWLDERS THAT BLOCK THE WAY.

Three financial arguments stand in the way of Russia's recognition by our Government. First, the Soviet Government confiscated private property of all nations and of resident foreigners, including Americans; second, our Government loaned to the Kerensky government over $187,000,000 that is alleged to be a claim against Russia; and third, $75,000,000 of war bonds and $11,000,000 in Russian Government notes issued from 1914 to 1917 were bought by innocent holders who paid full value.

The first claim of confiscation has been briefly considered. In hearings on H. R. 132 on Russian bonds, June 26–July 18, 1918, appears a record that is illuminating as to the other claims. About $8,000,000,000 it is there stated were owed to France by the Czar's Government when overthrown and a large amount had also been advanced by England. These existing debts explain the attitude of two European Governments to the soviets, although trade relations exist with one and are pending with the other by the Russians.

When the Kerensky government fell in 1917, over $102,000,000 of private American war contracts with Russia were outstanding. Between July 6, 1917, and November 1 of that year our Government extended credits to Bakhmeteff, a "Russian ambassador," to the extent of $187,729,750 to meet Russian obligations to American contractors, and for other purposes.

One statement by Polk (p. 31) illustrates how these contractors were paid by our Government for private war contracts made with Russia. He says:

The National City Bank had on deposit here when the Kerensky government fell about $56,000,000 (remaining from the $187,000,000 credit), but they did not attempt to hold that fund as an offset against funds that had been seized in Russia. They treated that as a fund belonging to the ambassador here, and it was very helpful to the American contractors that they did so, because we were able to carry out this arrangement whereby settlements were made with the American contractors using Bakhmeteff and the City Bank in carrying out that transaction.

That, in brief, is the basis for urging the second claim against any trade agreement.

The third claim is for about $86,000,000 of czarist bonds sold to private parties in this country. Quoting from hearings on H. R. 132, page 26, I find a circular which says:

To the holders of Imperial Russian Government $50,000,000 6½ three-years' credits maturing June 18, 1919: We have recently received the following communication from Mr. S. Ughet, financial attaché to the Russian Embassy:

"On behalf of the Government of Russia (?) I desire to announce that, due to circumstances beyond control, I shall be unable to provide funds to meet at maturity the Imperial Russian Government $50,000,000 6½ per cent three-years' credits. I have been in communication with the All-Russian Government at Omsk under Admiral Kolchak, and while I have received no reply as yet, the published accounts of Admiral Kolchak's communication to the Allied Governments clearly state that the external obligations of the Russian Government issued prior to November, 1917, will be recognized. * * *"

This communication was sent to the holders of $50,000,000 1914–1917 old Russian bonds, and it was there stated that interest and principal had defaulted in payments, but that the Kolchak government over in Siberia might become a life preserver.

Other conditions in Russia were discussed in the same statement signed by J. P. Morgan & Co.; the National City Bank; Guaranty Trust Co.; Lee, Higginson & Co.; Kidder, Peabody & Co., dated June 17, 1919.

WRONG HORSE, BUT JUST CLAIM.

The foregoing is an outline of another financial tragedy wherein a legitimate claim was jeopardized by backing the wrong horse to secure it. Not only the $50,000,000 was involved, but $25,000,000 in maturing bonds at a later date and $11,000,000 in Russian notes that had been sold here by the Czar's Government through American banks, according to the testimony of Mr. Polk.

It is assumed these old bonds are now in the hands of holders for value and that the money paid for the bonds was used by the Czar's Government while battling with the Imperial Government of Germany.

It was used to defeat Germany and to protect Russia. It is certain that when the Soviet Government like a phœnix bird arose from the ashes of the old monarchy, the Allies were keeping Germany occupied then and thereafter throughout the war. That fact made possible an independent Soviet Government, and while the Allies made blunders and mistakes in their course with Russia the private bondholders had no voice or part in the fiascoes that occurred.

During 1918, the Kaiser's soldiers swarmed over Russia committing frightful atrocities probably unparalleled in the annals of recent wars, according to our information. The great western offensive of the Allies finally broke the clutch of Ger-

many on the Ukraine and saved Russia. To that extent the present Soviet Government owes a lasting debt to those who destroyed Germany's menacing hold on Europe.

Soviet officials whom we met seemed to be sincere, highly honorable men and a proper presentation of valid claims should appeal to their senses of justice, based as it is on international principles affecting a government's responsibility for just debts of a prior government.

I do not know the holders of such claims; but if an adjustment is brought about, it might tend to cause in time forgetfulness in this country of the communistic menace and a resumption of old-time friendly relations.

Whatever the exact character of the obligations, it is submitted that none of the claims whether good, bad or indifferent in inverse ratio need stand in the way of a trade relations agreement between the Russian Government and our own.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH.

The Soviet Government is charged with ruling with strong-arm methods of dictatorship, of having committed acts of cruelty and oppression. To deny these charges would be to impeach a record admitted by soviet leaders who defend their acts in the past by necessities of the situation, but insist that conditions have materially changed and that more freedom of speech and action now exists than at any time during all Russia's history.

Their defense of arrests, trials, deportation of Greek Catholic priests, and execution of Father Buderkievich is based on alleged interference by the church or priests with the Soviet Government; on their efforts to overturn the Government by encouraging followers to ignore the decrees, laws, and principles enunciated by responsible Government agencies, and in the case of Father Buderkievich, convicted and sentenced to death, on alleged secret communication with Polish officials and others in efforts to overthrow the Government by violence. To the charge that practices of war are improper in times of peace, response is made by the officials that their country has ever been ruled by force, that revolutionists even now seek to overthrow the existing Government, and that the history of Russia and many other countries of Europe warranted an inflexible course, that now, however, has been modified.

In this controversy between the church and State which concededly has resulted in many prosecutions and persecutions, the soviet officials call attention to the hold kept for centuries by the church on the State. An offense against the church was one against the State, that met with the severest punishment under the Czars. Crimes against the church for nominal offenses were punished with death penalties from the days of Ivan the Terrible down through the centuries.

One writer quotes a communist leader as saying, "We stand for progress, the priests for reaction. We teach knowledge, they superstition. Even now they are trying to overthrow us. They encourage and aid our enemies."

ARRESTS OF PRIESTS.

I am not passing judgment on the merits of these charges that in different forms were repeated to us. In one city upon learning that 11 Greek Church priests of the district had been recently arrested and were awaiting trial, I sought to get the facts. A Roman Catholic priest whom I met in his garden, said, in response to questioning, that he learned the Greek Catholic priests by mutual agreement had all read from their pulpits a prepared statement opposing the Government and its attitude toward the church. When asked if he has been disturbed in his own church work, he answered "Not in any way," but he complained of heavy taxes and other matters that were new experiences to him. Taxes are levied by the present Government without exemptions for churches.

Again, at Tiflis, in the Transcaucasian country, I asked the Government officials if it was true that about 100 priests had been arrested, to which immediate response was made that it was true; that they had joined in some similar protest against the Government; but that 89 had signed a statement agreeing to support the Government and had been released. The remaining priests, who refused such support, were being held for trial. In an official statement, appended to these remarks, it appears that the number of priests now in concentration camps is 26, and those exiled from one to three years number 97. All are members of the Greek Church. No clerics of other denominations are in prison, while under the Czar's rule the record submitted appears to have outnumbered the present list.

The same charges were lodged against Archbishop Tikhon, or Patriarch Tikhon, as he is called. We learned from him and from Government officials that he has now advised the priests to support the Soviet Government and that no further proceedings will be taken against him. He spoke apparently with little restraint, but it is certain that the clash between the church and the new Government, once extremely bitter, has resulted in the recognition of an independent state by the church.

DEPORTATION OF PRIESTS UNDER THE LAST CZAR, NICHOLAS II.

By way of comparison the following statement, quoted in Mackenzie's Russia Before Dawn, 1923, is here added. Yevdokin, a priest who stated he was not a Bolshevist, said:

> In the reign of the late Czar 28 church bishops were sent to Siberia and innumerable priests exiled to the loneliest parts of the Empire. In the days of the Czars the priest must not even preach against drunkenness, for that would injure the State vodka monopoly. Every sermon had to be doubly censored before delivery, first by the senior priest and then by the bishop. When slavery existed he was forbidden to raise his voice against it.

Following the revolution, the checka was maintained by the Soviet Government with supreme powers to punish without trial all offenders brought before it, having to do particularly with political prisoners. The checka was abolished by decree in February, 1922, and officers of the Government stated that all prisoners are now entitled to trial.

CHURCH JEWELS.

During the famine in 1920 and 1921 the Soviet Government took church jewels from practically all the churches, under the plea that they were to be used for famine purposes. Candlesticks and other things essential for church service, we were advised, were usually left. By many this was looked upon as an unpardonable desecration of the church. To this charge officials responded that every source of revenue was drawn on to sustain the starving and church jewels were used for that purpose. During this same period our own country contributed over $50,000,000 to relieve the Russian famine.

Taking of jewels and the former control of the church in state matters were causes for many bitter controversies and many arrests, but, from what we could ascertain, the churches are resuming their services everywhere undisturbed and opposition to the Government had been practically withdrawn.

Another source of friction is found in the atheistic doctrines of the Communist Party. How far this will affect the people as a whole is differently estimated, although its existence naturally is a source of serious differences between the church and Government.

THE CHURCH AND THE ATHEISTIC MOVEMENT.

It is alleged that all communists are atheists. To combat this influence, the orthodox church in every little village has its church, where practically the entire people gather for religious service. Sixty thousand priests direct the affairs of the Greek Church which, including children and all communicants, I was told, numbers 87,000,000, or about two-thirds of all the people. A few Roman Catholic and Protestant churches are scattered throughout Russia, while 3,000,000 Mohammedans have mosques in Eastern Russia, erected to the worship of Mohammed. Some of these we visited.

The Greek Church has been subject to recent schisms caused by one branch known as the Living Church under Kratinisky, that broke away from the old established church, largely on alleged differences over interference with the State. On one hand the old church, under Archbishop Tikhon, was said to be resentful over efforts to divorce its influence from the State, while the Living Church under Kratinisky lead a separatists movement and accepted the situation laid down by the Soviet Government.

The Greek Church had a hard time during and following the revolution. The fault may have been entirely with the Government, as believed by those who are bitterly opposed to communism, atheism, or other isms entertained by officials, but presumably there are two sides to the controversy. That the Soviet Government determined to sever influence of the Greek Church from the State and to suppress all opposition is certain. That it ruled with inflexible power and punished priests the same as laymen is equally certain. It was maintained to us, however, by officials that prosecutions have been reduced, if not quite generally stopped, although causes for friction have by no means been all removed.

The 1,600 churches in Moscow are now open, we were informed, with few exceptions. We attended several, and in like manner visited a score or more in other cities, all of which were holding services without interference.

Sixty thousand priests and eighty-seven million members of the church, presumably, do not fear serious inroads on their religion from 400,000 communists, only a small number of whom are active atheists. The church membership of Russia in proportionate numbers is far greater than our own or that

of the average country. The people are devout, and as a great majority are peasants, it is difficult to believe that any serious opposition now or in the future will be offered by the Government to restrict worship by the Greek Catholic Church, or those of any other denomination.

FORMER PERSECUTIONS BY CHURCH.

Centuries of oppression during which the Greek priests throughout that country were said to be representatives of the Czar, the head of the church, bring back unhappy memories to the comparatively small group of communists who have caused the church pendulum to swing in the opposite direction.

The church was always subservient to the Czar, as we learned from recognized spokesmen. Yevdokin, a priest who states he is not a Bolshevist, is quoted as set forth a few moments ago.

That record, if true, the once famous checka of the communist government would find hard to rival. The deportation of priests and laymen, without trial, always existing under the Czars, has been abolished by the present officials. For centuries all attempts to reconcile religious differences by brutal force have been profitless, and that fact is as true to-day as during the days of the Spanish inquisition, the burning of Jeanne d'Arc, or of witches in our own country. Bigotry and cruelty are evils existing not alone with the Czars or with their successors.

To those who dogmatically insist their particular religion is the only true faith I can understand how the belief of an Ingersoll or of any other atheist or the theory of Darwin is an unpardonable sin, whether offered to create controversy or sought to be maintained by scientific demonstration.

Not as a confession of faith but to explain my own standpoint of reasoning, let me say I am only one of the vast multitude who feels this money-grabbing, struggling, more or less selfish existence of ours is not all, and without arguing with Norateva of the foreign office over his disbelief in biblical miracles, none the less I hold to a faith in things spiritual.

In the Mohammedan mosque I saw the same simple manifestations of faith that were found in the synagogue, and the faith of priests in the many Greek churches we visited I had previously seen in China by those who knelt in Buddhist temples.

No rational being can reasonably believe that a comparative handful of atheists in Russia will ever overturn the Muscovite's faith in his God, any more than that a comparative handful of communists will change the economic order of things throughout the world. It is a matter for Russians to decide. The 340,000,000 heavenward-bound worshipers of Confucianism and 240,000,000 bound heavenward Mohammedans outnumber the orthodox Christians of the world but live their own lives without disturbing ours.

MORALS IN RUSSIA AND AMERICA.

It is sometimes argued that atheism causes Russia's easy divorce laws. To this charge officials respond that while their many wars broke up or estranged families to an unprecedented extent divorce statistics this year do not exceed the percentages recorded before the war, indicating a reaction back to normal living. Practically all the communist leaders like Lenin, who has been married 34 years; Norateva, about half the period; and many others, it was stated to me, are living happily with their wives, while the great mass of the people composed of peasantry are rarely found in the divorce courts.

Polygamy, they further pointed out, while recognized by the world without serious protest when found in Turkish harems and among other polygamous people, is prohibited by law in Russia, as it is now in this country, although here it was openly practiced by one religious sect until prohibited by Federal law. This whole subject opens up an illuminating field for argument.

Mr. BRITTEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Certainly.

Mr. BRITTEN. Did the gentleman observe a big sign over the entrance to the Kremlin in which it said that religion was the opium of the state? I would like to know if my good friend, who is a very careful observer—and I met him in Moscow—brought home with him one of those chervonitz?

Mr. FREAR. No; I did not. My funds were too nearly exhausted.

Mr. BRITTEN. I brought one home and it was not worth a nickel outside of Russia. It was worth $5 in Russia.

Mr. FREAR. It is worth $5 in Russia.

Mr. BRITTEN. The gentleman said it was worth $5 everywhere else.

Mr. FREAR. Oh, no; the gentleman misunderstood me. The franc to-day is not worth anything here

Mr. BRITTEN. Oh, yes; it is worth 6 cents.

Mr. FREAR. It is not worth that; it is only worth 5 cents and a fraction in France. The lire is not worth anything here to-day.

Mr. BRITTEN. It is worth 8 cents.

Mr. FREAR. No; it is worth only four and a fraction cents in Italy. I said the chervonitz is worth $5 in Russia. Now, have since learned it is worth nearly par in England. Now, to answer the gentleman's other question, I did not read the sign. I heard that there was a sign there. If there is one there, I did not see it and never had my attention called to it. But I was told many of the atheists do believe that of religion there, not religion as in this country but what they term the Greek Church superstition, and they feel that in that sense it is an opiate. I have never heard them express that exact thought, however. I can go that far with the gentleman.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Certainly.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman referred to the oil industry. Is that operated by the Soviet Government?

Mr. FREAR. The private oil industries were largely taken over by the Government. They have been nationalized. I rode around the district with Mr. Morris, an American expert oil man, who had 20 drillers working for the Soviet Government. He said when they get American methods they are going to do a wonderful work for Russia and make a surprising record.

Mr. KUNZ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. I will.

Mr. KUNZ. Is it not true that every enterprise over there, every business in Russia, is conducted through the Government?

Mr. FREAR. Oh, no; I would not say that at all.

Mr. KUNZ. Does the gentleman know?

Mr. FREAR. I do. As I said, specifically, there are 995 stores in Kazan, for example, and there are only seventy-odd stores that are Government owned. The industries are handled by the Russian Government. Frequently they lease them out in specific terms. Some of the men who have had their own places nationalized by the Government are leasing them back to-day, the same places they owned before. My good friend from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] speaks about oil. They do not pay any such salaries over there as they do here in the New Jersey companies. The salaries of 12 officials of one oil company here runs over a million dollars in the aggregate. That is nearly fifty times as much as all the salaries of all the commissars of Russia to-day.

Mr. ASWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Certainly.

Mr. ASWELL. Did the gentleman investigate as to the distribution of congressmen in the Russian Government in the different industries? Is it not true that for every 125,000 farmers there is one congressman, for every 25,000 industrial workers there is one congressman, and for every 30 doctors, lawyers, and other intellectuals there is also one congressman?

Mr. FREAR. With the present representation there is a difference just the same as to-day in some States here where men are not permitted to vote by local conditions, but the Russians are well able to determine their own policies and basis of represenatation.

Mr. ASWELL. Can the gentleman tell the House whether every 30 lawyers in Russia have a representative in congress as against the requirement of 125,000 farmers to have a member of congress?

Mr. FREAR. I do not know, I am sure. The result may not be an unmixed evil.

Mr. VAILE. I understand from the gentleman's statement that instruction in governmental science is given these 610,000 soldiers?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. VAILE. Am I correct in assuming that governmental instruction must be satisfactory to the party in power?

