servance in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1142. By Mr. CURRY: Petition of the California Fish and Game Commission, protesting against enactment of House bill 17; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

1143. By Mr. FOSS: Petition of sundry citizens of South Lancaster, Mass., opposing compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1144. By Mr. FREDERICKS: Petition of sundry residents of Los Angeles, Calif., favoring House bill 98, Spanish War veterans' pensions; to the Committee on Pensions.

1145. By Mr. GALLIVAN: Petition of George R. Nutter, president the Bar Association of the city of Boston, 161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass., recommending early and favorable consideration of House bill 7907, to increase salaries of Federal judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1146. By Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee: Petition of the Mothers' Club of Greeneville, Tenn., opposing the passage of the pending educational bill; to the Committee on Education.

1147. Also, petition of the Cherokee Club of Greeneville, Tenn., opposing the passage of the pending educational bill; to the Committee on Education.

1148. By Mr. GLYNN: Petition of sundry citizens of Torrington, Conn., opposing compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1149. By Mr. KINDRED: Petition of Oscar Amann Post, No. 853, American Legion, asking for a modification of the Volstead law to permit the sale of beer and light wines; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1150. By Mr. KVALE: Petition of sundry members of the Minnesota Editorial Association, in convention assembled, unanimously urging the consummation of the St. Lawrence tidewater project in order to eliminate the transportation handicap now operating against the agricultural sections of the Nation; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1151. Also, petition of sundry members of the Minnesota Editorial Association, in convention assembled, unanimously urging adoption of House bill 4478; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

1152. By Mr. LYON: Petitions of certain citizens of Fayetteville and Cumberland Counties, N. C., protesting against the passage of compulsory Sunday observance bills H. R. 7179 and H. R. 7822; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1153. By Mr. MACGREGOR: Resolutions of the Buffalo Branch of the Polish Welfare Council of America, protesting against the annual registration of aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

1154. By Mr. O'CONNELL of New York: Petition of John J. Canning, of Brooklyn, N. Y., chairman of the board of directors of the Brooklyn Insurance Brokers' Association, opposing the Fitzgerald insurance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1155. Also, petition of Kenneth Fisk, recorder of the New York Commandery of the Naval Order of the United States, favoring the passage of House bill 9433, for the relief of Lieut. A. E. Metz; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

1156. Also, petition of the National Council of Business Mail Users of New York City, requesting action during the present session of Congress toward the reduction of present postal rates; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

1157. Also, petition of the Disabled American Veterans of the World War, favoring certain amendments to the World War veterans' act; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1158. By Mr. SWING: Petition of sundry residents of Hinkley, Calif., protesting against passage of House bills 7179 and 7822 and similar bills for the compulsory observance of Sunday; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1159. By Mr. TILSON: Petition of Robert H. Covert, New Haven, Conn., and others, protesting against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1160. By Mr. VINCENT of Michigan: Petition of numerous citizens of Ionia, Montcalm, Shiawassee, and Saginaw Counties, Mich., protesting against House bills 7179 and 7822, which provide for compulsory Sunday observance in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1161. By Mr. WEFALD: Petition of 45 residents of Roseau County, Minn., urging that the Sunday observance bills (H. R. 7179 and 7822), or any other national religious legislation which may be pending, be not passed; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1162. By Mr. WELSH: Petition of Branch No. 175, Knights of St. George, Tacony, Pa., consisting of 250 members, protesting against passage of Curtis-Reed education bill; to the Committee on Education.

SENATE

THURSDAY, *March 11, 1926*

The Chaplain, Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, as the recipients of Thy mercies, we come together this morning to thank Thee for past blessings and to trust our lives into Thy keeping for future responsibilities. Deal with us most mercifully. Thou knowest the drift of each heart and mind, and too often we choose for ourselves ways not agreeable to Thy will. Help us to look less and less upon ourselves and more and more unto Thee for guidance in the manifold duties granted unto us. We ask in Jesus' name. Amen.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Tuesday last, when, on request of Mr. JONES of Washington and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Bayard	Ernst	King	Robinson, Ark.
Bingham	Ferris	La Follette	Schall
Blease	Fess	McKellar	Sheppard
Borah	Fletcher	McLean	Shipstead
Bratton	Frazier	McNary	Shortridge
Brookhart	George	Mayfield	Simmons
Broussard	Glass	Means	Smoot
Bruce	Goff	Metcalf	Stanfield
Butler	Gooding	Neely	Stephens
Cameron	Greene	Norris	Swanson
Capper	Hale	Nye	Trammell
Caraway	Harreld	Oddie	Tyson
Copeland	Harris	Overman	Wadsworth
Couzens	Harrison	Pepper	Walsh
Cummins	Heflin	Phipps	Watson
Dale	Howell	Pine	Weller
Deneen	Johnson	Pittman	Wheeler
Dill	Jones, Wash.	Ransdell	Williams
Edge	Kendrick	Reed, Mo.	Willis

Mr. JONES of Washington. I was requested to announce that the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. KEYES] are absent because of illness.

Mr. HEFLIN. My colleague [Mr. UNDERWOOD] is absent on account of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-six Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6710) granting the consent of Congress to the State of Georgia and the counties of Long and Wayne, in said State, to construct a bridge across the Altamaha River, in the State of Georgia, at a point near Ludowici, Ga.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 1129. An act authorizing the use for permanent construction at military posts of the proceeds from the sale of surplus War Department real property, and authorizing the sale of certain military reservations, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 6710. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Georgia and the counties of Long and Wayne, in said State, to construct a bridge across the Altamaha River, in the State of Georgia, at a point near Ludowici, Ga.

WARM SPRINGS (GA.) FISHERIES STATION (S. DOC. NO. 80)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, with an accompanying letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation under the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries, for an auxiliary fish-cultural station at Warm Springs, Ga., fiscal year 1927, amounting to $30,000, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

ADMINISTRATION OF SHERMAN ANTITRUST LAW (S. DOC. NO. 79)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Attorney General, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 153 (submitted by Mr. KING and agreed to February 22, 1926) certain data with reference to cases insti-

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

tuted under each of the first seven sections of the Sherman antitrust law, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed

CARE AND CUSTODY OF THE ALASKAN INSANE

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, submitting, pursuant to the act of March 3, 1925 (43 Stat. 1181), recommendations relative to the advisability of the establishment of an institution for the care and custody of the Alaskan insane within the Territory of Alaska or in the United States, etc., which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Mr. BINGHAM., Mr. President, I am in receipt of a communication from the superintendent of the State Board of Fisheries and Game of the State of Connecticut with reference to Senate bill 2584, providing for the regulation of grazing upon the national forests and public domain. I ask that the letter may be referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, and I also ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD. I would call the particular attention of the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART] to the latter part of the communication.

The letter was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys and, there being no objection, was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE BOARD OF FISHERIES AND GAME,
STATE OF CONNECTICUT,
Hartford, March 3, 1926.