Mr. FREAR. I do not think there is a doubt of it. The Government will certainly maintain its own theories as we do our own in this country.

RUSSIA'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

Without reiterating the many disasters that have befallen Russia during the past decade through wars and famine and the necessity for enormous expenditures in public philanthropies and reconstruction under its nationalistic program, the commissar of finance stated to me that a budget deficit of $200,000,000 last year will be reduced to $125,000,000 during the present year, and at the rate of progress recorded the budget will be balanced within two years, after which the financial problem will be eliminated. That to-day is necessary to Russia's reestablishment of her business and industries.

Taxation is concededly heavy and can not well be increased. Other sources of income are bringing in revenues. Notwithstanding that large national expenditures due to reconstruction following the war were absolutely necessary and exceptionally heavy, the financial outlook is bright. This is emphasized by the success of the chervonitz issued by the Russian State Bank, which is equal to 10 rubles in gold and equivalent to about $5 in American money. The State bank, with a capital of 5,000,000 chervonitz, had laid aside a cash reserve of $50,000,000, against which, under the law, four times that amount can be issued in circulating currency on a reserve of 25 per cent. I have been through the vaults of the bank and have seen gold, silver, English pounds, and American currency said to amount to $50,000,000. I saw more $100 bills than anywhere, save in our own Government Treasury. To date $100,000,000, in round numbers, we were advised, had been authorized in chervonitz issues, making possible a legal issuance of double that amount if necessary. As a result, the chervonitz is quoted in the money markets of the world at par, $5, or higher than the English pound. This evidence of confidence in the chervonitz issued for business transactions by the Russian State Bank indicates a sound basis for that part of the Russian financial system. The ruble, like the German mark and the Austrian kroner, will be wiped out without any attempt to redeem, from present indications, but the chervonitz will remain as good as gold.

The present Government proposes to repeal the sales tax that was fixed at 6 per cent last year, reduced to 3 per cent during the present year, and is to be superseded by an income tax hereafter to meet the deficit thereby resulting. That in itself shows a return to economic and political sanity.

In a word, the Government's economic policy is being developed on conservative lines, and promises an early return to sound financial methods.

They have two great cooperative associations in Russia, which are the largest in the world to-day, one numbering over 4,000,000 units, not members but organized units with 27,000 stores in Russia, and the other maintains 60,000 distributing stores.

You may ask whether they will be able to place their financial system on a sound basis, and the answer is yes, in my judgment, and I will tell you why. The chervonitz currency issued by the state bank is worth $5.

Mr. BRITTEN. Where?

Mr. FREAR. It is worth that in Russia anywhere. It is worth more than the English pound.

Mr. BRITTEN. It is not worth that except in Russia.

Mr. FREAR. It is worth that there. And let me say that I went through the vaults and saw $50,000,000, held as a reserve for the issue. I did not count the bullion, but their statement showed that amount as stated.

Mr. BRITTEN. That is in Russia only.

Mr. FREAR. Of course; not in England.

Mr. BRITTEN. That is only in Russia.

Mr. FREAR. Just wait a moment and let me conclude my statement. I will yield to a question or to two or three then if you desire. They have issued $100,000,000 in chervonitz; that is, they have issued that amount, measured by our exchange, and they have authority to issue $200,000,000 if they choose. Now, that goes current, based on their present cash reserve, everywhere in Russia. The ruble is not worth much and the German mark is not worth much, but the Russians have something behind the chervonitz. They have two great cooperative associations in Russia, which are the largest in the world to-day, one numbering over 4,000,000 units, not members but organized units with 27,000 stores in Russia, and the other maintains 60,000 distributing stores.

While I met men having oil, manganese, potash, asbestos, fur, timber, and other concessions, I did not meet any Teapot Dome oil gifts or other grants like those, that from time to time have made men wealthy at public expense in this country, and that sometimes gave public officials lucrative positions with those who had been granted such concessions.

The Soviet Government has an objectionable way of imprisoning and sometimes an uncomfortable practice of shooting its officials who fail to protect the public rights. Such powers exercised by the communists will probably never be popular outside of their own country.

LEASING AND PROFIT SHARING.

The Government has leased some of its industries to private parties. This seemed necessary in the case of sugar factories, flour mills, and other plants that could profitably be leased or worked under a profit-sharing agreement. Frequently the property seized has been rented back to the original owner. I met men who had thus leased their own property, and while they made bitter complaint because of the original seizure, they found operation under the lease a profitable proceeding. Nationalized industries are being enlarged on a plan that proposes to increase the output each year, and practically all lines will have passed the pre-war mark by 1926 if plans materialize. These plans, which include oil wells, mining, factories, and other industries, are being developed along these lines all over the country.

When factories are leased to private parties the lessee is given a contract, the terms of which we were informed enable him to profitably compete against the Government-operated factory.

Djzerzhinsky, formerly head of the checka, now in charge of railways, is reputed to be a strong, capable man. I did not meet him, but his assistant told me that something near 50,000 miles of railway, if I remember the figures correctly, are being operated by the Government. After the war, when work ceased, the railway was a haven for men temporarily out of employment, as it is to-day in Austria, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere I visited.

The knife has been used to cut down useless Russian railway employees from 1,500,000 to 680,000, the number now employed. Sixty per cent of the railways were owned by the Government before the war. Some of these were then operated in new undeveloped sections without profit. Under the process of nationalization the Government now owns and operates all the roads, but at a loss. This is due in part to several causes. The roads were in bad shape after the war. Depots, bridges, and tracks were blown or torn up in many cases and in need of repair. Rolling stock needed replacing and locomotives were old or of little use.

I rode on two locomotives in going from Kazan to Ekaterinburg on different occasions. The engineers told me one locomotive had been used for 35 years and the other 28 years. The engineers said they were drawing the princely sum of about $20 per month and the helper and fireman received less than that figure. The roadbed, culverts, and bridges, generally speaking, were of a substantial and permanent character.

New locomotives and new rolling stock have been purchased, but due to closed factories, famine, war, and other industrial troubles only about 35 per cent of normal freight was hauled in 1922. Fifty million dollars or more went into repairs and reconstruction this year. The roads are run for the public and not for profit, so that numerous excursions given peasants to the Moscow exposition at nominal price, and low passenger rates generally, enable the people to travel at slight cost. When normal conditions return, it was claimed the railways will be placed on a self-supporting basis.

COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS.

Two cooperative organizations, greater than any others in the world, are found in Russia, and both combined have a membership and connections reaching many millions of people. Both organizations buy and sell for their people and import and export goods into and from Russia.

The Selskosoyus was organized in 1918 as a purchasing agency for agricultural cooperation. During the recent wars it became somewhat dormant but again is reaching out with strong financial backing and an extensive agency system to help the people. Recently one district required Siberian cattle to meet imperative needs, as a result of the loss of all cattle during the war. These cooperative organizations backed by the general government financed the job and brought in 15,000 cattle to start the peasants of that Province over again. Eggs, butter, flax, grain, machinery of all kinds are handled by the associations.

Less than a month ago an ordinary-looking business man, clean shaven and modestly dressed, came to my office in Washington. If his name had been Jones or Johnson, no notice would have been taken of his personal appearance, because the Washington telephone directory contains the names of a thousand Joneses and Johnsons. But the business man who called on me is named "Serejnikoff," which sounds Russian and is Russian.

Serejnikoff was introduced to several Senators, including two possible presidential candidates, both from States as far West as Idaho and California, and also to the Sergeant at Arms of the House, and I would challenge any detective to discover from physiognomy which one of all these good men and true, if any, is trying to overthrow the world as proclaimed by New York press pronouncements. Serejnikoff, I dare say, is a duly qualified communist, having been seized by the Czar's Government while a member of the Duma before the war and imprisoned for eight months, because he suggested that peasants ought to have at least one square meal a day, or something to that effect. Condemned as dangerous for promulgating such novel doctrines,

he was transferred from prison to Archangel where he was banished for two years, returning after the Czar's own trip to Siberia.

A COMPANY WITH 27,000 SOCIETIES.

Serejnikoff smiled pleasantly as he related his Arctic experience and explained the scope of his present work, to which I had given some study when I first met him in Moscow. He is the foreign manager of the Selskosoyus with its 27,000 societies distributed throughout Russia. We saw many of them in our travels. This association has 4,000,000 units and 18,000,000 men, women, and children connected with it and did a business of over $40,000,000 last year, which figures will be greatly increased this year.

He told me the Centrosoyus, the other cooperative organization, was as large or larger than his own and that the two associations were seeking to serve the manifold needs of the Russian people. Serejnikoff did not have whiskers nor protruding teeth while here, or in Moscow, and he is a common type of business men we met there. He was trying to arrange credit with which to aid his organization in this country, but had difficulty in interesting those who are ever ready to finance the tribes of Timbuctoo or the Dons of San Domingo, and who thereafter expect the American Navy to be their permanent collecting agency.

Reverting to the cooperative organizations of Russia that to-day lead the world in membership, in amounts handled, and in economy and efficiency of administration, it may be America can learn something from the Russians in that particular, whether Bolshevists, communists, mensheviks, or czarists, for they look much like our own people, and have business qualifications as evidenced by their great cooperative organizations.

SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH.

I have seen the soviet army on parade in different places. Those against whom they have fought in the past do not question the Russian's fighting qualities. Normally a man of peaceful occupation, rarely quarrelsome, the Russian nevertheless has great staying qualities.

Judging from the number of soldiers who saw war service as late as 1920, and have since reentered civil occupations, added to the intensive training short-term enlistments of a standing army of 610,000 men, the Soviet Government could probably place several million men in the field properly equipped and ready for business inside of 60 days. Their Cossack Cavalry is famous the world over. We saw them in evolutions. They are natural horsemen, well officered, and long experienced in the art of fighting. The Russian soldier of to-day is also a thinking machine whose spare moments are given to study and political instruction, in addition to his military training. The dull gray costume is not very spectacular, but red coats and red pants were also discarded by the British and French long ago, after discovering the enemy was more affected by flying bullets than by flaming colors.

The soviet officials neither sought to impress us with their military or air forces, nor did they obstruct investigations. I saw what appeared to be a thousand or more field guns parked in one place. Like other duties handled by the Government, it is purely a business matter. A fairly large standing army is maintained, as was frankly stated, due to the proximity of the Polish army of 270,000 on the western border partly supported by France, as well as an uncertainty and fear as to French purposes.

"If Poland will reduce her army, we will reduce ours," one of the leading officials said. "We don't want Poland nor any territory belonging to any other country. We have plenty of land and all we want is peace, but if necessary we are prepared."

The Red army drove out the White armies on the Polish, Siberian, and Black Sea borders, calling into action the peasants who had just laid down their arms, but who answered the summons when their land was invaded. The soviets are now giving careful attention to the peasantry and as long as the people get good government they will support it.

RUSSIA DESIRES PEACE.

Press rumors claim that if France invades Germany, the soviet army will enter the war game. I was not in the confidence of the officials who decide such questions, nor would they be likely to show their hand until a crisis arose, but these officials desire peace. They will go a long way to avoid a quarrel, not through fear but because they have definite plans for rehabilitating Russia that would again be delayed by war. The communistic government is more opposed to war it was insisted than individualistic critics in other countries, who it was charged carry selfishness and acquisitiveness into their national affairs.

If the French should seek to dismember Germany and by superior force destroy an unarmed nation, the Russian Government may possibly enter the war, as a matter of self protection against a country that they believe has imperial designs and would become a dangerous neighbor if Germany is destroyed. The Slav's psychology is not different from that of other countries and they appreciate that while French soldiers at Verdun were invincible, with the sympathy of the world at their backs while defending French soil, that the story would be different when fighting to secure more territory.

The soviet army will not easily be drawn into any war in my judgment, based on talks with officers and officials, but if it does enter with such men as Trotski, Bujinney, Kamineff, and other well known military leaders, it will give a good account of itself, according to their predictions.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Of those 600,000 Russian soldiers, how many are under pay in Russia?

Mr. FREAR. I think they are all under pay, General, but their pay is only nominal. They do not get one-tenth or possibly one-twentieth, I assume, of what the soldiers receive in this country.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Were there any United States soldiers fighting in Russia after the armistice; and if so, how long?

Mr. FREAR. Yes; there were, as I expect to show later. On the Archangel front we had 6,000 soldiers, many of them fighting the Bolsheviks in 1919, a year after the armistice was signed; these 6,000 American soldiers were with the English soldiers fighting against the Russians, with whom we were supposed to be at peace.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Whom were they fighting?

Mr. FREAR. They were fighting the Bolsheviks, with whom we were not at war. On the Siberian border we had 8,477 American soldiers, if I remember correctly, of whom 4,000 were Illinois soldiers, fighting the Bolsheviks in 1919 over in Siberia. That was also in 1919. On the south, on the Black Sea, we were sending from this country women and children on vessels carrying arms and ammunition to Denikin, who was fighting down on the Black Sea against the Bolsheviks in 1919 before he was succeeded by Wrangell. Kolchak, you will remember, was over in Siberia. I have referred to this before.

Mr. KINDRED. The gentleman has stated in his excellent address that the Russian Government was caring for about 1,000,000 of the 3,000,000 destitute in that country.

Mr. FREAR. One million five hundred thousand, they said.

Mr. KINDRED. Can the gentleman tell us as a result of his own observations whether criticisms in the current press were true that the Government was failing to supply any proper moral influences to those children, but, on the contrary, were even teaching them that there was no God and no sexual morality?

Mr. FREAR. I can not answer that as an individual statement, but I will say that among statements I received from others and statements that have been published by people who have been there—one by a church bishop—it was to the effect that this gentleman said he would be willing to have his child educated in those schools the same as he would in any of the schools in this country where we do not have religious teaching. There was no religious teaching there one way or the other. There were no atheistic or religious teachings in the schools, generally speaking.

Mr. KINDRED. Is the trend toward the teaching of religion to the children there?

Mr. FREAR. In the churches there is a membership of 87,000,000 men, women, and children who attend the churches, and they are the most devout people I ever saw. On the other hand, they have 400,000 atheists; not all communists, but, of course, many of them are. Many of them would not really know what their religious opinions are, because they do not make any particular study of religion; but 60,000 priests at all times are combating atheists, and we need not fear for the result, in my judgment, when these conditions are found.

JUSTICE IN RUSSIAN COURTS.

Any fair discussion of the courts is impossible within the brief time afforded, and yet I believe in the several courts visited in Moscow and other places the people have greater certainty of administration of justice than in all their past history. The presiding judge of Moscow accompanied us to the city courts, where civil and criminal cases were being tried. Three judges sat in each court, as they did in Karkov and other places. One or two women sat on the bench in every case. Sometimes they were graduates in law or practi-

tioners and in every instance close attention was given to the testimony and arguments.

Possibly it is like wearing a new shoe, but I am not sure justice is not often as likely to be found in these trials as under other systems. That does not mean any acceptance of their trials of fact by judges, but because justice is often blind and all systems have their imperfections. There are some arguments in favor of participation by women judges that have much force and women are a permanent part of their judicial system.

In a criminal case we witnessed a judge, without seeking to confuse the culprit, questioned in simple manner without display of prejudice or emotion. The defendant stood before the bench and was closely watched by all three judges, as were the witnesses for the prosecution.

Two contesting parties in a civil case stood before three judges in another court. Our own interpreters, accustomed to court procedure, easily followed proceedings. Both parties had their day in court and seemed satisfied with the opportunity to present their case. In Karkov an argument was being presented in one court by two attorneys, one representing the Government, the other acting for a tobacco concern. Both attorneys argued the case with care, but with no more heat or excitability than is found in Justice Taft's court in this Capitol Building. In fact, it was a revelation to one who had expected to find crude, high-handed methods of railroading men to prison and deciding civil cases under a code practiced only in horse races or poker games. Again, preconceived opinions were subjected to correction.

Either the Government or defendant can appeal criminal cases from lower courts in Russia. Decisions in the courts must be agreed to by at least two judges, subject to appeal to the highest court in the district, which in turn is appealable to the supreme court of Russia.

The number of cases tried and other data apart from average convictions of 25 per cent in criminal cases are matters of detail that can not be covered here; but in orderly procedure, strict decorum, and efforts to dispense exact justice the Russian courts visited appeared to be above criticism.

Comparatively recent trials of clerics wherein one was condemned and executed, as before referred to, leave in the average mind a picture of harsh justice in Russia. I discussed these trials with various people in Moscow and Petrograd and with a subordinate official in the latter city who had been a witness against the executed priest. I would not convict any man on the statement he made to me, unless strongly supported by others, and can not help believing that prejudices of the past and memories of bitter controversies during recent wars may have been factors in trials for treason; yet with the recollection that a non-Bolshevist priest, as hereinbefore quoted, states that 28 church bishops and "innumerable priests" were sent to Siberia by the last Czar, in addition to 80,000 Russians exiled by the same power, it is not difficult to understand why hatred and bitterness still exist against the old partnership of joint church and state control and for all who were connected with it.

Again I revert to the eulogy on the marble slab in Westminster, which contains John Andre's record as viewed from a British standpoint, and criticisms directed against Washington for approving his execution. One was in time of war and the other in peace, but the echoes of the World War and civil wars still linger throughout Russia, and neither the courts nor other branches of government discriminate between priests, laymen, or nonbelievers when administering the law.

CRIME OR LAWLESSNESS, PAST AND PRESENT.

A popular impression, cultivated by anti-Russian propaganda, is to the effect that Russia is a country of crime and lawlessness. Under the reign of the Czars it was a country where official crime was rampant. Rulers were assassinated, conspirators in turn were executed without ceremony. Graft permeated the whole Government system according to many writers, and all the evil accompaniments of these offenses existed to a greater or less degree throughout the régime of the monarchists.

After the revolution ended, and the assassination of Bolshevist officials occurred, the Soviet Government firmly seated in power, through the checka or secret service of the Government immediately enforced the same drastic policies pursued by the Czar Governments. The soviets were determined to destroy all further danger of uprisings after the manifold horrors of civil war. Church officials as stated, who advocated opposition to the Government, were seized and thrown in jail by the same relentless power that caused the execution of the Czar and his entire family when probability of their release by the White troops at Ekaterinberg was imminent.

The ensuing peace brought about with the same iron hand seems now firmly established, but the feared checka was abolished by decree in February, 1922, or nearly two years ago. Arrests by the "Gaypu" police force are still frequent, but officials insist that all those arrested are released after an investigation or they are given open trial in the courts.

Seventy-five per cent of all those arrested, I was advised by the investigator at Karkov, were released after trial, a greater proportion probably than under our own system. In the autonomous Georgian Government of the Caucasus, the checka still existed, while we were there, but we were told by responsible officials that this part of Russia which contains several millions out of a total of 130,000 people would also abolish the checka some time during the present year, following the example of the main Government.

SAFETY IN RUSSIA.

Our party traveled approximately 8,000 miles, sometimes together, frequently separated, with only an interpreter for company, and I occasionally walked the streets alone in cities from Petrograd on the north to Baku, Tiflis, and Alexsandropol, below the Black Sea, on the south.

In all my travels through cities and villages by day or night I was never accosted discourteously by men or women, nor did any instance of violence come to my attention. The same, I believe, was the experience of every member of our party.

In this respect I note a published statement attributed to Bishop Blake, who says of Moscow:

> A person is much safer on the streets of Moscow than those of Brooklyn. There is less crime in Moscow than in any city of similar size in the United States. The Soviet Government is appreciably reducing illiteracy. The personnel of the Soviet army is the finest in the world. Private ownership of property is returning. The church has been freed from monarchistic domination, and the Soviet Government is more tolerant than formerly toward religion. A renaissance is dawning in the church and theological schools are reopening.

I am not familiar with Bishop Blake's opportunity for study, but can indorse much of the above statement. Life is as safe in Moscow with its 2,000,000 people as in Washington with its 400,000. More lives are lost and more injuries are reported from automobiles in Washington, I am sure, than in Moscow from violent deaths every year. More bank holdups, more murders and crime are committed in the one city of New York presumably than in all of Russia during the same period, so far as I could learn.

This is not due to any different standard of morals here than in Russia; but the communist government, composed of idealists, if you will, is a government of law and order. Its laws are made to be obeyed. Its commissars receive only $75 per month in our money, but are giving their time and energies to the Moscow people.

They have checked crime, and nowhere in the world, in all probability, will be found more severe penalties inflicted for grafting, stealing, and other offenses than in Russia. Again I repeat that the Soviet Government is dealing with conditions absolutely foreign to our normal ways of living.

SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA.

The people of America and of other countries are continually warned against Russian communistic propaganda in its alleged efforts to revolutionize the world. Impending danger to our form of government is found in the existence of 400,000 communists in Russia, who are charged with instigating practically all of the world's economic and labor trouble.

I have been informed that in December, 1917, during the European war, the new Soviet Government set apart 2,000,000 gold rubles—$1,000,000—for the revolutionary internationalist movement. This propaganda was used against surrounding enemies, as England and the United States were then operating against Germany. Of that $1,000,000 of soviet money, I am further informed, 95 per cent was spent for literature in the German and Austrian languages to propagandize countries on their own borders with which the Bolshevists were then engaged in active warfare. This statement is attributed to Albert Williams, an American correspondent, whom I met in Russia.

It was also asserted that no particular attempt was ever made to propagandize America. In 1919 I am advised a subcommittee of the United States Senate held hearings covering a thousand pages seeking to ascertain what communistic propaganda, if any, was being circulated here. I have made no ex-

amination of the record, and others may ascertain the facts for themselves.

The Soviet Government officials declared to us unequivocally that not one dollar or one ruble is spent or has been spent by the Government recently in spreading communistic propaganda in other countries.

That the Communist Party may be seeking directly and indirectly to spread its propaganda throughout the world is easy to believe, and that it has some converts in every land is also reasonably certain, but that 400,000 Russian communists will revolutionize the United States, or that less than one-half of 1 per cent of our population could overturn our country, if every Russian communist was landed here, is unthinkable. However, it is fair to assume the 400,000, who compose less than 1 per cent of Russia's entire population, will be kept busy in the Muscovite country engaged in maintaining their communistic government there during the next few years. Every good American will condemn such efforts if shown to exist.

The soviet officials complain that every labor trouble throughout the world is unjustly laid to their doors. If a mine strike occurs in England, or a bomb explosion in Wall Street, or a labor disagreement in Seattle, or similar differences in Arizona, or a demonstration in Australia, or a riot in Argentina, responsibility is laid on the Moscow Government. The officials term these charges pure anti-Russian propaganda. They asserted they knew nothing of and had no part in such disturbances, and further declared that neither the Soviet Government nor Communist Party, in their judgment, were in any way responsible for the occupation of the Ruhr, or for the alleged uprising of Moros in the Philippines, or for the Japanese earthquake.

PROPAGANDISTS WHO "STEADY" OUR NATION.

Those who engage in real propaganda, representing unknown interests in this country, may properly invite close inspection, and I will submit an official record, without extended comment, to make clear such activities.

Others have genuine distrust or fear of a universal catastrophe due to the world-wide bewhiskered communistic scare, persistently held responsible for nearly every business, labor, political, or national trouble that occurs. The fact that England, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Germany, and other close neighbors of Russia are undisturbed and have business agreements which bring their people into close contact, does not afford ease of mind to those who fear that private property rights are being undermined whenever the tax gatherer rounds the corner. Professor Ross in his recent book on Russia discusses what he claims to be over 50 published separate lies "by fork-tongued propagandists" and the extremes to which misrepresentation of Russia has gone. The truth should be known.

Human nature, private greed, the power of monopoly, and other problems are found in our form of government, as well as in all others, and always will be. These interests do not readily submit to any legislative curb, but certainty exists that a power which rests in the people and through them in the Government is a power that will be exercised effectively, peacefully, and constitutionally whenever conditions warrant. That power never existed in France or Russia prior to their revolutions. It does rest in the hands of the people of practically every Government in the world to-day and is the best insurance against communism.

PARKER AND MENKEN EXAMPLES OF ANTI-RUSSIAN PROPAGANDISTS.

Hypercritical complaints or protests on various subjects constantly aired through the press are also noted with the Russian question. Two men whose estimate of their own abilities never suffer through depreciation by themselves, and who are constantly in the press, are Mr. Alton P. Parker and J. Stanwood Menken. Few opportunities slip by where they fail to get the spotlight in their struggles to save this Nation and to project their own opinions on front pages of metropolitan papers. The latest letter from Parker to us on Russia, 100,000 copies of which, I am told, were printed and circulated at the expense of those he represents, is characteristic of his notable "Security League" bubbles. What he and Menken do not known about Russia, as evidenced by their own questioning letters, would fill volumes. As they have addressed frequent pointed, personal queries by letter and through the press on Russia and on other subjects, a word is offered in reply.

Mr. Parker is the same individual who 20 years ago was selected by a group of New York financial interests for President of the United States. As a pronounced reactionary he ran 2,545,515 votes behind the successful candidate.

Mr. Parker again burst into the news columns when he discovered J. Stanwood Menken, or when J. Stanwood Menken found him for these kindred spirits organized a "Security League," appropriating two of the principal offices of the league for themselves. But let the official record and Report No. 1173, Sixty-fifth Congress, third session, speak for itself. That report was made by an unbiased committee, a majority of whom, like Mr. Parker, are Democrats, and two of these former members are now able United States Senators.

J. Stanwood testified before this congressional committee that he, J. Stanwood, was a "superman," and that the bulk of mankind were "subnormals." He believes this to be so and keeps himself perpetually in the limelight with his "superman" attainments, insisting upon guiding aright the poor subnormals, including the American Congress.

SOME HEALTHY PROPAGANDA FUND.

The congressional committee unanimously found that "Menken is the man who conceived the idea of forming the 'Security League' while listening to debates in the House of Commons, England." He was then keeping offices in London and New York as attorney for "a corporation engaged in controlling railway and public utilities." "That the league as conceived in London by this attorney represented sugar, steel, and other large interests both in this country and abroad," and that $619,000 raised by the Security League's New York office, alone for patriotic purposes, of which $150,000 was contributed by Carnegie and $35,000 by Rockefeller, were funds from which the league by political activities had attempted to remove over 300 Members of the House of Representatives who were not in harmony with the league's financial views and interests.

Of J. Stanwood's economic views, the report also says "He even went so far as to say that he thought an income tax should be imposed upon every man's income even down to the one who worked for a dollar a day." Of its propaganda the hearings disclosed that many tons of plate matter were sent to the press, and the "league" claimed access to the most powerful papers and magazines in the country while prosecuting its propaganda.

Of the Parker-Menken league, the Democratic congressional committee unanimously reported:

> The National Security League and like organizations in their political activities constitute a serious menace to representative government. Usually, as in this case, they have access to almost unlimited wealth and borrow respectability by the use of honorary positions of the names of men of national prominence.

The committee in that report further found that a violation of the Federal statute had occurred, and the league, which included its responsible officers, was liable to criminal prosecution and to fine and imprisonment. That official report, based on exhaustive hearings recommending criminal proceedings against security league officials, was approved by the House of Representatives without a dissenting vote.

For a brief time the self-styled "superman" remained fairly quiet, but now he breaks forth into print on Russia, and with Mr. Parker, his former vice president of the league, both trumpet dismal warnings that again sound like the old propaganda issued for the purpose of "steadying the Nation."

The congressional report said of Parker that he testified "he knew nothing of the contemplated action of the league" in issuing a chart that concededly "was unfair and unjust to Congress, and he demanded that it be corrected. He was unable to secure a correction." That lame excuse or weak apology from a one-time presidential candidate needs no comment.

Judging from the 100,000 letters recently written by Mr. Parker, and like effusions from "Superman" Menken, who are now writing on Russia, both running neck and neck in their lack of knowledge, it appears that Mr. Parker again finds himself in his zeal practically in the position he occupied when he testified he did not know what Menken was connecting him up with in their "security" league.

WOMAN'S DEBT TO WOMAN.

Interests that ever hover in the background frequently cover up their purposes and propaganda by enlisting the aid of women's clubs or acting under the name of women's organizations to arouse sympathy for their own cause.

No one will question the right of women to act in all such matters, but if unconsciously instigated by influences they do not correctly apprise just condemnation should fall on such secret agencies that work every avenue and pull every string to secure their ends. Probably in no country in the world has woman greater responsibilities accorded her than in Russia. That she is measuring up to these new duties made possible by the overthrow of the Czar few well-informed people will question. That she is a moral, stabilizing force in the new order

of things I firmly believe, and whatever helps her to a higher plane of citizenship by better living conditions, better education, and better prospects and opportunities in life is her due from all nations.

She is a part and an important part of the Russian Government to-day, apparently as well behaved, moral, modest, able, and unassuming as a rule as people in the same walks of life in our own country. Before any of her sex are persuaded to lend their influence to those who have given but one side of the story, it is but fair and just to investigate the facts and ascertain the truth.

PURPOSES AND INFLUENCES.

Naturally those who measure things by the dollar mark expect to find some hidden purpose or interest influencing others who differ from them on matters like the Russian situation. I have an interest, possibly not hereinbefore mentioned, that ought to be weighed when considering the value of testimony here offered. It does not concern obligations past, present, or future to or from the present Russian Government. I owe none. Neither does it relate to any concessions or other financial interest given by Russia in the past, present, or future to anyone, or promises or expectations of any kind. It comes to me with compelling force, however, that governments are only skeleton frameworks with which to promote the welfare of the people, and that, however crude or imperfect the framework, those affected are after all the ones most vitally concerned.

The German peasant had no more to do with the policy of the Kaiser's Government than had the Slav peasant with that of the Czar or with the overturning of those monarchistic governments. The people can register a protest, and that they did do against an oppressive form of government. My recollection of Russia now does not dwell on its officials or its history or on its particular form of government, which would probably not have been imposed on any people save when driven to the last resort, as were the people of France and Russia prior to their revolutions. It dwells, however, on the many hundreds of men, women, and children, particularly the latter, whom I saw sometimes clothed in only a one piece garment, shoeless, often hungry, and lacking the commonest comforts of life; on a country that is taking care of only 1,500,000 of her 3,000,000 orphans to-day, due to her many other burdens caused by war and famine.

Responsibility, blame, and criticism are beside the question when the Near East Relief, American Relief Association, and the joint Jewish organization distribute their charities.

Russia is struggling to get on her feet, and what she needs most is not charity but the right to help herself, to engage in trade with countries that will furnish raw materials for her factories, shoes, clothes, agricultural implements, and the countless supplies needed to rehabilitate that country. After viewing the imperative needs of the people as distinguished from its Government, whether monarchistic or communistic, I believe, as a responsible citizen acquainted with the facts, that I ought to give voice to the needs of these people and to urge that we owe them at least the right to obtain goods in our markets; that we should make possible their ability to live like normal civilized beings. By so doing we will relieve much suffering that must for a long period continue to exist, and we will aid them to become a happy, grateful, self-sustaining people. To that extent, and that alone, I am "influenced" in seeking to place the conditions in Russia before you as I understand them.

Neither Bolshevik nor communist nor any other agency has favored me with any advice or suggestion in reaching these conclusions. None are aware of my purpose at this time to express views formed from contact with conditions there, but I am here reminded of the parting remark of a leading official who said to me in Moscow:

> We need the help that your country can give, but with or without it we are bound to succeed in time.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS—RUSSIA.

The charge has been made that speech and press are not yet free in Russia. In my early study of the American Constitution I learned the first amendment proposed by the first Congress in 1789 guaranteed freedom of speech and freedom of the press with right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

This amendment was addressed to Congress and prohibits such interference with these inalienable rights on the part of Congress, and, strange to say, was only ratified by 11 of the States.

The suppression of free speech and free press by Russian Czars prior to and after our own Revolution was so notorious that adverse comment on the weather by speech or press if the weather was suitable to a Czaristic hunting expedition, insured free passage to Siberia without annoying delays by judge or jury, unless the quota of executions had run short, in which event the average was made good and the Siberian trip indefinitely postponed.

In Turkey, Persia, and many other countries of that day, even as in Mussolini land, the Spanish Peninsula, and other countries of 1923, right to discuss the Government was and is fully as liberal as in the land of the Czars, with similar restrictions. The Constitution gave to the American people rights that for over a century and a quarter were held inviolate, barring brief periods of war. Charges of official and private corruption in our country during the recent war were suppressed by both the stern arm of the law and public sentiment, for fear of giving aid to the enemy, and after that period the right to censor press and speech was preserved in some degree as in time of war. Any communist or other man who advocates the overthrow of our Government to-day by violent means is punished under the law.

I am not questioning the proper duty of officials to suppress threats of Government overthrow, however inane or insanely made, although in Trafalgar Square and again in front of London Tower I recently heard talk, just talk, that might land the talker in prison in free America. The London bobby only grinned and said, "They fume and foam and then are forgotten."

RUSSIA, PAST AND PRESENT.

The Czar's Government, that recently went out of business, had ever denied any semblance of free speech or free press in Russia for centuries. The present Government on the heels of a long war that overthrew the Czar and many other powerful agencies, with memories of soldiers and agents of other Governments quartered in Russia, naturally feels suspicious when proposals are made to overthrow the Soviet Government.

In fact that Government does not intend to be overthrown any more than our own, and with the overhanging shadow of the last war constantly before it any attempt or suggested attempt to overthrow the soviets will doubtless be treated as severely as our departments treat the same proposals from communists in this country.

Due to faulty early training, few of us have acquired the Russian language. Possibly not a half dozen Members of the American Congress of 531 Senators and Representatives, with the President's Cabinet thrown in for good measure, could speak any Russian. I believe one-half of the 17 commissars speak or understand English, together with several other languages. With this personal handicap I could not read Russian papers or get the drift of Russian conversation, but through our interpreters we were informed that many criticisms against the Government appeared in the press, although the censor has powers that may be exercised if need be. Again, we had translations of conversations in Russia that might have needed blue penciling to get by officials in other countries. Criticism is permitted, we know, but not to an extent that undermines confidence in their existing Government.

Eighty thousand Russians sent over to Siberia by the last Czar because of their too free speech and too free press are again back in their home country. It was suggested that they will see that any places left vacant in Siberia are filled with Mensheviks or other anti-Bolshevists who advocate the Soviet Government overthrow. It was also suggested that never in Russia have they had any similar constitutional protection for free speech or a free press like that guaranteed in America.

OTHER OPINIONS.