Hon. HIRAM BINGHAM,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BINGHAM: The fish and game commission had a conference with the sportsmen composed of delegates from various fish and game associations throughout the State, as well as some individual sportsmen—some 150 to 175 individuals—on February 16, 1926. This was one of our get-together meetings to find out what the sentiment is and to aid in conducting a campaign of education for sane conservation of wild life. The discussions were confined very largely to questions pertaining to the protection of wild life indigenous to Connecticut and the extermination of vermin, but incidental to all this there were some resolutions introduced and passed, among them the following:

"Whereas Senate bill 2584, introduced into the United States Senate by Senator STANFIELD, purports to regulate grazing upon the national forests and public domain; and

"Whereas said bill, if enacted into law, will, instead of regulating grazing, actually make regulation impossible and will in addition grant practically perpetual rights of use to large grazing interests on our national forests and public domain; and

"Whereas the experience of centuries in Europe and elsewhere, and more recently the experience in our West, show that unrestricted grazing is a great cause of game destruction and of deforestation; and

"Whereas 'rights' such as those which would be granted by the said Stanfield bill, if enacted into law, have long existed in European countries and have to be extinguished at great public expense wherever they existed in order to permit the proper practice of forestry and management of game: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting unqualifiedly condemn said Stanfield bill as being a most vicious attack upon our national conservation program, and that our representatives in the Senate be called upon to use their efforts to defeat it: And furthermore be it

"*Resolved*, That in our opinion any legislation concerning grazing which would in any way weaken the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture in his control of grazing on the national forests would be in the nature of an attack on our national conservation program."

There was also a discussion of the Federal migratory bird act following which this brief resolution was passed:

"*Be it resolved*, That this conference go on record as approving of such an act of imposing a Federal license on those taking migratory birds."

But the vote was not unanimous as it was with reference to the national forests and public domain. The objection to it was chiefly that the words "migratory birds" would include woodcock. I understand that the woodcock have been eliminated from the bill, and this commission indorses both of the bills involved in these resolutions and trusts that you will find it not inconsistent with your oath of office to stand with the commission and the sportsmen of this State on these questions.

Yours very truly,

J. W. TITCOMB, *Superintendent.*

Mr. OVERMAN. I present sundry memorials from trade associations, prominent citizens, tobacco associations, and cotton associations protesting against the Gooding bill, known as the long and short haul clause bill. I ask that they may be noted and indicated in the RECORD so as not to take up too much space.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I would like to inquire of the Senator from North Carolina whether any of those memorials are signed by people who are not citizens of the United States, or do any of the corporations have stockholders who are not citizens of the United States?

Mr. OVERMAN. They are all signed by North Carolina citizens. There are no foreigners among them.

The memorials were ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Telegrams in the nature of memorials from the following citizens, firms, and organizations in the State of North Carolina, protesting against the passage of the so-called Gooding long and short haul bill:

Chadwick Hoskins Co., of Charlotte; Fred N. Tate, of High Point; Carolina Wood Products Co., of Asheville; John L. Gilmer, president Winston-Salem Chamber of Commerce, of Winston-Salem; traffic bureau, High Point Chamber of Commerce, of High Point; North Carolina Cotton Growers' Cooperative Association, of Raleigh; W. J. King, president Wilson Tobacco Board of Trade, of Wilson; W. D. Adams, secretary and treasurer, the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, of Charlotte; W. L. Thornton, jr., of Wilson; and W. N. Reynolds, of Winston-Salem.

Mr. OVERMAN also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Vance County, N. C., remonstrating against acceptance by the Senate of the terms of the Italian debt settlement, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of members of the United States Capitol police force, praying an increase in salaries to meet the present-day cost of living, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. WILLIS presented resolutions adopted by the board of directors of the Columbus (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce, protesting against the passage of the bill (S. 1091) to repeal the act of May 22, 1918, and the act of March 2, 1921; the bill (S. 1427) to protect persons in the exercise of certain privileges and immunities guaranteed and secured by the Constitution of the United States; and the bill (H. R. 8538) prohibiting any course of military training from being made compulsory as to any student in any educational institution other than a military school, and amending accordingly the act of June 4, 1920, entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes,' approved June 3, 1916, and to establish military justice," which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CAPPER presented a petition of members of Franklin Relief Corps, No. 3, of Olathe, Kans., praying for the passage of legislation granting increased pensions to veterans of the Civil War and their widows, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Wichita, Kans., praying for the passage of legislation granting increased pensions to veterans of the war with Spain and their widows and dependents, which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BLEASE presented sundry papers in the matter of the claim of Samuel J. Leaphart, United States marshal for the eastern district of South Carolina, in connection with the transportation of certain special deputies appointed for the duration of the railroad shopmen's strike to and from Charleston, S. C., etc., which were referred to the Committee on Claims.

FEDERAL INHERITANCE TAX

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I have received a document entitled "Special report and recommendations on Federal inheritance tax measure" from the committee of speakers and officers of State legislatures. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMITTEE OF SPEAKERS AND OFFICERS OF STATE LEGISLATURES—SPECIAL REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON FEDERAL INHERITANCE TAX MEASURE

To the legislatures of all States in the Union and the people thereof:

We, your committee, appointed to safeguard the interests of the States in joint-tax levies and appropriations made by Congress, beg leave to report on inheritance-tax legislation and to make recommendations to State legislatures as follows:

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That State legislatures take no action that permanently commits them to the joint inheritance-tax levy plan enacted by Congress.

2. That Congress repeal that portion of the Federal inheritance-tax provision relating to State levies and reduce the Federal levy accordingly.

3. That State legislatures demand recognition by Congress in all joint levies, appropriations, and interlocking policies of Government before Congress legislates upon such matters.

4. That an estate tax is a property tax and is a source of revenue belonging to the State and should be abandoned by Congress and every legitimate effort should be made to accomplish that result.

The House measure carried a graduated inheritance-tax levy at a minimum rate of 1 per cent and a maximum rate of 20 per cent, but provided that death taxes of any form which had been levied by and paid to States might be deducted from the Federal levy up to 80 per cent of that levy. An exemption of $50,000 was given to each State.

The Senate bill repealed the Federal inheritance tax. A compromise was effected in conference raising the exemptions from $50,000 to $100,000 for each estate and accepting the House bill as so amended. This compromise, in our opinion, very greatly destroyed the practical effect of the measure in so far as it applies to those States now levying an inheritance tax, except a very few States where large units of wealth are concentrated, among them New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In these States the legislatures will have to raise their State inheritance-tax rates to 16 per cent in order to avail themselves of the credit due them on the large estates.

In all other States that levy an inheritance tax and where there are very few large estates no change in the present State inheritance-tax law would seem necessary. As we understand it, an estate in settling with the Federal Government is to be given credit for any amount the estate has paid to any State Government up to 80 per cent of the Federal levy. No special or additional legislation on the part of State legislature is necessary to secure this credit provided the present State inheritance-tax rates absorb the 80 per cent levy the Federal Government offers the States. The Federal Government exempts $100,000 estates and the initial levy made on a $150,000 estate amounts to a total of $500. These brackets cover most of the properties levied against in a majority of the States.

The Federal levy is against the estate as a whole and makes no distinction between close kin exemptions or provisions which all State legislatures recognize, and in accepting the Federal measure the State legislatures must surrender their basis of levy and conform to the Federal provisions in most all instances, as well as accept the basis and methods of appraisement made by Federal agents. These are matters for all legislatures to consider.