After my return to Washington and after putting down these hastily prepared notes, based in part on data gathered in a daily log of over 100 pages written on the Russian trip, I glanced over a number of works on Russia, many written before or during the war and of little value in throwing light on present conditions.

A book by Mackenzie, herein mentioned, and one by Ross in 1923 on the Russian Soviet Republic are recently published works, and both are supported by data that makes them of value by way of reference. I know Ross personally. He is a big, 6 feet 4 specimen of humanity with independence, who always speaks his mind. Ross uniquely presents his last book with this introduction:

> To my fellow Americans who have become weary of being fed lies and propaganda about Russia this book is dedicated.
>
> Pardoning those who write on Russia from bitter recollections of lost kindred or friends, perhaps even home or livelihood, he will write out of deep emotion and indignation—he will always try to make out a case.

Speaking of his own attitude, he says:

I, on the other hand, remote and detached, ought to preserve impartiality and judicial poise.

But he adds:

I am wroth with the fork-tongued propagandists who almost from the beginning have hidden communist Russia from the eyes of the world by enveloping it in a jungle growth of lies.

In other words, Mr. Ross is not converted to the methods of supermen like Parker and Menken, professional propagandists, recommended by the House of Representatives for prosecution.

Ross says of the Bolshevik reign of terror that—

Under Kerensky the death penalty had been abolished and we hear of no life taken by the Bolshevik government during the first seven months of its existence.

On August 30, 1918, Dora Kaplan, a former anarchist, shot Lenin, dangerously wounding him, and on the same day by a well-carried-out conspiracy Uritzky, Commissar of the Interior, and Volodovsky were assassinated. Many other killings and conspiracies occurring at about the same time are related by Ross. A bitter effort at retaliation ensued on the part of the Bolshevists in an effort to retain some form of government instead of a long period of wild, irrepressible revolution. The Government prevailed and has since remained in power. Ross treats of the civil-war attacks from the north, wherein American troops were placed at Archangel, and attacks from the west.

The people of Russia, not the communists, arose and drove out the invaders, notwithstanding attempts of outside Governments to settle the internal affairs of the country. These efforts failed and the Russians decided the matter for themselves.

MORE FACTS FROM THOSE WHO KNOW.

To those interested in facts rather than fiction, in a study of the treatment accorded the Bolshevists by the allied Governments before and after their acceptance of Germany's harsh peace terms, and the later struggles of the Russian people to avoid falling into the hands of the Germans and Austrians on the one hand and their century-old royalist enemies on the other, this book by Ross will be illuminating. He quotes inside facts, notes, speeches, and data unfamiliar to those in this country who were fed up daily for a long period on a Bekhmeteff paper government propaganda that cost our Government many millions of dollars. Jurors get both sides before reaching their verdict. The American public has been swamped with anti-Bolshevist and anticommunist propaganda that obscures the question of justice toward the Russian people. Only by getting both sides can just conclusions be reached.

In like manner The Russian Workers' Republic, by Brailsford, published in 1921, is from the pen of an Englishman who, with Mackenzie, appears to have an intimate knowledge of Russian issues and Russian psychology through long residence among them. Apparently he has no prejudices to exploit nor interests to serve other than to arrive at the truth; and when I picked up the volume several days ago, long after reaching my own conclusions, it was of interest to find confirming opinions throughout the work on the underlying influences that brought into existence the present Soviet Government.

The improbability of acceptance of such a government by any of the countries of the world having normal conditions is also discussed and summed up by Brailsford in his graphic statement:

The man who would base his tactics in America, England, or France on Russian experience must be innocent alike of history, economics, and geography. * * * If a break ever comes in our smooth constitutional development, then, it seems to me, we should do well to think out our problems entirely afresh. The Russian parallel is so peculiar that any attempt to model ourselves upon it could only mislead.

Of Russia's future he concludes:

I will sum up what I have seen of the tendency of the revolution (1921) in one sentence. It is a land where a feeble, dilatory civilization had touched as yet only a minute minority of a gifted population, a great and heroic attempt to shorten the dragging march of time, to bring culture to a whole nation, and to make a cooperative society where a predatory despotism in the act of suicide had prepared the general ruin.

If Brailsford had written in 1923 instead of 1921, he would have found certain proof of his analysis and implied prediction in the rapid development, mentally, morally, and industrially, of Russia.

ONE DAY'S FACTS VERSUS FEVERED FETISH FANCIES.

Three cablegrams from widely different sources, clipped from the Washington Post of November 30, less than two weeks ago, read as follows:

BERLIN, November 29.—Two important developments relating to the negotiations between France and Russia for a political and economic treaty were brought to light to-day. First, the Russian Embassy declared that a large concession to exploit the coal mines in the Donetz Basin had been given to the Marchaud group and, second, the French Embassy diplomatically denied knowledge of the negotiations but admitted that de facto recognition of the Soviet Government in the near future was probable.

Also:

BELGRADE, November 29.—The Yugoslav Government is seeking an accord with the Russian Soviet. Minister Strandman, official representative of Czarist Russia at Belgrade, will be expelled soon with General Wrangell's party of Russian monarchists.

Again:

MOSCOW, November 29.—Walter L. Brown and Maxim Litvinoff, who negotiated the agreement between the A. R. A. and the Soviet Government in 1921, are to meet again in Moscow soon, and perhaps their conference will lead to Anglo-American financial participation in the affairs of Russia. * * * "We are here to study the economic situation," Mr. Brown said, "Perhaps it may lead to the participation of American and English capital on a large scale."

These are from one day's news columns. No one will accuse the Washington Post or France with communistic sympathy, for the distinction between facts and fancy is known to both.

From the Washington Star, No. 30 (same day):

AMSTERDAM, November 30.—Ella Levin, West European representative of the Russian State Bank, * * * is the propelling power of the recently founded Netherland Russian Company, a strong concern comprising some 40 important Dutch commercial and industrial enterprises. Meanwhile commercial contact between Holland and the Russian Soviet Government has been reestablished. * * *

The following day the press carried another news item as follows:

ROME, December 1.—The Chamber of Deputies to-day passed the two decrees bringing into force the commercial agreement signed here in 1921 between Italy and Russia and Italy and the Ukraine * * *. Premier Mussolini made a strong pronouncement in favor of the recognition de jure of the Soviet Government on the ground that such recognition would be advantageous to Italy.

Personally I can name fairly large interests in this country that are doing business in Russia but are handicapped by lack of trade relations which other countries now enjoy. The Russian people are in need of supplies. Will we sell to them?

ACTING UNOFFICIALLY.

I have hurriedly and very imperfectly sought to give suggestions that may be helpful in a study of the Russian question. Many volumes might profitably be written on different phases of the subject, but my purpose has been to give a few impressions that in some degree may aid in an understanding of conditions in the Russia of to-day.

That was what we were sent to study. Not officially nor as self-appointed advisers for our Government or for any other Government, but to learn what one of the greatest and most closely knit Governments in the world is doing in an economic and political way, and to bring back that information for general consideration.

We are not called upon here to act legislatively on the subject, as we may properly do, for illustration, with the Philippines in determining their status. It is left for the administrative branch of the Government under the Constitution to negotiate treaties and agreements with other countries. In this the President acts with the concurrence of the Senate as provided by the Constitution.

Practically every other Government of the world, however, has been accorded full recognition by our own. Even our enemy countries during the last war have been taken back into the fold notwithstanding the propaganda of hate organized for war purposes which gave us to understand these countries were hopelessly outside the pale of civilization. Russia, however, always our friend, whose foes we are accused with helping to arm; Russia, through its present regularly constituted Government maintained continuously for over six years, is refused recognition or even a governmental trade agreement like that negotiated by her with other countries.

Certain conclusions are offered that I trust may appeal to the judgment of disinterested and fair-minded men.

CONCLUSIONS.

Russia enjoys trade relations with about 20 countries and full diplomatic relations with a majority of these.

Russia measures up with two-thirds of the European countries in stability.

It is the greatest European country territorially and in population, with the greatest undeveloped resources, affording unparalleled trade possibilities.

Its financial budget system is more certain and businesslike than systems possessed by a majority of European countries.

Respect for law and order prevails.

The laws are well and fairly administered.

Rights of religious worship and education are recognized to-day.

The greatest cooperative business concerns in the world are found in Russia. These concerns are seeking raw material for machinery, shoes, clothes, food, and other goods, all of which we have to sell.

Russia promises to be one of the most powerful and progressive nations in Europe within a few years, and her friendship and good will are assets worth having. Based on these facts our committee unanimously agreed and reported that trade relations ought to exist between the two countries.

Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and other European Governments all have trade relations.

We should place ourselves in a position to compete in that trade and to establish friendly relations with a country that has been fully recognized by Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia, all former Provinces of the mother country, and Germany, Turkey, Persia, China, and other governments that also have full diplomatic relations with Russia.

The foregoing conclusions appear to be based on abundant facts, and, if so, why permit 20 or more governments to receive trade advantages refused our own business men?

Trade agreements now existing between other countries and Russia should also be accorded to the United States Government. Thereafter questions relating to reparations might properly be referred to arbitration, as was done with the *Alabama* claims against England a half century ago, resulting in the Geneva award. Providing such trade agreements and settlements prove mutually helpful and satisfactory to both countries after a fair trial, full recognition will naturally follow as a matter of course.

That seems to be a logical conclusion and in keeping with our ideals which should guide us when dealing with a country with which for over a century and a quarter we have had friendly relations—a people whose assistance in our own hours of distress made possible our successful revolution and national greatness. We wish the Russians well. It is their Government, not like ours, to continue or change as they see fit. That right of change is occurring throughout the world with unparalleled frequency to-day, and ours should be the last Government to withhold a helping hand from the Russian people.

Senators and ex-Cabinet officers, American ambassadors, and others in authority with first-hand information to guide them have reached similar conclusions and recently have been quoted in favor of trade relations with or without full recognition by the United States of Russia. These opinions, based on such knowledge, I leave for others to assemble, being content here to set forth my own observations that may enlist the impartial study of men and women who do not require "steadying by propaganda" but ask to know the truth as we found it to be.

ADDENDA.

GOVERNMENTS THAT HAVE RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA.

Statement furnished by Russian officials of countries with whom relations are established by Russia:

First. Formal diplomatic relations on basis of peace treaties:

Esthonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Buchara, and Chiva.

Second. Trade relations on basis of trade agreements:

Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Great Britain, Italy, and Norway.

Third. Trade relations without formal trade agreements but with exchange of trade missions:

China and Sweden.

OPINION OF LORD BRYCE ON RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.

The following excerpt from "Modern Democracies," by the late Lord Bryce, published in 1922, sets forth his views of the Russian form of government:

This scheme of government by a series of local bodies, primary assemblies, both administrative and elective, sending delegates to bodies for larger areas and these again to bodies for still larger areas, up to the supreme congress for the whole country, which appoints and supervises the small supreme administrative council, is ingenious and interesting as a novel form of constitution. It is not necessarily connected with Bolshevism or any form of communism, and deserves to be studied, apart from any doctrines, on its own merits. * * * If we imagine such a constitution honestly worked in an intelligent and educated people by men desiring only the common weal, it would have two merits, the one that of helping the best talent of the nation to rise to the top, the other that of enabling the opinion of the whole nation to be promptly ascertained without the cost and delay of a general referendum; for the same issue could be simultaneously propounded to all the local soviets, and their answers forthwith transmitted to headquarters.

EXILES.

The following statement was handed our committee by Russia's official censor, Mr. Cagan:

OFFICIAL STATEMENT TO THE COMMISSION BY CENSOR CAGAN.

In view of the great interest taken by Senator KING, Senator LADD, and Mr. Johnson in the fate of the priests exiled to different parts of the country because of their antisoviet activities, particularly in the number of such exiles, I am in a position to transmit the following data supplied by the department of justice:

At present there are in exile in different parts of the country:

Priests exiled for a term of 1 year	10
Priests exiled for a term of 2 years	36
Priests exiled for a term of 3 years	36
Archpriest for a term of 1 year	1
Archpriests for a term of 2 years	6
Archpriests for a term of 3 years	8
Total	97

Besides, there are confined in various concentration camps for terms varying from one to three years, priests, 20; archpriests, 6, making a total of 123.

It is necessary to point out that all the ecclesiastics against whom the above-mentioned measures have been taken were of the reactionary Greek Orthodox Church and were, under the Czar's régime, members of the "Union of the Russian People," a well-known "black hundred" organization, distinguished for instigating Jewish pogroms, etc.

It will also be of great interest to know that many of the former Czar's high officials—officers as well as known leaders of the black hundred—became priests and even bishops in order to more conveniently carry on their antisoviet activities.

By way of example the following names may be cited:

N. N. Dulov, former prince and captain of the Czarist army, became a priest in 1921; M. A. Polsky, a lieutenant of the Czar's army, became a priest in 1920; M. M. Ivanhoff, former colonel, took to priesthood in 1920; L. G. Sadkovsky, an officer of the White army, turned priest in 1921; D. V. Semienov and P. P. Poliansky, both former state councilors, turned, the former a priest in 1920, the latter a bishop in 1921.

There were instances of entire dioceses, including the church watchmen, consisting of former Czarist officers. For example, Town Bologonsky, Country Tichonovskaya, Irkutsk Province (C Upkymckow).

As regards other religious creeds—whether they be Christian denominations, Mohammedans, or Jews—there is not on record a single case of exile or confinement to concentration camp, the simple reason being that the October revolution for the first time in Russian history gave them the opportunity to preach their beliefs without fear of molestation.

In conclusion, I might add that nearly half of the number of exiles have by now repented, and in accordance with the practices of the central executive committee will probably be released long before the expiration of their respective terms.

The above data I am sure will serve as the best refutation of the wild stories about thousands of priests shot, exiled, or held in concentration camps, which are being spread abroad by individuals and organizations too well known for their antisoviet activities to be taken seriously.

RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION, 1923.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS.

At the session of the union central executive committee, on July 6, 1923, the declaration and treaty of union, which together form the constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, was formally ratified. The following is the treaty of union:

THE TREATY OF UNION.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (U. S. S. R.), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (W. R. S. S. R.), and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (the Socialist Soviet Republics of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia) hereby unite into one Federal State—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

I. COMPETENCE OF THE SUPREME GOVERNING BODIES OF THE UNION.

1. The competence of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, as exercised by its supreme governing bodies, shall include—

(a) Representation of the union in international relations, the conduct of all diplomatic intercourse, the conclusion of political and other treaties with other states.

(b) Modification of the external frontiers of the union, as also the regulation of questions regarding the alteration of the boundaries between the contracting Republics.

(c) Conclusion of treaties for the incorporation of new Republics in the union.

(d) Declaration of war and conclusion of peace.

(e) Floating of foreign and internal union loans, and sanction of foreign and internal loans of the contracting Republics.

(f) Ratification of international treaties.

(g) Control of foreign trade and establishment of a system of internal trade.

(h) Establishment of the basic principles and of a general plan for the whole national economic system of the union; delimitation of the branches of industry and of separate industrial undertakings which are of importance to the whole union; and the conclusion of concession agreements both relating to the union as a whole and also in the name of the contracting Republics.

(i) Control of transport and posts and telegraph.

(j) Organization and control of the armed forces of the union.

(k) Adopting of a single state budget for the union, comprising the budgets of the contracting Republics; determination of the general union taxes and revenues, as also of deductions therefrom and additions thereto for the budgets of the contracting Republics; authorization of additional taxes and dues for the budgets of the contracting Republics.

(l) Establishment of a single currency and credit system.

(m) Establishment of general principles governing the distribution and use of land, and the exploitation of mineral wealth, forests, and waterways throughout the whole territory of the union.

(n) General union legislation on migration from one Republic to another, and establishment of a colonization fund.

(o) Establishment of basic principles for the composition and procedure of the courts and the civil and criminal legislation of the union.

(p) Establishment of the fundamental labor laws.

(q) Establishment of the general principles of national education.

(r) Adoption of a system of weights and measures.

(s) Organization of statistics covering the whole union.

(t) Fundamental legislation as to the rights of foreigners to citizenship of the union.

(u) Amnesties throughout the whole territory of the union.

(v) Veto of decisions of soviet congresses and of central executive committees of the contracting Republics which infringe the present constitution.

(w) Adjudication of disputes arising between contracting Republics.

RATIFICATION AND AMENDMENT.

2. The ratification and amendment of the fundamental provisions of the present constitution is the exclusive prerogative of the Union Congress of Soviets.

II. SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF THE CONTRACTING REPUBLICS AND UNION CITIZENSHIP.

3. The sovereign rights of the constituent Republics are restricted only to the extent laid down in the present constitution, and only in connection with matters falling within the competence of the union. Outside these limits each contracting Republic exercises its state authority independently; the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic safeguards the sovereign rights of the contracting Republics.

4. Each of the contracting Republics retains its right to leave the union if it so desires.

5. The contracting Republics shall modify their constitutions as required by the present union constitution.

6. The territories of the contracting Republics may not be altered without their consent, and the consent of all the Republics forming the union is necessary for any alteration, limitation, or annulment of paragraph 4.

7. Union citizenship replaces citizenship of the separate Republics.

III. THE UNION CONGRESS OF SOVIETS.

8. The supreme authority of the union is the Union Congress of Soviets, and in the interval between congresses the union central executive committees, consisting of the union council and the council of nationalities.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

9. The Union Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of town soviets and soviets of town settlements in the proportion of one delegate for every 25,000 electors, and of representatives of provincial soviet congresses in the proportion of one delegate for every 125,000 inhabitants.

10. Delegates to the Union Congress of Soviets are elected at the provincial soviet congresses. In Republics where there are no provincial units delegates are elected directly at the soviet congress of the Republic.

11. Ordinary union soviet congresses are summoned annually by the union central executive committee. Extraordinary congresses are summoned by the union central executive committee on its own initiative or on the demand of the union council, the council of nationalities, or two of the Republics.

12. Under exceptional circumstances when the Union Congress of Soviets can not be called at the proper time the union central executive committee is authorized to postpone it.

IV. THE UNION CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

13. The central executive committee of the union is composed of the union council and the council of nationalities.

14. The Union Congress of Soviets elects the union council, which consists of 371 members, from delegates of the contracting Republics proportionally to the population of each Republic.

15. The council of nationalities is constituted of representatives of the contracting and autonomous soviet socialist Republics on the basis of five delegates from each of these, and the representatives of the autonomous regions of the R. S. F. S. R., each of which sends one delegate. The constitution of the council of nationalities as a whole must be ratified by the Union Congress of Soviets.

[NOTE.—The autonomous Republics of Adzharia and Abkhazia and the autonomous region of south Osetia shall have one representative each on the council of nationalities.]

16. The union council and council of nationalities shall examine all decrees, codes, and regulations submitted to them by the presidium of the central executive committee and the council of people's commissaries of the union, by separate people's commissaries of the union, or by the people's commissaries of the union, or by the central executive committees of the contracting Republics, also when the question of such decrees, etc., is raised on the initiative of the union council or the council of nationalities.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ISSUES DECREES.

17. The union central executive committee issues codes, decrees, regulations, and orders, and forms a single legislative and executive body for the union; it further defines the work of the presidium of the central executive committee and the council of people's commissaries of the union.

18. All decrees and decisions concerning general political and economic conditions within the union, or introducing fundamental alterations in the existing practice of the State departments of the union, must be submitted to the union central executive committee for examination and ratification.

19. All decrees, regulations, and orders issued by the central executive committee are compulsory throughout the territory of the union.

20. The union central executive committee may suspend or set aside decrees, regulations, and orders of its presidium, the Soviet Congresses, and the central executive committees of the contracting Republics as well as of other governing bodies throughout the territory of the union.

21. Ordinary sessions of the union central executive committee are summoned by its presidium three times a year. Extraordinary sessions are called by decision of the presidium of the union council or of the presidium of the council of nationalities, as also on the demand of the central executive committee of any one of the contracting Republics.

DRAFT LAWS WHEN OF LEGAL FORCE.

22. Draft laws which are submitted to the union central executive committee only acquire legal force when they have been approved by the union council and the council of nationalities; they are published in the name of the union central executive committee.

23. In case the union council and the council of nationalities fail to agree, the question is to be submitted to a conciliation commission formed by them.

24. Should no agreement be reached by the conciliation commission the question is referred for consideration to a joint session of the union council and the council of nationalities, and should no majority of votes of the union council or of the council of nationalities be secured, the question may be submitted at the request of either body to an ordinary or extraordinary union congress of soviets.

25. The union council and council of nationalities each elects a presidium of seven of its members to arrange its sessions and conduct the work of the latter.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SUPREME IN INTERIM.

26. In the intervals between sessions of the union central executive committee supreme authority is vested in its presidium, formed by the union central executive committee of 21 members, amongst whom are included the whole of the union council presidium and the presidium of the council of nationalities.

27. The central executive committee elects, in accordance with the number of contracting Republics, four chairmen of the union central executive committee from members of its presidium.

28. The union central executive committee is responsible to the union congress of soviets.

V. THE PRESIDIUM OF THE UNION CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

29. In the interval between the sessions of the union central executive committee its presidium is vested with supreme legislative, executive, and administrative authority.

30. The presidium of the union central executive committee supervises the application of the union constitution and the carrying out by all departmental authorities of all decisions of the union congress of soviets and of the union central executive committee.

31. The presidium of the union central executive committee is empowered to suspend or to set aside the decisions of the council of people's commissaries and of separate people's commissariats of the union, as also of the central executive committees and of the councils of people's commissaries of the contracting Republics.

32. The presidium of the union central executive committee is empowered to suspend the decisions of soviet congresses of the contracting Republics, but must subsequently submit these decisions for examination and ratification by the union central executive committee.

PRESIDIUM ISSUES DECREES.

33. The presidium of the union central executive committee issues decrees, regulations, and orders, examines and ratifies draft decrees and resolutions submitted by the council of people's commissaries, by separate departments of the union, or by the central executive committees and other governing bodies.

34. The decrees and decisions of the union central executive committee, its presidium, and the council of people's commissaries of the union are printed in all languages ordinarily used in the Republics—Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Turco-Tartar.

35. The presidium of the union central executive committee decides all questions regarding the relations between the union council of people's commissaries and the people's commissariats of the union on the one hand and the central executive committee of the contracting Republic and their presidiums on the other.

36. The presidium of the union central executive committee is responsible to the latter.

VI. THE UNION COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES.

37. The union council of people's commissaries is the executive and administrative body of the union central executive committee, and is formed by the latter as follows:

The chairman of the union council of people's commissaries.
The vice chairman of the union council of people's commissaries.
The people's commissary for foreign affairs.
The people's commissary for military and naval affairs.
The people's commissary for foreign trade.
The people's commissary for transport.
The people's commissary for posts and telegraphs.
The people's commissary for workers' and peasants' inspection.
The people's commissary for labor.
The people's commissary for food.
The people's commissary for finance.
The chairman of the supreme economic council.

UNION COUNCIL ISSUES DECREES.

38. The union council of people's commissaries issues decrees and regulations, which are compulsory throughout the territory of the union, within the limits of the powers conferred on it by the union central executive committee and by the statute whereby it is established.

39. The union council of people's commissaries examines decrees and regulations submitted to it by separate people's commissariats of the union or by the central executive committees of the contracting Republics and their presidium.

40. In all its work the union council of people's commissaries is responsible to the union central executive committee and its presidium.

41. Regulations and orders made by the union council of people's commissaries may be suspended or rescinded by the union central executive committee and its presidium.

42. The central executive committees of the contracting Republics and their presidiums may appeal against the decrees and decisions of the union council of people's commissaries to the presidium of the union central executive committee, but may not, in the meantime, suspend their execution.

VII. THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNION.

THE SUPREME COURT.

43. For the maintenance of revolutionary law throughout the territory of the union, a supreme court of the union is attached to the union central executive committee. The competence of this court includes:

(a) To give authoritative interpretations on questions of general union legislation to the supreme courts of the contracting Republics.

(b) On the recommendation of the procurator of the union supreme court to examine the regulations, decisions, and sentences of the supreme courts of the contracting Republics, and to appeal against them to the union central executive committee on the ground that they violate general union legislation or in so far as they are prejudicial to the interests of the other Republics.

(c) To give decisions at the request of the union central executive committee on the legality of any regulations of the contracting Republics from the point of view of the union constitution.

(d) To adjudicate in judiciable disputes between the contracting Republics.

(e) To examine accusations against high officials of the union for crimes of office.

44. The union supreme court functions through—

(a) Plenary sessions.

(b) Civil and criminal divisions.

(c) Military and military transport divisions.

45. The plenary session of the union supreme court consists of 11 members, including the chairman and vice chairman, the 4 chairmen of the plenary sessions of the supreme courts of the contracting Republics, and 1 representative of the union state political department. (See paragraph 61.) The chairman, vice chairman, and the other five members are appointed by the presidium of the union central executive committee.

46. The procurator and assistant procurator of the union supreme court are appointed by the presidium of the union central executive committee. The duties of the procurator of the union supreme court include: To give an opinion on all questions submitted to the union supreme court, and to sustain such opinion at its sessions, and in case of disagreement with the decision of the plenary session of the union supreme court, to appeal against it to the presidium of the union central executive committee.

47. The right to submit the questions indicated in paragraph 43 to the plenary session of the union supreme court may only be exercised by the union central executive committee, its presidium, the procurator of the union supreme court, the procurators of the contracting Republics, and the union state political department.

48. Plenary sessions of the union supreme court constitute special full judicial sessions for the trial of—

(a) Criminal and civil cases of exceptional importance in which the safety of two or more of the contracting republics is involved.

(b) Cases involving the personal liability of members of the union central executive committee and the union council of people's commissaries.

The union supreme court may only undertake the trial of such cases on the authority of a special decision of the union central executive committee or its presidium in each separate case.

VIII. THE UNION PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS.

DUTIES OF COMMISSARIATS.

49. For the direct control of separate branches of state administration coming within the competence of the union council of people's commissaries, 10 people's commissariats are established, as indicated in paragraph 37 of the present constitution, to work in accordance with statutory provisions regarding people's commissariats laid down by the union central executive committee.

50. The union people's commissariats are divided into—

(a) Interunion people's commissariats—single commissariats for the whole union.

(b) Joint people's commissariats of the union.

51. The following are interunion people's commissariats: Foreign affairs, military and naval affairs, foreign trade, transport, posts and telegraphs.

52. The following are joint people's commissariats:

Supreme economic council, food, labor, finance, workers' and peasants' inspection.

53. The interunion people's commissariats have their own representatives, who are directly responsible to them, in the contracting Republics.

54. The departments which carry out the work of the joint people's commissariats of the union in the contracting Republics are the corresponding people's commissariats of these Republics.

55. The union people's commissariats are directed by the members of the council of people's commissaries—the union people's commissaries.

56. Each people's commissary is assisted by a board, of which he is chairman, and the members of which are appointed by the union council of people's commissaries.

57. The people's commissaries have authority to take personal decisions on all questions within the competence of the particular commissariat, but they must apprise their boards of all such decisions. Should the board or any of its members disagree with any decision made by a people's commissary, they may, without suspending the exe-

cution of the decision, appeal against it to the union council of people's commissaries.

58. Orders issued by individual union people's commissariats may be annulled by the union central executive committee and the union council of people's commissaries.

59. Orders issued by union people's commissariats may be suspended by the central executive committees of the contracting Republics, or their presidium, if such orders are clearly inconsistent with the union constitution, union legislation, or the legislation of the contracting Republics. Such suspension of an order must be immediately notified to the union council of people's commissaries and to the union people's commissaries concerned.

60. Union people's commissaries are responsible to the union council of people's commissaries and to the union central executive committee and its presidium.

IX. THE UNION STATE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

A SUPERGOVERNMENT SUPERVISION.

61. In order to unify the revolutionary action of the contracting Republics in their struggle with the political and economic counterrevolution, espionage and banditism, a joint State political department is established, attached to the union council of people's commissaries; the chairman of this department is a consultative member of the union council of people's commissaries.

62. The union State political department controls the work of the local branches of the State political department through its representatives in the council of people's commissaries of the contracting Republics; these representatives act in accordance with special and legally ratified regulations.

63. The procurator of the union supreme court exercises control over the legality of the actions of the union State political department in accordance with a special decree issued by the union central executive committee.

X. THE CONTRACTING REPUBLICS.

64. The Soviet Congress of the contracting Republics is the supreme authority within the territory of each Republic and, in the intervals between congresses, its central executive committee.

65. The mutual relations between the supreme authorities of such contracting Republics and the supreme authorities of the union are defined in the present constitution.

66. The central executive committees of the contracting Republics elect from among their members presidiums, which are the supreme authorities in the intervals between the sessions of the central executive committees.

COMMISSARIES OF THE CONTRACTING REPUBLICS.

67. The central executive committees of the contracting Republics set up their own executive bodies, i. e., councils of people's commissaries, which consist of—

The chairman of the councils of people's commissaries.
Vice chairman of the council of people's commissaries.
The chairman of the supreme economic council.
The people's commissary for agriculture.
The people's commissary for finance.
The people's commissary for food.
The people's commissary for labor.
The people's commissary for home affairs.
The people's commissary for workers' and peasants' inspection.
The people's commissary for education.
The people's commissary for health.
The people's commissary for social welfare; and also, either with consultative or voting rights, according to the decision of the central executive committees of the Republics, representatives of the union people's commissaries for foreign affairs, military and naval affairs, foreign trade, transport, and posts and telegraphs.

68. The supreme economic council and the people's commissariats for food and finance, people's commissariats for food, finance, and labor, and workers' and peasants' inspection of each contracting Republic, while subordinate to the central executive committee and the council of people's commissaries of the contracting Republic, carry out the instructions of the corresponding union people's commissariats.

69. The power to amnesty, pardon, and rehabilitate citizens sentenced by the judicial and administrative authorities of the contracting Republics is the prerogative of the central executive committees of these Republics.

XI. ARMS, FLAG, AND CAPITAL OF THE UNION.

70. The arms of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics consist of the hammer and sickle emblazoned on the globe, encircled by ears of grain, with the inscription "Proletarians of the world, unite" in the six languages enumerated in paragraph 34, and surmounted by a five-pointed star.

71. The official flag of the union is of red or scarlet cloth, bearing the arms of the union.

72. The capital of the union is the town of Moscow.

RUSSIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

The members of the Government and presidium of the United Soviet Socialist Republics, according to the latest constitutional changes:

President of the central executive committee of the soviets, M. I. Kalinin.
Second president of the central executive committee of the soviets, A. G. Cherviakov.
Third president of the central executive committee of the soviets, G. I. Petrovsky.
Fourth president of the central executive committee of the soviets, N. Narimonov.
Secretary of the presidium, A. Enukidze.
President of council of commissars (prime minister), Vladimir I. Lenin-Ulianov.
Acting president of council (acting premier), Leo B. Kameneff.
Acting president of council (acting premier), A. Tsiurupa.
Acting president of council (acting premier), A. I. Rykov; also president of the supreme economic council.
Acting president of council (acting premier), V. Chubar.
Acting president of council (acting premier), M. Orachalashvili.
Commissar of foreign trade: Leonid B. Krassin.
Acting commissar of foreign trade: Moses I. Frumkin.
Commissar of foreign affairs: George V. Chicherin.
Acting commissar of foreign affairs: Maxim Litvinov.
Commissar of finances: George Sokolnikov.
Acting commissar of finances: Michael Vladimirovitch.
Commissar of transportation: Felix E. Djerjinisky.
Acting commissar of transportation: Leonid Serebriakov.
Commissar of army and navy: Leo D. Trotski.
Acting commissar of army and navy: E. M. Skliansky.
Commissar of post and telegraph: Ivan N. Smirnov.
Acting commissar of post and telegraph: V. S. Dovgalevsky.
Commissar of food: Nicholas P. Briukhanov.
Commissar of control and inspection: V. Kuibishev.
Acting commissar of control and inspection: V. A. Avanesov.
Commissar of labor: Vasili V. Schmidt.

COMMISSARS OF RUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

Commissar of education: Anatoli Lunacharsky.
Acting commissar of education: Michael N. Pokrovsky.
Commissar of health: Nicholas A. Semashko.
Acting commissar of health: Zinovi P. Soloviev.
Commissar of justice: Dimitri I. Kursky.
Acting commissar of justice: Nicholas V. Krylenko.
Commissar of interior: Felix E. Djerjinisky.
Acting commissar of interior: Alexander G. Beloborodov.
Acting commissar of interior: J. S. Unshlicht.
Commissar of agriculture: Vasili G. Yakovenko.
Acting commissar of agriculture: M. Smirnov.
Commissar of social welfare: Nicholas A. Miliutin.
Acting president of supreme economic council: Ivan T. Smilga.
Acting president of supreme economic council: Peter A. Bogdanov.
(Last two named officials are members of the Federal Government.)

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC ("R. S. F. S. R.")

1. All-Russian Congress of Soviets.
2. All-Russian Central Executive Committee (V. Z. I. K.).
3. Presidium of V. Z. I. K.
4. President of V. Z. I. K.
5. Secretary of V. Z. I. K.
6. Committee of V. Z. I. K.: Committee for agriculture.
7. Committee of V. Z. I. K.: Committee for liquidation of the famine.
8. Committee of V. Z. I. K.: Committee for child welfare.
9. Committee of V Z. I. K.: Administrative committee.
10. Committee of V. Z. I. K.: Other committees.
11. Council of people's commissaries (sovnarkom).
12. Committee of the Sovnarkom: Central committee for students' welfare (zekubu).
13. Committee of the Sovnarkom: Committee on science.
14. Committee of the Sovnarkom: Committee on concessions.
15. Small council of people's commissaries (small sovnarkom).
16. Council of labor and defense (S. T. O.).
17. The state general plans committee.
18. Committee on internal trade.
19. Committee on science.
20. Committee on industrial reimmigration.
21. People's commissariats.
21a. People's attorney general of the "narkomjust."
21b. Government's political department (G. P. U.).
22. Regional economic divisions.
23. Regional economic conferences (oblekoso).
26. State executive committee (gubispolkom).
28a. Its branches.
29. County executive committee (uispolkom), township executive committee (volispolkom), village soviet (selsoviet).

EXPLANATORY NOTE TO THE SCHEME OF GOVERNMENT ORGANS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC ("R. S. F. S. R.").