For your information and use in applying the Federal levy to your State we list below the amount of the Federal levy against each estate up to a value of $1,000,000 as submitted to us by acceptable authority. The proportion the Federal Government takes and the proportion it offers the States is shown separately.

Bracket	Value of estate	Amount of levy	Federal proportion	State proportion
1 per cent	[1] $150,000	$500	$100	$400
2 per cent	[1] 200,000	1,500	300	1,200
3 per cent	[1] 300,000	4,500	900	3,600
4 per cent	[1] 500,000	12,500	2,500	10,000
5 per cent	[1] 700,000	22,500	4,500	18,000
6 per cent	[1] 900,000	34,500	6,900	27,600
7 per cent	[1] 1,100,000	48,500	9,700	38,800

[1] $100,000 exempt.

The Federal act works a hardship upon those States that have no State inheritance tax such as Alabama, Florida, and Nevada, as well as upon all States that exempt close kin or apply a very much lower rate to near relatives than to remote kin. We question the constitutionality of the act.

Regardless of the legal status of the measure, we consider its provisions obnoxious to the public sentiment and an offense against State legislatures of the Nation. The object of the measure, as stated by its proponents, and the acknowledged effect of its operation, is not to raise revenue for the Federal Government but to regulate the taxing powers of the States. It is proposed to compel all States to levy an inheritance tax and to levy it at a rate and under conditions prescribed by Congress. Both procedures are a grievous invasion of the rights of States. We challenge the statement that it is in the interest of the public welfare that legislatures be forced to enact laws and the people be compelled to think and act according to mandates laid down by Congress.

The gift tax was repealed. It was passed in 1924 as a companion measure to the estate tax and for the purpose of preventing evasion of the estate tax.

As soon as developments warrant it, we will call a meeting in Washington of the speakers and officers of all State legislatures and adopt a definite program of procedure understood and approved by those most interested.

Respectfully submitted.

ARTHUR A. SHERMAN, *Chairman,*
President pro tempore Rhode Island Senate.
HUGH D. MERRILL,
Speaker Alabama Legislature.
EDGAR A. BROWN,
Speaker South Carolina Legislature.
FRANCIS P. CURTIS,
Speaker Maryland Legislature.
A. Y. MILAM,
Speaker Florida Legislature.

In session at the Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D. C., March 6, 1926.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. SWANSON, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 569) to authorize the transfer of surplus books from the Navy Department to the Interior Department, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 322) thereon.

Mr. PEPPER, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 2746) to correct the naval record of Charles David Gutheridge, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 323) thereon.

Mr. TRAMMELL, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 3269) to grant to the city of Key West, Fla., a tract of land belonging to the United States Naval Hospital at that place, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 324) thereon.

Mr. COPELAND, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 952) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to deliver to the State of Georgia the silver service presented to the United States for the battleship *Georgia*, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 325) thereon.

Mr. ODDIE, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 2033) to provide for the advancement on the retired list of the Navy of Milton F. Nicholson, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 326) thereon.

Mr. FERRIS, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to which was referred the bill (S. 1640) authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a national arboretum, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 327) thereon.

Mr. CAPPER, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 37) authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with Territories and other possessions of the United States under the provisions of sections 3, 4, and 5 of the act of Congress entitled "An act to provide for the protection of forest lands, for the reforestation of denuded areas, for the extension of national forests, and for other purposes, in order to promote the continuous production of timber on lands chiefly suitable therefor," reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 328) thereon.

Mr. MEANS, from the Committee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, submitted adverse reports thereon and moved that the bills be indefinitely postponed, which was agreed to:

A bill (S. 1352) for the relief of J. Block & Co. (Rept. No. 329);

A bill (S. 1353) for the relief of D. W. Fidler, Liberty loan subscriber of the National Bank of Cleburne, Tex. (Rept. No. 330); and

A bill (S. 2595) for the relief of Karim Joseph Mery (Rept. No. 331).

Mr. MEANS, also from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2335) for the relief of the Andrew Radel Oyster Co., reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 332) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 1792) for the relief of Chris A. Chulufas; William Alexander; Frank M. Clark; George V. Welch; Grant W. Newton; William T. Hughes; Nellie L. Tandy; Lucy V. Nelson; Frank A. Gummer; Charles E. Mulliken; Leo M. Rusk; Fred Falkenburg; Meary E. Kelly; William C. Hall; Rufus L. Stewart; Hugo H. Ahlff; Paul J. Linster; Ruida Daniel; Faye F. Mitchell; Dollie Miller; Alfred Anderson; Gustavus M. Rhoden; Marie L. Dumbauld; estate of Fred

Moody, deceased, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 337) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 1355) for the relief of J. J. Redmond and J. R. McNutt (Rept. No. 338);

A bill (S. 1729) to authorize the payment of an indemnity to the Government of Norway on account of the losses sustained by the owners of the Norwegian bark *Janna* as a result of a collision between it and the U. S. S. *Westwood* (Rept. No. 336);

A bill (S. 1731) to authorize the payment of an indemnity to the Government of Sweden on account of losses sustained by the owners of the Swedish steamship *Olivia* as a result of a collision between it and the U. S. S. *Lake St. Clair* (Rept. No. 335);

A bill (S. 1732) to authorize the payment of an indemnity to the Government of Norway on account of the losses sustained by the owners of the Norwegian steamship *John Blumer* as a result of a collision between it and a barge in tow of the U. S. Army tug *Britannia* (Rept. No. 334);

A bill (S. 1733) to authorize the payment of an indemnity to the Government of Denmark on account of losses sustained by the owners of the Danish steamship *Masnedsund* as the result of collisions between it and the U. S. S. *Siboney* and the United States Army tug *No. 21*, at St. Nazaire, France (Rept. No. 333);

A bill (S. 2594) for the relief of Odelon Ramos (Rept. No. 339); and

A bill (S. 3077) for the relief of John T. Wilson (Rept. No. 340).

Mr. BAYARD, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 108) for the relief of the Commercial Union Assurance Co. (Ltd.); the Automobile Insurance Co., of Hartford, Conn.; American & Foreign Insurance Co.; Queen Insurance Co. of America; Fireman's Fund Insurance Co.; St. Paul Fire & Marine Insurance Co.; and the United States Merchants & Shippers' Insurance Co., reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 341) thereon.

Mr. CAPPER, from the Commitee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 2483) for the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Alphonse Desmare, deceased, and others, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 342) thereon; and

A bill (S. 2484) for the relief of Louise Saint Gez, executrix of Auguste Ferré, deceased, surviving partner of Lapene & Ferré (Rept. No. 343).

Mr. STEPHENS, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2602) for the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Henry H. Sibley, deceased, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 344) thereon.

Mr. TRAMMELL, from the Committee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 496) for the relief of W. R. Grace & Co. (Rept. No. 345);

A bill (S. 1341) for the relief of John Plumlee, administrator of the estate of G. W. Plumlee, deceased (Rept. No. 346);

A bill (S. 1515) to extend the benefits of the employees' compensation act of September 7, 1916, to Daniel S. Glover (Rept. No. 347);

A bill (S. 1522) to extend the benefits of the employees' compensation act of September 7, 1916, to Harry Simpson (Rept. 348); and

A bill (S. 1555) for the relief of John F. White and Mary L. White (Rept. No. 349).

Mr. MAYFIELD, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 1651) for the relief of the widow and minor children of Ed Estes, deceased, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 350) thereon.

Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with amendments and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 2141) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment in any claims which the Assiniboine Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 351); and

A bill (S. 2868) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and enter judgment in any claims which the Crow Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 352).

Mr. CAPPER, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 4785) to enable the Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway Commission to complete the acquisition of the land authorized to be acquired by the public buildings appropriation act, approved March 4, 1913, for the connecting parkway between Rock Creek Park, the Zoological Park, and Potomac Park, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 353) thereon.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

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

By Mr. GOFF:

A bill (S. 3505) granting a pension to Sarah P. Cunningham; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3506) granting military status to field clerks, Signal Service at large, American Expeditionary Forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3507) granting a pension to Mary E. Lowe; and

A bill (S. 3508) granting an increase of pension to Rebecca M. Henderson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas:

A bill (S. 3509) to find markets and to provide credits for financing the exportation of surplus agricultural products, to authorize the payment of bounties on exports of agricultural surpluses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. SWANSON:

A bill (S. 3510) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Purcell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3511) regulating the purchase and sale of automobiles, automobile trucks, and automobile busses, and providing a penalty for the violation thereof; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 3512) granting an increase of pension to Lenora Lowell (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

A bill (S. 3513) granting the consent of Congress to the Wakefield National Memorial Association to build, upon Government-owned land at Wakefield, Westmoreland County, Va., a replica of the house in which George Washington was born, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 3514) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the payment of six months' pay to the widow, children, or other designated dependent relative of any officer or enlisted man of the Regular Army whose death results from wounds or disease not the result of his own misconduct"; and

A bill (S. 3515) to amend the retirement laws affecting certain grades of Army officers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3516) for the relief of Mrs. Charles D. Kicher; and

A bill (S. 3517) for the relief of Charity Blodgett; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CAMERON (for Mr. McKINLEY):

A bill (S. 3518) making eligible for retirement under the same conditions as now provided for officers of the Regular Army A. Richard Hedstrom, chaplain, an officer of the United States Army during the World War, who incurred physical disability in line of duty; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3519) granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Betterton (with an accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 3520) granting a pension to Laura Henry (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 3521) granting an increase of pension to William C. Wezel (with an accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 3522) granting a pension to Fountain W. Wayland (with an accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 3523) granting a pension to Catherine Becherer (with an accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 3524) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Keene;

A bill (S. 3525) granting an increase of pension to George Slifer;

A bill (S. 3526) granting a pension to Charles A. Evans; and

A bill (S. 3527) granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Beck; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ERNST:

A bill (S. 3528) granting an increase of pension to Nancy J. Keen (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WHEELER:

A bill (S. 3529) to amend section 215 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 3530) to authorize the President to take over anthracite coal properties in an emergency, to create the Federal anthracite corporation for the purpose of maintaining, operating, and controlling such properties, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. SHORTRIDGE:

A bill (S. 3531) granting an increase of pension to Estelle H. Reynolds; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 3532) to prevent fraud respecting securities offered for sale within the District of Columbia, to provide a summary proceeding therefor, to license persons selling securities in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. PHIPPS:

A bill (S. 3533) to provide for the better definition and extension of the purpose and duties of the Bureau of Education, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HARRISON:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 69) granting permission to Thomas P. Magruder, rear admiral, United States Navy, and Lyman A. Cotten, captain, United States Navy, to accept certain decorations bestowed upon them by the King of Italy; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 70) providing for the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the National Republic of Georgia; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

ELECTRICIAN SERGEANTS, FIRST CLASS, COAST ARTILLERY CORPS, RETIRED

Mr. SHORTRIDGE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2081) placing certain noncommissioned officers in the first grade, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT TO INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. KING submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 9341, the independent offices appropriation bill, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On page 30, line 12, strike out the period and add the following: "*And provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used to pay the salary of any member of the United States Tariff Commission who is presently holding office under a commission which was granted during the recess of the Senate and which will expire at the end of the present session of the Senate, unless said member in the meantime shall have been appointed a member of the commission by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, announced that on March 10, 1926, the President had approved and signed the following acts:

S. 1305. An act granting the consent of Congress to the highway commissioner of the town of Elgin, Kane County, Ill., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Fox River;

S. 2784. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across Black River at or near Jonesville, La.; and

S. 2785. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Ouachita River at or near Harrisonburg, La.

RELIEF OF CERTAIN WORLD WAR SOLDIERS

Mr. WADSWORTH submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 1343) for the relief of soldiers who were discharged from the Army during the World War because of misrepresentation of age having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Page 2, line 4, strike out the matter proposed to be inserted by the House and insert the following: "*Provided further*, That in all such cases the War Department shall, upon request, grant to such men or their widows a discharge certificate showing that the soldiers are held and considered to have been honorably discharged under the provisions of this act"; and the House agree to the same.

J. W. WADSWORTH, Jr.,
RALPH H. CAMERON,
MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

CARROLL REECE,
JAMES P. GLYNN,
LISTER HILL,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 197) to regulate the expenditure of the appropriation for Government participation in the National Sesquicentennial Exposition, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had concurred in the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6374) to authorize the employment of consulting engineers on plans and specifications of the Coolidge Dam, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 197) to regulate the expenditure of the appropriation for Government participation in the National Sesquicentennial Exposition was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 13) providing for the observance of May 15, 1926, as the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the passage of a resolution by the Virginia convention of 1776, proposing that Congress make a Declaration of Independence, and extending to the President and Congress of the United States an invitation to participate in a celebration at Williamsburg, Va., was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

RETIREMENT ANNUITIES

Mr. COPELAND. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article by the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. STANFIELD], entitled "Senator STANFIELD urges more generous annuities," which appears in the Washington Post of the 7th instant, and also an editorial from the Washington Post of the 8th instant, entitled "Economy in retirement."

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sunday, March 7, 1926]

SENATOR STANFIELD URGES MORE GENEROUS ANNUITIES—GOVERNMENT WOULD SAVE MILLIONS, HE DECLARES, BY AIDING OLD CLERKS AFTER YEARS OF FAITHFUL SERVICE

By ROBERT N. STANFIELD, United States Senator from Oregon

On May 22, 1920, the Congress passed an act for the retirement of employees in classified civil service. This act provided that in no case should an annuity exceed $720 per annum. The present law bases retirement wholly upon age. The ages are such that in effect the law really provides only for retirement through superannuation; that is, when the employee is unable to perform his duty with satisfactory efficiency. The annuity payments are so low that the employees appeal to remain in the service if able to work, and even when not well able to do so.

The cost of living is stabilized on a higher basis than was anticipated at the time of the passing of the present retirement law in 1920. Employees eligible for retirement plead to be retained and are retained even after they are not efficient, because their superiors recognize that to compel retirement will involve inflicting a hardship, due to the inadequacy of the annities which the law provides.

Many employees who have suffered serious loss of efficiency can not be retired because they have not reached the retirement age, so from a consideration only of the efficiency of the Government service the annuity should be increased, and, from the same consideration, the retirement ages should be reduced.