1. All-Russian Congress of Soviets: The R. S. F. S. R. is the Republic of Soviets of Workmen's, Peasants', and Red Army Deputies. The State authority belongs to these soviets and the supreme body of the country is the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. It convenes in Moscow not less than once a year, and is made up of representatives of city and State congresses of soviets elected according to population—one delegate for every 25,000 voters from the city, and one for every 125,000 from the State congresses, the voters including only those who work. (This does not necessarily mean manual labor.) The jurisdiction of the Congress of Soviets covers all branches of legislation and administration of the country.

2. All-Russian Central Executive Committee (V. Z. I. K.): The All-Russian Congress of Soviets elects the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in whom full authority is vested, between the meetings of the All-Russian Congress. The V. Z. I. K. is the supreme legislative and executive body of the Republic.

3–5. Presidium of V. Z. I. K; president of V. Z. I. K; secretary of V. Z. I. K: The V. Z. I. K. elect among themselves a presidium, consisting of a president, a secretary, and members. The position of the president corresponds approximately to that of President of the Republic in American and European republican governments.

6–10. Committees of V. Z. I. K.: Those departments of State organization which demand special attention are regulated directly by V. Z. I. K. through special committees. These are the committee on agriculture, committee on liquidation of the famine, committee for child welfare, administrative committee (directing the organization of the administrative and economic program of the Republic), and others.

11. Council of people's commissaries (sovnarkom): The executive authority is concentrated in the council of people's commissaries, which is appointed by the V. Z. I. K. and is accountable to the latter for all its actions. The sovnarkom corresponds to the cabinets in European countries, but possesses much wider authority. The general direction of the sovnarkom's activity belongs to the premier (or president of the council); there are three vice presidents. All the organization work is carried on by the executive secretary and the secretary.

12–14. Committees of the sovnarkom: There are several committees of the sovnarkom. The principal ones are the central committee for students' welfare (zakubu) committee on science; committee on concessions.

15. Small council of people's commissaries (small sovnarkom): For the preliminary examination of questions to be deliberated in the council of people's commissaries, and also to see that its decisions are carried out by the central bodies, the small council of people's commissaries has been established. But questions of state defense and foreign policy are taken up directly by the sovnarkom.

16. Council of labor and defense (S. T. O.): In order to regulate and to centralize the activities of the different departments concerned with economic reconstruction and to insure the defense of the country the sovnarkom has established the council of labor and defense under the direction of the president of the council of people's commissaries (premier). The separate branches of the work of economic reconstruction are directed by the committee of the council of labor and defense. The main subcommittees are—

17–20. Committees: The State general plans committee—working out the general economic plan for the whole State; the committee on internal trade; the supreme arbitration committee—the central body for the decision of controversies between State institutions; and the committee on industrial reimmigration from America.

21. People's commissaries: The separate departments of the Government are centralized under the direction of the people's commissariats, corresponding to the ministries of European Governments. There are 18 people's commissariats; (a) justice; (b) transportation; (c) post and telegraph; (d) military; (e) naval; (f) education; (g) health; (h) labor; (i) peasants' and workmen's inspection; (j) alimentation; (k) finance; (l) agriculture; (m) department of the interior; (n) supreme council of national economy; (o) foreign trade; (p) foreign office; (q) social insurance; (r) affairs of small nationalities. The supreme council of national economy superintends State industry and general problems of economic reconstruction. The people's commissariat of social insurance administers the aid given by the Government to those disabled in war and in industry. The committee on affairs of small nationalities directs the policies of the Soviet Government toward the small nationalities and the development of education and industry in these nations, and strives to bring about close cooperation between the small nationalities and the Soviet Government. The peasants' and workmen's inspection committee organize the various local bodies of the country under the central State control.

21a. Attorney general of the narkomjust: The people's commissioner of justice is also the Republic's attorney general. He passes on the legality of all the acts of the various State bodies and has the authority to protest any of them before the supreme bodies of the Republic.

The jurisdiction of the other committees is evident from their names, and corresponds to that of similarly named departments in other countries. Beside these committees there is the central statistical department (Z. S. U.), which keeps a record of the agricultural and economic resources of the whole country.

21b. Government's political department: The commissariat of the home office (department of interior) directs the Government's political department, which examines all crimes against the political and social structure of the State and deals with all counter-revolutionary movements.

22. Regional economic divisions: Certain departments of the national government are established according to region. These are: (22a) Military, (22b) transportation, (22c) post and telegraph, (22d) mining. Economic regions are erected without regard to State boundaries, though they follow county boundaries. They frequently consist of the whole or parts of a number of States, and their administration is entirely separate from the State administration. The basis of the regional divisions is economic unity and not political.

23. Regional economic conferences: The activities of the various local regional divisions are centralized and coordinated by means of economic conferences. The local organization of Soviet Russia is identical with the national organization. The supreme authority in the State, county, and township (including several villages) is vested in State, county, and township (volostnoi) congress of soviets, respectively. In the periods when the congress is not in session, the supreme authority is delegated to the gubispolkom, the uispolkom, and the volospolkom, elected by the respective congresses. The general control of the policies of the local governments is in the hands of the respective presidiums of the ispolkoms (executive committees).

28. State executive committee (gubispolkom): The direction of the different branches of the State government is under different committees, as in the National Government. The following committees are in operation: Military, education, health, labor, peasants' and workmen's inspection, alimentation, finance, agriculture, political department, community farm life, gubsovnarhos, statistics.

29. County executive committee (uispolkom): The county executive committee is divided into subsections analogous to those of the gubispolkom. There is, however, no county council of national economy.

Township executive committee (volispolkom): The township executive committee does all the local work directly and has no subdivisions.

In order to understand the structure of the Government of Soviet Russia, it must be noted that the soviet organization in the States and counties is a reproduction of the national organization. The committees of the uispolkom are directly subordinated to the respective committees of the gubispolkoms and they in turn to the respective commissariats. The uispolkom, as an administrative unit, is directly connected with the gubispolkom and the gubispolkom likewise to the all-Russian central executive committee. The relations between the State and county committees and their respective executive committees (ispolkoms) are exactly like those between the narkomats and sovnarkom and the V. Z. I. K.

Village soviet (selsoviet): The basic soviet organization is the selsoviet, elected in the rural communities, one delegate for every 200 people. Following the general principle of the soviet constitution, only those who work—peasants and workmen—are entitled to vote. The village soviet consists of the president and two members. In villages with a population of less than 400 there is no separate village soviet. The soviet is formed by an association of several villages.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 18 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, December 14, 1923, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

145. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation transferring a certain portion of land on Fayette Street at the southeast corner of the post-office site in Baltimore, Md., to the city of Baltimore, Md., included in House Document No. 531, Sixty-fifth Congress; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

146. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to accept a correctionary deed to the United States to certain land in the city of New York, N. Y., for a post-office building site, incorporated in House Document 532, Sixty-fifth Congress; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

147. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the report of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service for the fiscal year 1923; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

148. A letter from the chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, transmitting a report showing in detail all travel performed by officers and employees of the Tariff Commission during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923; to the Committee on Appropriations.

149. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a detailed statement showing the number of claims filed under 41 Stat. 281 and the present status of the work involved in connection with their adjudication; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

150. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation recommending the repeal of the act (36 Stat. 694) which provided for the purchase of a site and building for the accommodation of the United States Subtreasury, at a cost for said site not to exceed $250,000; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

151. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of legislation providing for the sale of several parcels of land acquired by the United States for Federal building sites, in such manner and on such terms as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem to the best interests of the Government; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

152. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of legislation whereby the Secretary of War would be given authority to transfer to the Treasury Department the land comprising the Cumberland Sound, Fla., quarantine station.

153. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a statement of the number of persons employed in meat inspection, the salary or per diem paid to each, where they have been or are employed, together with contingent expenses for the period beginning July 1, 1922, and ending June 30, 1923, in the Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture.

154. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminay examination of Escanaba Harbor, Mich.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

155. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Gowanus Creek Channel from the foot of Percival Street to Hamilton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., with a view to deepening the same to 26 feet at mean low water; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

156. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Irondequoit Bay, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

157. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of North Portland Harbor (Oregon Slough), Oreg., with a view to securing a channel 300 feet wide and 25 feet deep at lower low water from the interstate bridge to the main ship channel of the Columbia River at the mouth of the Willamette River, including consideration of any proposition for cooperation on the part of local interests; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

158. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Oak Orchard Harbor, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

159. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Tombigbee River, Ala. and Miss., and canal connecting the Tombigbee and Tennessee Rivers; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

160. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Cedar Bayou, Tex.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

161. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of English Bay, St. Paul Island, Alaska; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

162. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a communication from the Secretary of Labor, submitting a claim for damages to property of the Moran Towing & Transportation Co., New York, N. Y., in the sum of $1,000, which claim he has adjusted and which requires an appropriation for its payment (H. Doc. No. 106); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

163. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting four communications from the Postmaster General, submitting estimates of appropriations in the sum of $5,890.85, $2,410.61, $3,501.76, and $898.26, respectively, a total of $12,701.48, to pay claims which he has adjusted and which require an appropriation for their payment (H. Doc. No. 107); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

164. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, reports on preliminary examination and survey of Duwamish Waterway, Seattle Harbor, Wash., with a view of widening or deepening, or both widening and deepening, the channel to accommodate present and future commerce (H. Doc. No. 108); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed.

165. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination and survey of entrance to Port Orchard Bay, Wash. (H. Doc. No. 109); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed with illustration.

166. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination and survey of Salem River, N. J. (H. Doc. No. 110); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

167. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination and survey of waterway connecting Gravesend Bay with Jamaica Bay, N. Y., including consideration of any proposition for cooperation on the part of local or State interest, or both (H. Doc. No. 111); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

168. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination and survey of Mississippi River at Nauvoo, Ill. (H. Doc. No. 112); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed with illustration.

169. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a communication from the Postmaster General submitting an estimate of appropriations in the sum of $2,824.74, to pay claims which he has adjusted and which requires an appropriation for its payment (H. Doc. No. 113); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

170. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Bloomfield Creek, Staten Island, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

171. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Arkansas River, in the vicinity of Star Lake, Okla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

172. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Cheboygan River, Mich., in the city of Cheboygan, with a view to securing a depth of 16 feet between the State Street (Road) Bridge and Elm Street; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

173. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Northeast River, Md.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

174. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Newport Harbor, R. I.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

175. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a proposed joint resolution to authorize the use of rock on certain public lands in the State of Oregon for the improvement of Coos Bay Harbor; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

176. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation which, when enacted, will authorize the appropriation of the sum of $100,000 to enable the Secretary of the Interior to acquire title to the Bright Angel toll road and trail for the United States Government; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

177. A letter from the Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau, transmitting the annual report of the Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

178. A letter from the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting a statement showing the number of typewriters, adding machines, and other similar labor-saving devices exchanged by the Federal Trade Commission during the

fiscal year ended June 30, 1923; to the Committee on Appropriations.

179. A letter from the chief scout executive of the Boy Scouts of America, transmitting a copy of the thirteenth annual report of the Boys' Scouts of America (H. Doc. No. 114); to the Committee on Education and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CAMPBELL: A bill (H. R. 3203) to provide for the equitable distribution of captured war devices and trophies to the States and Territories of the United States and the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LEHLBACH: A bill (H. R. 3204) to make Newark, N. J., a port through which merchandise may be imported for transportation without appraisement; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FULLER: A bill (H. R. 3205) to amend the act of May 1, 1920, entitled "An act to revise and equalize rates of pension to certain soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War and the war with Mexico, to certain widows, including widows of the War of 1812, former widows, dependent parents, and children of such soldiers, sailors, and marines, and to certain Army nurses, and granting pensions and increase of pensions in certain cases"; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULMER: A bill (H. R. 3206) obligating Federal reserve banks to pay interest upon all realized balances, whether reserve or otherwise, maintained by all member banks; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. THOMAS of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 3207) to determine the jurisdiction of circuit and district courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3208) defining combinations and conspiracies in trade and labor disputes and regulating the granting of injunctions therein; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3209) to correct the military record and provide for the granting of pensions to survivors of certain battalions of militia; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3210) for the benefit of railway postal clerks; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 3211) to authorize the construction of a nurses' home for the Columbia Hospital for Women and Lying-in Asylum; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. KELLY: A bill (H. R. 3212) to provide for the retention of books, charts, and similar supplies by beneficiaries of vocational training; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ALMON: A bill (H. R. 3213) to authorize the appropriation of additional sums for Federal aid in the construction of post roads; to the Committee on Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3214) to provide for an allowance for maintenance of equipment for carriers in rural mail delivery service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 3215) to provide and adjust penalties for violation of various navigation laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3216) to amend section 4132 of the Revised Statutes and to repeal an act approved August 18, 1914, entitled "An act to provide for the admission of foreign-built ships to American registry for foreign trade," and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3217) to abolish the inspection districts of Apalachicola, Fla., and Burlington, Vt., and the office of one supervising inspector, Steamboat Inspection Service; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3218) to prohibit the payment of gratuities to the masters of vessels or other persons for the purpose of inducing or securing contracts for repairing vessels or furnishing vessels with supplies or other necessities; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3219) to amend sections 4402, 4404, and 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to classify and provide salaries for officers and clerks of the Steamboat Inspection Service; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: A bill (H. R. 3220) to amend section 196 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 3221) to amend the revenue act of 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DICKINSON of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 3222) to authorize and direct the Secretary of War, for national defense in time of war and for the production of fertilizers and other useful products in time of peace, to lease to Henry Ford, or a corporation to be incorporated by him, nitrate plant No. 1, at Sheffield, Ala.; nitrate plant No. 2, at Muscle Shoals, Ala.; Waco Quarry, near Russellville, Ala.; and to lease to Henry Ford, or a corporation to be incorporated by him, Dam No. 2 and Dam No. 3 (as designated in H. Doc. 1262, 64th Cong., 1st sess.), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOLFF: A bill (H. R. 3223) to provide for a monthly maintenance allowance for all rural carriers on either horse-drawn or motor routes in the Postal Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. CELLER: A bill (H. R. 3224) to create a commission of investigation in connection with the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARKLEY: A bill (H. R. 3225) to prohibit the manufacture, sale, or transportation in interstate commerce of misbranded articles, to regulate the traffic therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. EDMONDS: A bill (H. R. 3226) amending the prohibition act; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. SALMON: A bill (H. R. 3227) to amend section 5202 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by an act approved October 22, 1919; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 3228) to create a negro industrial commission; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY: A bill (H. R. 3229) to amend Public Law 306, approved September 18, 1922, extending the time for commencing construction of a bridge across the Ohio River to connect the city of Benwood, W. Va., and the city of Bellaire, Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BACHARACH: A bill (H. R. 3230) making October 27 a national holiday, to be known as Roosevelt's Birthday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 3231) for the construction of a lighthouse and fog signal at Harding entrance to Resurrection Bay, Alaska; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce;

Also, a bill (H. R. 3232) to extend the provisions of the Federal highway act to Alaska; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. WHITE of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 3233) fixing date for the beginning of regular sessions of Congress; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. BROWNE of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 3234) to amend a provision contained in the Indian appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, approved May 18, 1916 (39 Stat. pp. 123–156), appropriating the sum of $95,000 to be used in addition to the tribal funds of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes of Indians in Wisconsin who are enrolled under the act of Congress of March 3, 1893; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3235) providing for the protection of the public health and the prevention of fraud and deception by prohibiting the manufacture, the sale, the offering for sale, or exposing for sale, or the having in possession with the intent to sell, of adulterated or deleterious butter, and prescribing the penalty for the violation thereof; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: A bill (H. R. 3236) to regulate the practice of optometry in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SEARS of Florida: A bill (H. R. 3237) to provide for the disposition of abandoned lighthouse, life-saving, and Coast Guard reservations in the State of Florida; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3238) to provide for the disposition of abandoned military reservations in the State of Florida; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. VESTAL: A bill (H. R. 3239) amending the act of February 5, 1917, entitled "An act regulating immigration of aliens to and residence of aliens in the United States," amending also the act of June 29, 1906, entitled "An act to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States and establishing the Bureau of Naturalization," providing for issuance abroad of certificates to immigrants, for the registration of aliens, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3240) to regulate and control the manufacture, sale, and use of weights and measures and weighing and measuring devices for use or used in trade or commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3241) to establish the standard of weights and measures for the following wheat-mill, rye-mill, and corn-mill products, namely, flours, hominy, grits, and meals, and all commercial feeding stuffs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. McKENZIE: A bill (H. R. 3242) to provide adjusted compensation for veterans of the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WINSLOW: A bill (H. R. 3243) to create a bureau of civil aeronautics in the Department of Commerce, encourage and regulate the navigation of civil aircraft, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROSENBLOOM: A bill (H. R. 3244) to provide relief for the victims of the airplane accident at Langin Field, Moundsville, W. Va., to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CABLE: A bill (H. R. 3245) to provide for the arrest and punishment of aliens who unlawfully enter the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. STEVENSON. A bill (H. R. 3246) to amend section 5190, Revised Statutes of the United States, and paragraph 1, section 9, Federal reserve act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. McLEOD: A bill (H. R. 3247) to authorize the nation-wide recording by fingerprint and footprint record at birth of all children born within the territorial confines of the United States of America and the possessions thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3248) declaring November 11 a legal public holiday, to be known as Armistice Day; to the Committee on the

By Mr. DOYLE: A bill (H. R. 3249) to prohibit the collection of a surcharge for the transportation of persons or baggage in connection with the payment for parlor or sleeping car accommodations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LAMPERT: A bill (H. R. 3250) to establish and maintain a fish-hatching and fish-culture station in Marquette County, Wis.; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WATRES: A bill (H. R. 3251) to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the middle district of Pennsylvania and fixing his salary; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOOD: A bill (H. R. 3252) to establish in the Treasury Department a bureau of supply, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. OLDFIELD. A bill (H. R. 3253) to provide for the prevention of waste in drilling and producing oil and natural gas in the State of Arkansas; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3254) to provide for a monthly maintenance allowance for all rural carriers on either horse-drawn or motor routes in the Postal Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. A bill (H. R. 3255) to establish a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3256) to amend an act to authorize the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to make certain disposition of condemned ordnance, guns, projectiles, and other condemned material in their respective departments; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOLFF. A bill (H. R. 3257) making eligible for retirement, under certain conditions, officers of the Army of the United States, other than officers of the Regular Army, who incurred physical disability in line of duty while in the service of the United States during the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SEARS of Florida. A bill (H. R. 3258) making additional appropriation for improvement of Miami Harbor, Miami, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. McKEOWN. A bill (H. R. 3259) authorizing the establishment and maintenance of an Indian sanatorium at Shawnee, Okla.; to the Committee on Indians Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3260) to amend the practice and procedure in Federal courts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEATHERWOOD. A bill (H. R. 3261) to authorize and provide for the payment of the amounts expended in the construction of hangars and the maintenance of flying fields for the use of the air mail service of the Post Office Department; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3262) to authorize the temporary reserving and setting apart certain public lands for experiments in sheep growing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. THOMPSON: A bill (H. R. 3263) for the purchase of a post-office site at Wauseon, Ohio; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3264) for the purchase of a post-office site at Bryan, Ohio; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LINDSAY: A bill (H. R. 3265) for the construction of a bridge between the Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, in the city and State of New York; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 3266) for the establishment of a United States industrial home for women at Mount Weather, Va.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAMPERT: A bill (H. R. 3267) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Patents.