The amendment to the present law as provided for in the Lehlbach-Stanfield bills as introduced, provides for retirement after 30 years of service, regardless of age. The employees may remain in the service if they so desire until they reach the age of involuntary retirement, and after they have reached the age of involuntary retirement, they may be retained in the service if, in the opinion of their superiors, it is desirable and to the best interests of the Government that they should be retained. Thus the bills provide that the Government will not be deprived of valuable employees.

While the act of 1920 has been very helpful and accorded relief to thousands of retired employees—in fact, there have been retired something in excess of 13,000 employees, to whom was granted an average annuity of $551.64—the annuities have proven to be woefully inadequate. Only about one-third of the annuitants receive the maximum allowance of $720 per year.

It is difficult for men and women who have been receiving a salary of from $30 to $40 and more a week to adjust their lives at time of retirement to an income of $10 a week. We have given recognition to the inadequacy of the annuity scale as proposed in the law of 1920 by raising the salaries of Government employees since that time. For instance, we have twice increased the postal salaries, yet the salary upon which the maximum annuity is now based still remains at $720 per annum.

It is the duty of Congress to be seriously concerned as to what civil service pension retirement annuities mean to the taxpayers, but, in giving regard to the cost in dollars and cents to the taxpayer, Congress should and will keep in mind the humanitarian side of the question and the necessity for the Government's showing its appreciation for the long years of toil and service rendered by people who have given their lives and sacrificed what might have been their other opportunities in order to serve the Government. Then, too, Congress must realize the great saving that will come to the Government by relieving the pay rolls of the superannuated or disabled employees whenever their inefficiency reduces them to a standard where the service rendered is not fairly comparable with the salary received.

Mr. Joseph S. McCoy, actuary of the Treasury Department and a member of the civil service board of actuaries, in a letter addressed to me while I was chairman of the Civil Service Committee of the Senate, said, in part:

"In estimating the cost to the Government of retiring those incapacitated by age or by physical or mental disability, little attention has been given to the saving to the Government incidental to this retirement. No longer do we see physical wrecks—yes, and even mental wrecks—assisted to their offices and desks by dependent relatives, widowed daughters or daughters-in-law or by stalwart young negroes. No longer is provision necessary for invalid chairs to bring those unable to walk to their desks, there to doze the livelong day and bother their fellow employees."

Prior to 1920 this was a common sight. These incapacitated employees had given the best years of their life to faithful service. In their old age, with impaired health, energy, and mentality, they found themselves with no resources other than their meager salaries. Often not only themselves depended upon this salary, but, through misfortune, families of orphan grandchildren, widowed daughters, etc.

Very few Cabinet officers, or others in authority, were so cold-blooded as to separate these veterans from the service, knowing the result and consequences. Most of these old employees had at one time, through long and efficient service, reached the top of the ladder, so far as their respective offices were concerned. With failing powers, often due to their work, they were demoted, their salary being cut from time to time, until it was reduced from 25 to 50 per cent. Had those unfortunates been marked for efficiency, 50 per cent of them would have received zero marks; another 40 per cent from one-tenth to one-fifth of a perfect mark; and of the remaining, none would have received a good mark.

While under the provisions of the present retirement act this practice has been eliminated, it must be admitted that because of the low retirement annuity as compared with the salaries previously earned by many of the annuitants, together with the high cost of living, many who have even reached the high retirement age benefited by the retirement.

It is possible to make a close estimate of the gain to the Government through the present retirement act. The retired annuitants, instead of receiving an average of $1,400 per year in salary, are receiving $561.64 in annuity from the Government.

That is, the Government saves in salary an average of over $600 per year on every employee retired. Before retirement these employees cost the Government more than $15,000,000 per annum. After retirement the cost, as long as they live, is about one-half of this amount, or about $7,000,000.

According to the actuaries' statement, these employees were giving in return for the $15,000,000 paid them as salaries about $4,000,000 or $5,000,000 worth of service. So normally, instead of costing the Government, retirement will be saving it money. Those on the retired list will be costing the Government from $200 to $300 less per year than before retirement.

Retirement will weed the Government service of all inefficient employees and enable the employee to devote his undivided efforts to the Government, without continually thinking of the future and also of his dear ones' future to be guaranteed, and this at no additional cost to the Government.

The United States is proud of its record of being the first and most generous to help the hungry or afflicted in all parts of the world—Armenians, Greeks, Russians, German children, the Japanese—all of which is commendable charity and fills the headlines of the newspapers. On the other hand, this suggested way of helping those, together with dependents who have become incapacitated by long service for the Government of the United States, is not charity and practically without cost to the Government.

The proposed amendment to the present retirement law will increase the maximum annuity from $720 to $1,200. The maximum will probably be granted to those who have been in the service for 30 or more years and who have, for the past 10 years, received an average of $1,600 per year.

It does not seem likely that Congress at this time will pass a law granting optional retirement after 30 years of service without an age limit. Just what this age limit will be can not be determined until the board of actuaries can show what the cost to the Government will be, taking into account various age limits, but all are hopeful that the age limit can be very much reduced from that of the present law.

Subcommittees of the civil service committees of both the House and Senate are working on bills which they propose to offer within a few days to the committees for their consideration, and in all probability before the present Congress adjourns there will have been enacted into law amendments liberalizing the civil service retirement law along the lines that I have herein recited.

[Editorial from the Washington Post, Monday, March 8, 1926]

ECONOMY IN RETIREMENT

In reviewing the present Federal employees' retirement law and its proposed liberalization in Sunday's Washington Post, Senator ROBERT N. STANFIELD, of Oregon, coauthor of the bill, gives some valuable information and advances unanswerable arguments in favor of the bill. Senator STANFIELD asserts that to give the Federal employees larger annuities and to reduce the present age limit will improve the efficiency of the Government service immeasurably and actually result in saving money. He states also that a larger annuity is demanded because of the higher cost of living.

"Many employees who have suffered serious loss of efficiency can not be retired because they have not reached the retirement age, so from a consideration only of the efficiency of the Government service the annuity should be increased," says Senator STANFIELD, "and from the same consideration the retirement ages should be reduced." He adds: "The ages are such (under the present law) that, in effect, the law provides only for retirement through superannuation; that is, when the employee is unable to perform his duty with satisfactory efficiency. The annuity payments are so low that the employees appeal to remain in the service if able to work, and even when not well able to do so."

The amendment to the present law as introduced provides for retirement after 30 years of service regardless of age. Employees who have served 30 years may remain in the service, however, until they have reached the age of involuntary retirement, provided they are efficient. Many employees who have served the Government 30 years probably would avail themselves of the privilege of retiring under an amended law; but the number would be comparatively few, because thousands still strong and active would prefer to continue work for the higher salaries.

Senator STANFIELD quotes one of the Government actuaries as having said that a liberal retirement law will save the Government a large sum of money in increased efficiency by the weeding out of employees physically and mentally unfit to continue work. Yet they are forced to stay in office because the retirement annuities are too low to enable them to live, and Cabinet officers and other officials are not so cold-blooded as to separate them from the service.

Senator STANFIELD says that even under the present retirement act the Government saves in salaries an average of over $600 a year on every employee retired. Before the retirement law of 1920 was enacted these employees cost the Government more than $15,000,000 a year. After retirement the cost as long as they live will be less than one-half of this amount, or $7,000,000. This is explained by the actuary's statement to the effect that these employees were giving in return for the $15,000,000 paid them in salaries about $4,000,000 or $5,000,000 worth of service.