By. Mr. THOMPSON: A bill (H. R. 3268) to amend section 7 of the act approved January 16, 1883, entitled "An act to regulate and improve the civil service," to give preference to soldiers, sailors, marines, and Red Cross nurses; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 3269) providing for placing of Government employees engaged in the enforcement of national prohibition under the civil service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. JONES: A bill (H. R. 3270) for the erection of a public building in the city of Plainview, county seat of Hale County, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3271) for the erection of a public building in the city of Lubbock, county seat of Lubbock County, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FUNK: A bill (H. R. 3272) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Eureka, Ill.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3273) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Paxton, Ill.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3274) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Bloomington, Ill.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MILLIGAN: A bill (H. R. 3275) for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Richmond, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 3276) to provide for a site and public building at Coatesville, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. O'SULLIVAN: A bill (H. R. 3277) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a post office thereon at Torrington, in the State of Connecticut; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3278) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a post office thereon at Derby, in the State of Connecticut; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3279) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a post office thereon at Waterbury, in the State of Connecticut; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LARSEN of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 3280) to provide for the authorization of appropriation for the purchase of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Hawkinsville, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3281) to provide for the authorization of appropriation for the purchase of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Eastman, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3282) to provide for the authorization of appropriation for the purchase of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Fort Valley, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3283) to provide for the authorization of appropriation for the purchase of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Vidalia, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LAZARO: A bill (H. R. 3284) to provide a site and erect a public building at Oakdale, La.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3285) to provide a site and erect a public building at De Ridder, La.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BRAND of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 3286) for a post-office building at Springfield, Ohio; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. KURTZ: A bill (H. R. 3287) to provide for the erection of a public building in the borough of Tyrone, county of Blair, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FISHER: A bill (H. R. 3288) to increase the cost of the public building at Memphis, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LILLY: A bill (H. R. 3289) to authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Princeton, W. Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CROWTHER: A bill (H. R. 3290) to enlarge and extend the post-office building at Amsterdam, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3291) to enlarge and extend the post-office building at Schenectady, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 3292) for the erection of a Federal building at Fairbanks, Alaska; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LEATHERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 3293) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Lehi, Utah; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. PARKS of Arkansas: A bill (H. R. 3294) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Warren, Ark.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3295) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at El Dorado, Ark.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MAJOR of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 3296) to increase the appropriation heretofore made for the erection of a public building at Fayette, Howard County, Mo.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3297) to provide for the erection of a public building at Sedalia, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. TAYLOR of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 3298) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Beckley, W. Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 3299) to construct a public building for a post office at the city of Madison, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. WASON: A bill (H. R. 3300) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Peterboro, in the State of New Hampshire; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. EVANS of Montana: A bill (H. R. 3301) for the purchase of a site for and the erection of a post-office building at Anaconda, Mont.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3302) for the enlargement of the Federal building at Missoula, Mont.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. WASON: A bill (H. R. 3303) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Claremont, in the State of New Hampshire; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. STEDMAN: A bill (H. R. 3304) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Mount Airy, N. C.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3305) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Greensboro, N. C.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3306) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Elkin, N. C.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SALMON: A bill (H. R. 3307) for an appropriation for and the erection of a post-office building at Franklin, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3308) for the purchase of a post-office site and the erection thereon of a suitable public building at Dickson, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3309) for the purchase of a post-office site and the erection thereon of a suitable public building at Lawrenceburg, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DRANE: A bill (H. R. 3310) to enlarge and extend the post-office building at Lakeland, Fla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ALMON: A bill (H. R. 3311) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Tuscumbia, Ala.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3312) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Sheffield, Ala.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3313) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Athens, Ala.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. VAILE: A bill (H. R. 3314) to grant medals to survivors and heirs of volunteers of the Port Hudson forlorn-hope storming party; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 3315) to increase the percentage of national forest receipts to be paid to the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BRIGGS: A bill (H. R. 3316) for the education and civilization of the Alabama and Coushatta Indians in Texas, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3317) authorizing the acquisition of a site at Galveston, Tex., for a naval aviation station; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MILLS: A bill (H. R. 3318) to provide for the appointment of two additional judges of the district court of the United States for the southern district of New York; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3319) to protect navigation from obstruction and injury by preventing the discharge of oil into the coastal navigable waters of the United States; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 3320) to repeal section 852, chapter 16, and the first paragraph of section 848, chapter 16, Revised Statutes of the United States, and to amend the first paragraph of page 377, chapter 200, volume 35, part 1, session 1, United States Statutes at Large of the Sixtieth Congress, by striking out the words "in the States of Wyoming, Montana, Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, and Utah, and in the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. McDUFFIE: A bill (H. R. 3321) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to remove the quarantine station now situated at Fort Morgan, Ala., to Sand Island, a site now owned by the United States Government, near the entrance of the port of Mobile, Ala., and to construct thereon a new quarantine station; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By the SPEAKER (by request): A bill (H. R. 3322) to confer jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Claims to determine the rights and equities contested for by certain persons designated in the bill in equity filed in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in 1915, Rebecca Bowers, C. B. Williams, and Mamie Thompson, and all other persons similarly interested in that subject matter, No. 33573, on the docket of that court, etc.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LAMPERT: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 71) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims for the adjudication of claims against the United States for flowage damages suffered by riparian landowners on the Fox and Wolf Rivers in the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SWING: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 72) authorizing a preliminary examination or survey of San Diego Harbor, Calif.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 73) authorizing a preliminary examination or survey of the Yukon River near Holy Cross, Alaska; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, joint resolution (H. J. Res. 74) authorizing a preliminary examination or survey of the Yukon River near Fort Yukon, Alaska; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. ANTHONY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 75) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 76) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWNE of Wisconsin: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 77) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims for the

adjudication of claims against the United States for flowage damages suffered by riparian landowners on the Fox and Wolf Rivers in the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, joint resolution (H. J. Res. 78) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States in relation to convening Congress, in either House thereof, in extraordinary sessions on the volition of the Members or Members elect thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOST: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 79) designating and naming an historical ocean-to-ocean highway, and recognizing patriotic organizations which have promoted it; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. LINDSAY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 80) declaring October 12 a legal public holiday, to be known as Columbus Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, joint resolution (H. J. Res. 81) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYDEN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 82) extending the time during which certain domestic animals which have crossed the boundary line into foreign countries may be returned duty free; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAMPERT: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 84) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EVANS of Montana: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 85) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LARSEN of Georgia: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 6) relative to printing the Biographical Congressional Directory; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. MOORE of Virginia: Resolution (H. Res. 74) to amend the rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HASTINGS: Resolution (H. Res. 75) to amend section 3 of Rule XIII requiring five or more Members to object to strike bill from Unanimous Consent Calendar the second time; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. COOK: Resolution (H. Res. 76) to amend the rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota: Resolution (H. Res. 77) creating a committee on veterans' legislation; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. LEHLBACH: Resolution (H. Res. 78) directing the Personnel Classification Board to furnish certain information; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. SNELL: Resolution (H. Res. 79) creating a committee on veterans' legislation; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. NEWTON of Missouri: Resolution (H. Res. 80) requesting certain information relative to the so-called "diploma mills"; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HAYDEN: Resolution (H. Res. 81) providing for a committee on the Budget; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Resolution (H. Res. 82) providing for the appointment of a committee of Members of the House of Representatives to investigate the activities of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and for other purposs; to the Committee on Rules.

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Chamber of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba, intensely impressed by the lamentable misfortune which has befallen the American Nation on the occasion of the death of its illustrious President, Warren G. Harding, rising, resolved, by unanimous vote, as a mark of respect and homage of condolence, to suspend its labors and to send to the body over which you so worthily preside and to the American people its sentiments of grief; to the Select Committee on the Death of President Harding.

Also, memorial of the Provincial Board of Nueva Ecija, expressing sympathy on the death of the late President Harding; to the Select Committee on the Death of President Harding.

By Mr. WRIGHT: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Georgia, indorsing the plan to construct a substitute steam plant for the Gorgas plant; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Georgia, indorsing the plan to construct a substitute steam plant for the Gorgas plant; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALMON: A bill (H. R. 3323) granting a pension to Elizabeth Horton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ARNOLD: A bill (H. R. 3324) granting a pension to Francis M. Perkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3325) granting a pension to Nora V. McDaniel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3326) granting a pension to Celestia Barnett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3327) granting a pension to Daisy Fear; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3328) granting a pension to Jacob Staley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3329) granting a pension to Mamie H. Barrack; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3330) granting a pension to Elizabeth Hofer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3331) granting a pension to Charles L. Dewey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3332) granting a pension to Minnie Hosier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3333) granting a pension to Charles Snyder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. AYRES: A bill (H. R. 3334) granting a pension to Thomas G. Redd; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3335) granting a pension to Luella M. Myers; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3336) granting an increase of pension to Julia C. Moses; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3337) granting an increase of pension to Laura Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3338) for the relief of the heirs of James M. Downey, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BACHARACH: A bill (H. R. 3339) for the relief of Joy Bright Little; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3340) for the relief of Elizabeth T. Cloud; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3341) for the relief of Frederick W. Peter; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3342) for the relief of Robert Turner; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3343) for the relief of Lee C. Davis; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3344) for the relief of Ida E. Godfrey; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3345) for the relief of Thomas N. Emley; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3346) providing for a further survey and examination of Absecon Inlet, Atlantic County, N. J.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BACON: A bill (H. R. 3347) for the relief of Theodore Bloom; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3348) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay a certain claim as the result of damage sustained to the marine railway of the Greenport Basin & Construction Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3349) for the relief of W. R. Grace & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3350) providing for the examination and survey of Jones Inlet, Long Island, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3351) providing for the examination and survey of Manhasset Bay, Long Island, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3352) providing for the examination and survey of East Rockaway Inlet, Long Island, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3353) providing for the examination and survey of Long Beach Channel, Long Island, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3354) providing for the examination and survey of the entrance to Three Mile Harbor, Long Island, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BEEDY: A bill (H. R. 3355) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Murren; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3356) granting a pension to Lizzie Ella Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BEERS: A bill (H. R. 3357) granting a pension to Rebecca Jane Stewert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3358) granting a pension to Jacob Floyd Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3359) granting a pension to George D. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3360) granting a pension to Theodosia Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BEGG: A bill (H. R. 3361) granting an increase of pension to Lela M. Karr; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BELL: A bill (H. R. 3362) granting an increase of pension to Vance Perkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BLACK of New York: A bill (H. R. 3363) for the relief of Ella Miller; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BOYLAN: A bill (H. R. 3364) granting a pension to Mary L. Bender; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BRAND of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 3365) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Monroe, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3366) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Lexington, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3367) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Carnesville, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3368) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Washington, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3369) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Greensboro, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3370) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Eatonton, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3371) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Madison, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3372) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Watkinsville, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3373) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the University of Georgia, city of Athens, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3374) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Covington, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3375) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Hartwell, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3376) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Elberton, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3377) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Danielsville, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3378) granting a pension to Polk W. Nunnally; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BRAND of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 3379) granting a pension to Ada M. Young; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BRIGGS: A bill (H. R. 3380) for the relief of the United Dredging Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BROWNE of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 3381) granting a pension to Charles Osthelder; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3382) for the relief of Axel Jacobson; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3383) to make a preliminary survey of the Wolf and Fox Rivers, State of Wisconsin, with a view to the control of floods, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. BRUMM: A bill (H. R. 3384) granting a pension to Edward Barr, jr.; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3385) granting a pension to Harry E. Snyder; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BUCKLEY: A bill (H. R. 3386) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay war-risk insurance to Elizabeth Thornton, foster mother of Edward Short; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BURTNESS: A bill (H. R. 3387) authorizing repayment of excess amounts paid by purchasers of certain lots in the townsite of Sanish, formerly Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, N. Dak.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3388) to place the name of Paul Crum on the muster rolls of Company E, First Regiment Nebraska Infantry, United States Volunteers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BURTON: A bill (H. R. 3389) granting a pension to William Camp; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BUSBY: A bill (H. R. 3390) to reimburse J. W. Buford, William M. Mosley, Clifton E. Mosley, and William C. Mosley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 3391) for the relief of Charles Ritzel; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3392) granting a pension to George M. Dorn; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3393) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the borough of Marcus Hook, State of Pennsylvania, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3394) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the city of Coatesville, State of Pennsylvania, captured cannons or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3395) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to Darby Township of Delaware County, State of Pennsylvania, a captured cannon or fieldpiece and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3396) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the borough of Norwood, State of Pennsylvania, two captured cannons or fieldpieces and suitable outfits of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3397) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the borough of Aldan, Delaware County, State of Pennsylvania, a captured cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, A bill (H. R. 3398) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Atglen, State of Pennsylvania, a captured cannon or fieldpiece and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3399) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the Media Local Armory Board, Media, State of Pennsylvania a captured cannon or fieldpiece and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3400) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to East Coventry Township and Parker Ford, State of Pennsylvania, a captured cannon or fieldpiece and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3401) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the Pennsylvania Military College, Chester, State of Pennsylvania, a captured cannon or fieldpiece and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, A bill (H. R. 3402) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Morton, State of Pennsylvania, a captured cannon or fieldpiece and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3403) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the city of Chester, State of Pennsylvania, captured cannons or fieldpieces and suitable outfits of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAMPBELL; A bill (H. R. 3404) granting an increase of pension to James Shoemaker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CELLER: A bill (H. R. 3405) for the relief of the estate of Ely N. Sonnenstrahl, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: A bill (H. R. 3406) granting a pension to Gertrude A. Robinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLEARY: A bill (H. R. 3407) for the relief of the owner of the scow *W. T. C. No. 35;* to the Committee on Claims.