Senator STANFIELD's statement should be studied by every Member of both Houses. It is to be hoped that Congress will make retirement possible after 30 years of service regardless of age. It would not only be a recognition of faithful service but it would be economical.

POSTAL RECEIPTS

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no concurrent or other resolutions, the Chair lays before the Senate Senate Resolution 156, coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 156) submitted by Mr. HARRISON February 24, 1926, was read as follows:

Resolved, That the Postmaster General is directed to furnish to the Senate, at the earliest practicable date, a statement showing the postal receipts, by classes, for the period from July 1, 1925, to December 31, 1925, both inclusive, as compared with such receipts for the corresponding period of the year 1924, together with a statement containing such observations as the Postmaster General may be in a position to make relative to the effect on the volume of business and revenue received of the postal rates now in force.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I do not care to say anything in reference to the resolution if the Senate is willing to agree to it.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE TARIFF COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate Senate Resolution 162, which will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 162), submitted by Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas on the 6th instant, was read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance is hereby authorized and directed to investigate the manner in which section 315 (the flexible provision) of the tariff act of 1922 has been and is being administered. The inquiry shall have particular reference to the regulations and procedure of the Tariff Commission, the powers exercised and the functions performed by said commission, and to the institution, investigation, hearing, and decision of cases arising under said section.

Said inquiry shall also comprehend the agents and processes employed by the Tariff Commission in proceedings to ascertain the difference in costs of production in the United States and in competing countries, as well as the method of ascertaining which country constitutes the principal competing country within the meaning of said tariff act of 1922. The committee may inquire into any and all other facts, circumstances, and proceedings which it deems relevant in arriving at an accurate conclusion touching the operation and the administration of the tariff laws.

The committee may summon witnesses, administer oaths, hear testimony, and compel the production of papers, documents, books, and records in the possession of or kept by the Tariff Commission.

The committee shall promptly report its proceedings, findings, and recommendations to the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I offer the amendment to the resolution which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In line 1, strike out the words "the Committee on Finance" and insert in lieu thereof—

a committee composed of five Senators, three of whom shall be members of the majority and include one who is a progressive Republican, and two of whom shall be members of the minority, said committee to be appointed by the Vice President.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] is acceptable to me. I do not know whether or not I have the right to accept the amendment or to modify the resolution so as to include the amendment. The original resolution provided that the investigation should be conducted by the Finance Committee. The amendment proposed contemplates that a special committee shall be appointed to consist of five Senators, three of whom shall be members of the majority and shall include a progressive Republican, and two of whom shall be members of the minority.

The investigation would probably be more efficiently conducted by a special committee. It appears from the record of proceedings in other instances that when investigations are carried on by standing committees of the Senate usually one or two members of the committee are compelled to do all the work in connection with the investigation, but that when a special committee is created to conduct the investigation the work is usually more thorough and accurate. I indorse the amendment and shall support it, and if privileged to do so will accept it and incorporate it in the resolution.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, in the list of Senators as printed in the Congressional Directory the names of Republicans are printed in roman type, of Democrats in italics, and of Farmer-Labor Senators in roman capitals. How is it proposed by the Senators to determine who are progressive Republicans?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. There is not the slightest difficulty in determining that. If the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM] or any other Senator thinks the Chair has not sufficient information or intelligence to decide who constitute the progressive Republicans in this Chamber, I shall be perfectly willing to furnish the Chair with a list of Senators known by everyone to be progressive Republicans.

There is a sound principle involved in the proposal to give representation on this special investigating committee to the so-called progressive Republicans. There is not a Senator on the other side of the Chamber that does not know, first of all, that there would be included the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], who some months ago in this Chamber, in an address that has never been replied to, here disclosed the existence of a state of facts which not only warrants but makes necessary this investigation.

If the Senator from Connecticut prefers, I have no objection to the election of the special committee by the Senate; that course has been pursued; but I am entirely content to leave the selection of the committee under the instructions which are contained in this amendment and which the Senate has a right to give to its Presiding Officer, to the Chair himself. I know that in the appointment of a progressive Republican, as authorized and directed by the proposed amendment, the Chair would never do what the President of the United States has done in the selection of members of the Tariff Commission. I know that the Presiding Officer of the Senate would not select as a progressive Republican the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], for instance, or the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON]. I know that he would be limited in his selection of a progressive Republican to a list of Senators who are known throughout the country by reason of the position they have taken. They are just as well defined as are the regular Republicans and quite as well defined as are the Democrats. There is not any difficulty about that. The Senator from Connecticut need not worry himself on that subject. If this resolution shall be adopted, incorporating the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], the Chair will not have the slightest difficulty in selecting a Member of this body who is a progressive Republican to serve on this committee.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BINGHAM. If the Senator will consult the Congressional Directory, he will notice that in the biographies prepared by Senators themselves——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. No; I will not. I respectfully decline in this debate to take any notice of the eulogistic things that Senators say of themselves when they cause their biographies to be incorporated in the Congressional Directory.

Mr. BINGHAM. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield with pleasure to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BINGHAM. But I notice that only one Senator has put down after his name the words "Progressive Republican," and that is the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE].

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. That makes not the slightest difference to me, nor do I think it would raise the slightest difficulty in the mind of the eminent gentleman who presides over the deliberations of the Senate, if our proceedings can be called deliberations.

Mr. BINGHAM. But the fact remains that there is only one Senator who, on his own statement, can be included in the category, and that is the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator from Connecticut need not worry about that. The Chair will have full authority to make selections within the limitations presented by the resolution.

Mr. REED of Missouri. Mr. President——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED of Missouri. I want to suggest that probably the only person in the United States who does not know there is such a thing as a progressive Republican, who is a thorn in the flesh of the regular Republicans, is the Senator from Connecticut, though there may be some other citizens of that State who do not possess that information.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes, Mr. President. Public men do not always take the status in public opinion and in the eyes of others which they assign to themselves. It is not neces-

sary for one to go forth heralding himself as a "progressive Republican" to acquire recognition as such or before the country. As I have already stated, there is not the slightest difficulty about designating an able Senator who is a progressive Republican to serve on this committee. The difficulty exists only in the imagination of the Senator from Connecticut, and he has disclosed that his imagination is very fertile, indeed.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BINGHAM. Would it be in the mind of the able Senator from Arkansas that the mark of a progressive Republican would be that he always votes with the Democrats?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. No, indeed. The mark of a progressive Republican is that he looks with suspicion on the plans and proceedings and schemes and intrigues of the regular Republicans. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President——

Mr. BINGHAM. Would the Senator assume——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. JOHNSON. Perhaps it would be a Republican who followed Democratic leadership such as we have witnessed in this Chamber in two very important matters recently.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I never can find any objection to a Republican who is wise enough—sane enough, I may say—to follow Democratic leadership. My difficulty is in defining Democratic leadership. [Laughter.] The Senator will observe that I am being entirely frank.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Apropos of following Democratic leadership, I can remember very distinctly that it was only two days ago that several so-called regular Republicans followed the leadership of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN].

Mr. JOHNSON. Why, surely.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes; and I have not the slightest criticism to make of it.