Also a bill (H. R. 3408) for the relief of the owners of the New York Sanitary Utilization Co. scow *No. 14;* to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3409) for the relief of the Brooklyn Eastern District Terminal; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COLE of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 3410) granting a pension to Mary Gurney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CONNALLY of Texas; A bill (H. R. 3411) for the relief of Mrs. John P. Hopkins; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COOK: A bill (H. R. 3412) granting a pension to Luzetta Beekman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3413) granting a pension to Carrie Hiatt Preston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COOPER of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 3414) for the relief of Martha E. Esterly; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CROWTHER: A bill (H. R. 3415) granting a pension to William Schuyler; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3416) granting a pension to Crosby S. Albro; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3417) granting a pension to Rose E. Kline; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CURRY: A bill (H. R. 3418) granting a pension to Llewellyn Sawyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3419) granting a pension to Edward Powell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 3420) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Cannon, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3421) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Coffee, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3422) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Lincoln, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3423) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Moore, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3424) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Tullahoma, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3425) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Rutherford, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3426) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Middle Tennessee State Normal School, of Murfreesboro, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3427) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Bedford, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3428) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Dekalb, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3429) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county of Marshall, Tenn., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DEAL: A bill (H. R. 3430) for the relief of Picton Steamship Co. (Ltd.), owner of the British steamship *Picton;* to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3431) granting a pension to Mary A. Kane; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DOWELL: A bill (H. R. 3432) granting a pension to Mary A. Reece; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3433) granting a pension to Mary A. Wilfong; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3434) granting a pension to Julia McNichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DRANE: A bill (H. R. 3435) for the relief of special road and bridge district No. 4, of De Soto County, Fla.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 3436) granting an increase of pension to Martha R. Biddle; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3437) for the relief of Mary Shine; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3438) for the relief of Frank Emile Perrot; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3439) for the relief of William Elder; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3440) for the relief of John A. Clayton; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3441) for the relief of the Missouri Pants Manufacturing Co.; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3442) for the relief of Dr. E. S. Bailey; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ELLIOTT: A bill (H. R. 3443) granting a pension to Leonidas Duncan; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. EVANS of Montana: A bill (H. R. 3444) for the relief of certain nations or tribes of Indians in Montana, Idaho, and Washington; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. FENN: A bill (H. R. 3445) granting a pension to Henrietta Richmond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FISHER: A bill (H. R. 3446) for the relief of Marion B. Patterson; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3447) granting a pension to Amanda Borden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FREEMAN: A bill (H. R. 3448) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Parker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3449) granting a pension to Cora B. Remington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3450) granting a pension to Margaret B. Davison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3451) granting a pension to Nathan E. Hopkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULLER: A bill (H. R. 3452) granting a pension to Lottie Wilmarth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GILLETT: A bill (H. R. 3453) for the relief of the widow of Warren V. Howard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3454) granting a pension to Julia J. Bliss; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3455) granting an increase of pension to Arthur N. Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GLATFELTER: A bill (H. R. 3456) granting an increase of pension to Isabelle Wolford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3457) granting a pension to Jesse E. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH: A bill (H. R. 3458) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to cause to be made a preliminary examination and survey of Honga River and Tar Bay (Barren Island Gaps), in Maryland; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 3459) granting an increase of pension to James F. B. P. Gould; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3460) granting a pension to Robert M. Daniels; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GREEN of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 3461) granting a pension to George M. Howe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GRIEST: A bill (H. R. 3462) granting an increase of pension to Philip Dieter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3463) granting a pension to Lizzie B. Shreiner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3464) granting a pension to Mary J. Light Lawrence; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3465) granting an increase of pension to John Usner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3466) granting an increase of pension to Edward D. Henderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3467) granting a pension to John Zellers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3468) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Ann Eby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HASTINGS: A bill (H. R. 3469) granting a pension to Robert Ross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAUGEN: A bill (H. R. 3470) granting a pension to Fred B. Cogswell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 3471) for the relief of Horace G. Wilson; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3472) for the relief of Albert Wood; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3473) for the relief of the Brighton Mills Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3474) granting an increase of pension to Charles D. Felter; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HERSEY: A bill (H. R. 3475) to settle the accounts of the St. John River Commission; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HUMPHREYS: A bill (H. R. 3476) for the relief of Herbert A. Wilson; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. JOST: A bill (H. R. 3477) for the relief of J. B. Porter; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3478) for the relief of Clara Fitzgerald; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KURTZ: A bill (H. R. 3479) granting an increase of pension to Annie McNamara; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KEARNS: A bill (H. R. 3480) granting a pension to Samuel C. Shattler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3481) granting an increase of pension to Laura A. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KELLY: A bill (H. R. 3482) granting a pension to Rachel Tweedle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3483) for the relief of John Buchanan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3484) granting a pension to Ocie Billet; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3485) for the relief of Walter P. King; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3486) to correct the military record of A. G. Vincent; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3487) granting a pension to Martha Hoffman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3488) granting a pension to Michael V. Murray; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3489) granting a pension to Nettie Walker; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KENDALL: A bill (H. R. 3490) to provide for the retirement as second lieutenant of Field Artillery in the Army of Cadet Joseph P. Constantine, jr.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KETCHAM: A bill (H. R. 3491) granting a pension to Addie Peck; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3492) granting a pension to Julia Metzger; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3493) granting a pension to Lydia Bedortha; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3494) granting a pension to Mary E. McGill; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3495) granting a pension to Alice Hadsell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3496) granting a pension to Elizabeth Tice; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3497) granting a pension to Esther T. Church; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LAMPERT: A bill (H. R. 3498) to make a preliminary survey of the Wolf and Fox Rivers, State of Wisconsin, with a view to the control of floods, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 3499) for the relief of J. I. Hall, of Jackson, Ky.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3500) granting an increase of pension to Burnham Gibson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3501) granting a pension to Scott Tussey; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LARSON of Minnesota: A bill (H. R. 3502) for the relief of Tena Petterson, former widow of Niles Alvin Trulson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LEA of California: A bill (H. R. 3503) authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of Humboldt Harbor and Bay, Calif.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3504) for the relief of Cornelia M. A. Tower; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3505) for the relief of Fred W. Stickney and H. A. Reynolds; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3506) granting a pension to Frances A. Brown; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LEATHERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 3507) for the relief of Franklin A. Swenson; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3508) for the relief of Charles Hurst; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3509) for the relief of Willard Taylor Schell; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3510) for the relief of Emma Kiener; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LEAVITT: A bill (H. R. 3511) to extend relief to the claimants in T. 16 N., Rs. 32 and 33 E., Montana meridian, Montana; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3512) granting a pension to Margaret Macrae; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LEE of Georgia: A bill (H. R. 3513) authorizing the donation of three cannons of the style of the French 75's to Shanklin-Attaway Post, American Legion, Rome, Ga.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3514) authorizing the donation of German cannons to the city of Trenton, Ga.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3515) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Chickamauga, Ga., one German cannon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3516) authorizing the donation of German cannons to the city of La Fayette, Ga.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3517) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Menlo, State of Georgia, one Civil War cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3518) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Summerville, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3519) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Cedartown, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3520) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Buchanan, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3521) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Dallas, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3522) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Marietta, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3523) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Cartersville, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3524) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Calhoun, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3525) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Chatsworth, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3526) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Rockmart, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3527) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Ringgold, State of Georgia, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LEHLBACH: A bill (H. R. 3528) for the relief of Edgar M. Taylor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3529) for the relief of Alexander H. Robertson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LILLY: A bill (H. R. 3530) for the relief of Joseph C. Holley, of West Hamlin, W. Va.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LINDSAY: A bill (H. R. 3531) granting a pension to Catherine Ahern; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3532) granting a pension to Elizabeth Gibson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3533) granting a pension to Joseph Worm, jr.; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3534) for the dredging and maintenance of Newtown Creek; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. LITTLE: A bill (H. R. 3535) granting an increase of pension to Gilbert E. Mayor; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LOGAN: A bill (H. R. 3536) for the relief of Sullivans Island, S. C.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McDUFFIE: A bill (H. R. 3537) for the relief of L. A. Scott; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3538) granting a pension to Anna Marie Higgs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 3539) for the relief of Christopher M. Ladd; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3540) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Grecian; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAJOR of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 3541) for the relief of Henry Shull; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3542) granting a pension to James A. Goodwin, to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MANLOVE: A bill (H. R. 3543) granting an increase of pension to Willis P. McCampbell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3544) for the relief of James Madison Brown; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3545) for the relief of John Wesley Richardson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3546) granting a pension to Mary N. McCullough; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3547) granting a pension to Martha Kailey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3548) granting a pension to Mollie F. Stinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3549) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Dyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3550) granting a pension to Eliza Reed; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 3551) for the relief of Fred E. Hamel; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3552) for the relief of Moses Chauncey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3553) providing for the commissioning of William A. Pearl and granting him immediately thereafter an honorable discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3554) for the relief of Frank D. Peck; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3555) for the relief of John J. Waters; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3556) for the relief of Herman R. Woltman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3557) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Holland, Mich., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3558) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Zeeland, Mich., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3559) granting an increase of pension to George Oatten; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MILLIGAN: A bill (H. R. 3560) granting a pension to Nancy J. O'Connor; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MILLS: A bill (H. R. 3561) for the relief of Herman Shulof; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MURPHY: A bill (H. R. 3562) granting an increase of pension to Alfred T. Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3563) granting a pension to Mary Orr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3564) granting a pension to Mary Sutton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3565) granting a pension to Maggie B. Brookbank: to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3566) granting a pension to Annie R. Twaddle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3567) granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Beavers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3568) granting an increase of pension to Rachel Everson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3569) granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Green; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3570) granting a pension to Martha Hutton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3571) granting an increase of pension to Mary Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3572) granting a pension to Maud Stevens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3573) granting an increase of pension to Sarah S. Badger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3574) granting an increase of pension to Josiephine Hoffman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3575) granting a pension to Helen Phillips; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3576) granting a pension to Thomas E. Cole; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3577) granting a pension to Clara Collins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3578) granting a pension to Mabel Wingar; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3579) granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Acton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NEWTON of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 3580) for the relief to J. H. Teasdale Commission Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. O'CONNOR of Louisiana: A bill (H. R. 3581) for the relief of Harold Kernan; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. O'CONNOR of New York: A bill (H. R. 3582) for the relief of August Michalchuk; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. OLDFIELD: A bill (H. R. 3583) granting an increase of pension to Nancy Halcum; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3584) for the relief of W. H. Nelson; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3585) granting an increase of pension to Bertha Fields; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3586) granting a pension to Bertha Oglesby; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3587) granting an increase of pension to Mary Rebecca Sellars; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PHILLIPS: A bill (H. R. 3588) granting a pension to Lizzie G. Chapman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PRALL: A bill (H. R. 3589) for the relief of the depositors of the Mariner Harbor National Bank, Mariners Harbor, N. Y.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. REED of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 3590) to correct the military record of Clarence G. Stonestreet; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3591) to correct the military record of William H. Primm; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3592) for the relief of G. W. Hayhurst; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROACH: A bill (H. R. 3593) granting a pension to Cynthia E. King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 3594) granting an increase of pension to Alice Parrigin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROGERS of New Hampshire: A bill (H. R. 3595) for the relief of Daniel F. Healy; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3596) granting an increase of pension to Lucinda M. Fuller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3597) granting an increase of pension to Augusta A. Fiske; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3598) granting an increase of pension to Mary F. Conway; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ROGERS of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 3599) granting a pension to Thomas Quirk; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ROMJUE: A bill (H. R. 3600) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Van Dyke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SALMON: A bill (H. R. 3601) granting an increase of pension to Amanda Monroe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SANDERS of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 3602) granting a pension to Elijah C. Waln; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3603) granting a pension to Marion Simpson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3604) granting a pension to Grace Dunn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3605) granting an increase of pension to David Phillips, alias Charles Gray; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3606) granting a pension to Sarah Loudermilk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SEARS of Florida: A bill (H. R. 3607) to provide for a survey of St. Augustine Harbor, St. Augustine, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3608) to provide for a survey of Fort Lauderdale Inlet, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3609) to provide for a survey of Melbourne Harbor and Inlet, Melbourne, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3610) to provide for a survey of Fort Pierce Inlet, Fort Pierce, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. SEARS of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 3611) for the relief of Edward Tigh; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3612) granting an increase of pension to Alfred G. J. Petersen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3613) granting a pension to Martha Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3614) granting a pension to Rachel B. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3615) granting a pension to Jane Hannan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SITES: A bill (H. R. 3616) granting a pension to Lucretia M. Prouty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH: A bill (H. R. 3617) authorizing the submission to the Court of Claims of the claims of sundry citizens of Idaho for damages sustained by reason of the overflow of their lands in connection with the construction of the reservoir to irrigate lands belonging to the Indians on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3618) for the relief of Nora B. Sherrier Johnson; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3619) for the relief of Erve W. Johnson; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3620) for the relief of C. R. Shaw; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3621) granting an increase of pension to Olive Robbins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 3622) granting an increase of pension to Huldah Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3623) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to John C. Peggs Post, American Legion, of Canton, N. Y., one German cannon or fieldpiece for presentation to the village of Canton, N. Y.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER: A bill (H. R. 3624) for the relief of James F. Rowell; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. STALKER: A bill (H. R. 3625) granting a pension to Susan Clark; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 3626) for the relief of Michael P. Galvin; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3627) for the relief of Albert E. Edwards; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SWEET: A bill (H. R. 3628) granting a pension to Anna A. Randall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SWING: A bill (H. R. 3629) granting a pension to Kittie M. Kennedy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3630) for the relief of Bertha Witt; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 3631) for the relief of Lewis H. Easterly; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 3632) granting a pension to L. A. Reagan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3633) for the relief of J. F. Huddleston; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 3634) granting a pension to Lucy Kelly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3635) granting a pension to Lonie Graham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3636) authorizing a survey of Bear Creek, in Kentucky; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. THOMPSON: A bill (H. R. 3637) granting a pension to Anna E. Best; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3638) granting a pension to Mary E. Brubaker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3639) granting a pension to Eliza J. Dick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3640) granting an increase of pension to Harmon E. Deck; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3641) granting a pension to William H. Linnabary; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3642) granting the distinguished service cross to Charles A. Musgrave; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3643) granting an increase of pension to Margaret I. Reider; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3644) granting a pension to Addie Sour; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3645) granting a pension to Catherine Swigart; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3646) granting a pension to Libbie Searing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3647) for the relief of Francis Grey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3648) granting an increase of pension to Elisabeth Brillhart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3649) for the relief of Charles A. Riley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VAILE: A bill (H. R. 3650) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Holtz; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. VOIGT: A bill (H. R. 3651) granting a pension to Emma E. Dye; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3652) granting a pension to Maud Monrean; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3653) granting a pension to Irene Sullivan Kehrmeyer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3654) granting a pension to Anna Maria Craig; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WASON: A bill (H. R. 3655) to restore Edward L. Bailey to the United States Army and to replace him on the retired list with the rank of captain of Infantry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WELLER: A bill (H. R. 3656) for the relief of Emma H. Ridley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WELSH: A bill (H. R. 3657) for the relief of Samuel A. Rixon; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WHITE of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 3658) granting a pension to Irene S. Slagle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 3659) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Morr[illegible]; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3660) granting a pension to Mary Carlin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3661) granting an increase of pension to Sarah H. White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOOD: A bill (H. R. 3662) granting a pension to Louisa H. Harter; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3663) authorizing the Treasurer of the United States to pay Catherine C. Schilling $599; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3664) providing for the payment of the findings reported by the Court of Claims in favor of Timothy C. Harrington for extra time; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3665) authorizing the Treasurer of the United States to pay Hattie McKelvey $1,786; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 3666) for the relief of Blattmann & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LAMPERT: Resolution (H. Res. 83) for the relief of Julia M. Spees, widow of David F. Spees, late messenger of the Committee on Patents of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. REED of Arkansas: Resolution (H. Res. 84) authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay, out of the contingent fund of the House, to E. M. McCullough and Theda Miller one month's salary as clerks to the late Hon. L. E. Sawyer; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. VARE: Resolution (H. Res. 85) providing for six months' salary to be paid to the widow of Arthur Murphy; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota: Resolution (H. Res. 86) for the relief of the widow of Carl G. Malmberg, late an employee of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. ROUSE: Resolution (H. Res. 87) to pay to Joe W. Morris $186.66 and Marguerite Free $120 as clerk hire to the late Hon. James C. Cantrill; to the Committee on Accounts.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

165. By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, urging that preference be given to the immediate passage of the Bursum-Fuller pension bill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

166. By Mr. BLOOM: Petition of the Rite Form Corset Co. (Inc.), 307 Sixth Avenue, New York, favoring reduction of taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

167. By Mr. BRIGGS: Information from the collector of customs at Galveston, Tex., district No. 22, setting forth data showing growth of service and commerce and indicating need for more adequate appropriation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

168. Also, letter from H. L. Roberts & Co., Hitchcock, Tex., urging repeal of tax on telegraph and telephone messages; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

169. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the American Legion, recognizing that our Government has an obligation to all service men and women to relieve the financial disadvantage incident to their military service, therefore reaffirm their belief in the American Legion plan for adjusted compensation and resolve to continue the fight for this legislation until it has been enacted into law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

170. Also, petition of New York State Federation of Women's Clubs that Congress pass such legislation as will amend the Constitution of the United States in order that the Congress shall have the power to limit or prohibit the labor of children; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

171. By Mr. FULLER: Petition of John R. Quinn, national commander of the American Legion, favoring the adjusted compensation bill for World War veterans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

172. Also, petition of the National Confectioners' Association of the United States, favoring repeal of the excise tax on candy; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

173. Also, petitions of the Scholl Manufacturing Co. and the Central Electric Co., of Chicago, the Chicago Association of Commerce, and the Illinois Dry Goods Association, favoring the plan of Secretary Mellon for reduction of Federal taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

174. Also, petition of Department of Washington and Alaska, Grand Army of the Republic, favoring increase of Civil War pensions to $72 for the veterans and $50 for the widows, regardless of age; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

175. By Mr. SHREVE: Petition of Crawford County Pomona Grange, No. 26, asking for the dispensing of collection and delivery on free rural mail routes on Christmas Day; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

176. Also, resolution of Auxiliary No. 89 to National Association of Letter Carriers for increase in salaries to letter carriers; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

177. By Mr. SINCLAIR: Petition of officers of the N. F. P. O. C., No. 157, Minot, N. Dak., favoring an increase in salaries for letter carriers and postal clerks; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

178. By Mr. SITES: Papers to accompany House bill 3094; to the Committee on Pensions.

179. Also, papers to accompany House bill 3093; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

180. Also, papers to accompany House bill 3092; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

181. Also, papers to accompany House bill 3091; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.