Mr. JOHNSON. Nor have I; but in following it I have no doubt, according to the definition of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, that that would constitute these gentlemen progressive Republicans.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, until I learn which side of the question the Senator from California is on—whether he is supporting me or supporting the Senator from Connecticut—I shall not make any effort to reply to anything that he says. I base my support of this amendment on the proposition that it is sound, fair, and just.

There is in this Chamber and there is in the United States a strong sentiment which, to say the least, reflects the attitude of those who are not in complete harmony with the regular organization of the Republican Party, and yet who are Republicans, who align themselves with that political organization. They are known as progressive Republicans. That sentiment is reflected in the Senate of the United States.

There is a considerable group of the membership of this body who are entitled to be known as progressive Republicans. In my judgment most of them are a great improvement over the regular Republicans, although they are all in a degree bad. [Laughter.] But the justification for this amendment is that it will give representation on the committee to the various political elements which constitute the Senate of the United States. I think it is a fair thing to do.

The progressive Republicans in this Chamber represent a large geographical portion of the United States. They and their constituents are directly interested in the manner in which the tariff laws are administered and enforced; and there is not any sound, common-sense reason for denying them representation on special committees.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BINGHAM. In view of what the Senator has just said, would the Senator object to the Chair requesting each Senator in the body to state whether he is a Republican or a Democrat or a progressive Republican or a progressive Democrat? Would the Senator object to having the amendment broadened so as to provide also for the appointment of a progressive Democrat?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I do not object to anything that the Vice President chooses to do, and I am satisfied that if I did object it would make no difference as to his action. If this resolution passes, the responsibility will be on the Vice President to select the special committee created by the resolution. I am willing to leave it to him to do so, because I know that he never would appoint the Senator from Connecticut as a progressive Republican.

Mr. BINGHAM. I thank the Senator.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I know that he would appoint a member of the group in this body who, by their proceedings here and their utterances here, have earned the right to be called progressive Republicans.

Mr. BINGHAM. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield with pleasure to the Senator.

Mr. BINGHAM. Would the Senator have any objection to the amendment providing that one of the Democrats should be a progressive Democrat?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes. I have agreed to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah. The Senator from Connecticut may propose any amendment to that that he chooses, and as the amendments are offered I will reflect very readily my views respecting them; but I can not undertake to answer hypothetical questions.

Mr. REED of Missouri. That would be impossible, because all Democrats are progressive.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes; the Senator from Missouri is right, but we may admit that they are progressive in varying degrees.

I want to be fair and I want to be right about this. I want an investigation, in the first place, in which the Senate will have confidence. I might be willing that the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] should conduct this investigation and reach his conclusions; but I am satisfied that I am the only Member of the United States Senate who would consent to such an arrangement, and therefore I have agreed to the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING]. I should like to hear some one utter an argument that sounds in reason in opposition to this proposal.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I could obtain authority from the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BLEASE] to admit that he is being excluded from participation in this investigation.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I do not know upon what theory the Senator from Missouri assumes to speak for my friend the Senator from South Carolina. He can take his own time and his own method of explaining his assumption that he has the right to define the attitude of the Senator from South Carolina.

I am ready for a vote, Mr. President.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, ordinarily a resolution providing for an investigation would be referred to the committee to which any bill pertaining to the subject matter of the investigation would be referred. Of course, in this case that is the Finance Committee, just as the Senator from Arkansas provided when he introduced the resolution.

I am in full accord with the Senator from Arkansas and other Senators that this is a proper time to make an investigation of the Tariff Commission. I am sure no member of the Tariff Commission would object to it. If the Senate desires that the investigation shall be made by a special committee, that is with the Senate to decide, and whatever is the decision should be carried out.

I did intend to answer some of the charges that have been made and some of the insinuations that have been thrown out as to the appointment of members of the Tariff Commission, and as to its not being a bipartisan commission, as provided by law. I am going to take just a moment of the time of the Senate to call attention to the very first commission of six members that was appointed under the existing law, which provided that the commission should be a bipartisan commission. These were all appointments made by President Wilson. The members were Frank W. Taussig, a Democrat; Daniel C. Roper, a Democrat; David J. Lewis, a Democrat; William Kent, chairman of President Wilson's campaign in southern California; William S. Culbertson, a Republican; and Edward P. Costigan, who ran twice on the Bull Moose ticket in Colorado.

That is the kind of a "bipartisan" commission we had to begin with; and I might go clear down the line with every appointment made by President Wilson and point out what the political beliefs of the commissioners were. I am not going to do that, however, and I am not going to discuss at all now the question as to whether the commission has been bipartisan or progressive or Republican. What we want to do now is to go into this matter and make a thorough investigation, and I am quite sure that no member of the commission will object to it; and they have no right to object even though they might desire to do so.

Mr. REED of Missouri. Mr. President, I should like to ask, merely for information, whether the Senator means to intimate that a man who voted or ran on the Bull Moose ticket is not a Republican?

Mr. SMOOT. I am saying, Mr. President, that the first commission was not a bipartisan commission.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The Senator may call it tripartisan if he wants to.

Mr. SMOOT. The law says it shall be a bipartisan commission.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. But the Senator has not answered the question of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED of Missouri. I am curious about that.

Mr. SMOOT. I should say, Mr. President, that if William Kent ran the campaign of a Democratic President in the State of California, he is not a true Republican. That is what I should say.

Mr. JOHNSON. What is that?

Mr. SMOOT. I should say that if William Kent ran the campaign of President Wilson in the southern part of California, he is not a Republican.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Will the Senator state whether he would regard him as a good American?

Mr. SMOOT. We are not discussing the question whether or not a man is a good American. I consider that both Republicans and Democrats are good Americans. I consider the Senator from Missouri to be just as good an American as I am. I am a Republican, and he is a Democrat. I consider the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] just as good a Republican as either the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] or myself. [Laughter.] I meant to say just as good an American. Therefore, Mr. President, whether or not any man in this body is a good American is entirely aside from the question.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON. I may not have understood the Senator from Utah, but as I grasped what he said it was that he considered the Senator from California as good a Republican as the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] or the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT].

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, instead of saying "Republican," I had reference to an American.

Mr. CARAWAY. They are not synonymous.

Mr. JOHNSON. I wanted simply to thank the Senator for ranking me with such distinguished gentlemen, and I wanted to thank him, too, for his peculiar designation and characterization of the Republicanism of the different Members of this body. If he can designate the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] as a Republican, and designate himself the like kind of a Republican, and designate me as being just as good as each of them, I feel that he has paid me the highest possible compliment. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator that there is nothing which would give me more pleasure than to pay any compliment that it was possible for me to pay to the Senator from California.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I want to say for the benefit of my friend from California, who seems to be well pleased with this compliment or this alleged compliment, that the Senator from Utah has paid him, that as one of his friends I am beginning to get suspicious of him. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Nebraska will not destroy the serenity of the occasion. This is one of those charming occasions when we see the Senator from Utah, the Senator from Missouri, and the pariah and outcast from California all agreed. Now, let it go at that. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, if the Senate desires to have this investigation made by a special committee, let it so decide. My opinion is that it ought to be made by the Finance Committee.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, this is not the only amendment which should be attached to the pending resolution. I had intended to offer one, but have been out of the Chamber until just now. I have one on my desk that I desire to offer after the pending amendment shall be disposed of.

The only idea I have in regard to the pending amendment is what I get from its reading. If I had prepared it I would not have classified it as has been done, although I have no objection to anything if it will mean a fair investigation of what I think ought to be investigated. But I can not let the occasion pass without in a serious vein referring to some of the things the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] has said. What I shall say will apply not only to the Tariff Commission but to many other items of legislation which have been put through Congress during the last 10 years.

There is not much difference in human nature, after all. When we provide that a commission shall be composed of members representing different parties, and then give the President the appointing power, we have found almost without exception that if the President be a Democrat, he will select the Republican members of the commission from among those Republicans who supported him when he was elected to the Presidency. If he be a Republican, he will select the Democratic members from among those who either directly or indirectly supported him in his campaign for the Presidency.

When Bryan was a candidate for the Presidency, and a Republican President was elected, and had the appointment of members to this kind of a board, when he selected the Democratic members, he almost always selected Palmer and Buckner Democrats. The regular Democrats resented that. When Wilson was elected to the Presidency, and he had that kind of a board to select, he selected as the Republican members those who had supported him when he was a candidate for the Presidency.

I was a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Senate when the farm loan act was enacted, and at that time President Wilson was in the White House. It was provided in the law that the Farm Loan Board should be bipartisan. I opposed that provision of the bill when it was before the Senate, and said that it was not fair to the President and not fair to the country to have that kind of a provision in the measure. I am opposed to such a provision in any law we enact, because at best it never means anything, and if it is followed strictly, it results in a bipartisan board when the body should be a nonpartisan board.

I will never forget the discussion which took place when the nominees for the first Farm Loan Board came before our committee. The Democrats objected to some of the Democratic members whom President Wilson had selected. The Republicans objected to some of the Republican members. The only objection made on the part of the Democrats was that some of those the President selected as Democrats were not good Democrats, and the Republicans objected because he selected men as Republicans who were not good Republicans, but who, as a matter of fact, had supported President Wilson in the campaign.

There was one nominee from Iowa, I remember, a Republican, who was strenuously opposed in the cloakrooms and in the conversations, and perhaps he would have been rejected had it not been that the two Senators from Iowa, both Republicans, came to his rescue and defended him, although they admitted that he had supported President Wilson. But they said that did not make him a Democrat, that men went across the line occasionally, and that lopping over once would not make a Democrat of a Republican, just as was said about Palmer and Buckner men who were appointed on some boards. It was said that the fact alone that they had not supported Bryan, but had supported Palmer and Buckner, which was the best way to help the Republican candidate, did not make them Republicans.

I remember, after this discussion had gone on for some time in the Committee on Banking and Currency, and not a word had been said about the qualification of any man for the office to which he had been appointed, I asked the committee whether there was any objection to these men as far as their qualifications were concerned to fill the offices to which they had been appointed, and no one had any objection to any of them. The result was that they were all confirmed. But one of the great leaders in the Republican Party, now passed on, but in that day one of the leaders, in a conversation in the cloakroom, in discussing with other Senators the question then before the Committee on Banking and Currency—and I can mention this because if he were still here he would not object to it, being open and aboveboard about it, making no pretense about it—said, "We ought to see to it that the Republicans who are appointed on the Farm Loan Board are such Republicans that they will insist that we shall have our part of the patronage when that board comes to deal it out."

I mention these things only to show what runs through the minds of even great statesmen, to show that they are so imbued with a partisan spirit, which they have always had, and in which they are perfectly honest, that they think one of the great functions of government is to see that the offices are dealt

out to those whom they believe to be good Republicans, or good Democrats, and that the qualification for office is a secondary consideration.

I have heard the names of the members of the Tariff Commission mentioned. It so happens that for a long term of years I have known some of the men on the commission, as many of my colleagues have also. We are told that David J. Lewis, a Democrat, was appointed. I suppose every Member of this body knows David J. Lewis. Many, perhaps, have not had the pleasure of his acquaintance as long as I have. I served with him in the House, and of all the men I have met since I have been in public life, there is not a man, in my judgment, who has greater courage, more honesty, a greater tenacious ability to get at the truth and to get the facts than has Mr. Lewis. He is what we would call a digger. He goes to the bottom of any question he undertakes to consider. I think he is one of the best qualified men who was ever appointed to that commission. So far as I know, no man who has ever known him has ever said or thought or believed for a moment that in that place, or in any other place he might have, he would be moved by anything that he did not in the bottom of his heart believe to be his conscientious duty.

I would not agree with Mr. Lewis on the tariff, but would nevertheless just as lief give him the power to make an investigation as to find the facts in regard to any item contained in a tariff bill as to any man I know of. I would know that he would come back with the truth. He would not try to bolster up his ideas. He is eminently qualified for that position.

Then there was William Kent. William Kent was elected to the House of Representatives as a Republican. Party spirit never had much control, or any control, practically, over him. One of the first things I knew of William Kent doing was the delivering of a speech in the House of Representatives against the tariff on wool. He was elected and sat there then as a Republican. He had made and was then making money out of wool. He was a sheepman himself. He possesses the ability which enables him to try a case and sit as a judge where his own interests are at stake and yet do justice. Very few men possess that qualification. I think he is one of them.

Then there was Mr. Costigan. It is said now, in a sort of joking way, that he ran twice for office on the Bull Moose ticket and was appointed as a Republican. When President Wilson appointed him he did not suit the partisan men in the Republican Party. The President selected Costigan, who was designated as a Republican and who claims to be one yet, I think. I am not questioning that, but no man who ever knew Costigan, no man who knows him now, will think for a moment that Costigan in a public office, whether he got it from a Republican or a Democrat, could ever be moved one iota from what he believed to be the path of duty. He stands on that Tariff Commission to-day like a stone wall, defending the law, defending righteousness, and while many influences, some right from the White House itself, were being used to control the votes of the Tariff Commission he stood there unaffected, unafraid, and not discouraged. Costigan is another man who was eminently qualified for that place.

While I had nothing to do with the selecting of Costigan, while I had nothing to do with the selecting of any of the members of that commission, I do not care whether they are Republicans or Democrats or Bull Moosers, so long as they are men who have the ability and the courage to do their duty; and these men have done their duty. If President Wilson had always been as careful and had always been as successful in the selection of men for office as he was in this case, he never would have made a mistake.

Costigan, it is said, ran for office on the Bull Moose ticket. So did our friend Senator JOHNSON. Yet even the Senator from Utah says the Senator from California is a good Republican, as good as he is. Is that any disgrace?

Mr. REED of Missouri. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. REED of Missouri. Does the Senator think that the Republican Party could carry any State in this Union if it permanently barred every man who had ever voted for the Bull Moose ticket?

Mr. NORRIS. I do not think they would. I do not think they ought to. No Senator has a right to tell me what my politics shall be, and I have no right to dictate to anyone else. When this body or any other body undertakes to define a Republican or a Democrat or a Progressive, it is, after all, in deep water.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. BINGHAM. In view of what the Senator has just said, it would seem as though he would object, naturally, to the language of the amendment.

Mr. NORRIS. No; I do not object to it, and I do not care anything about it. If the Vice President should select all the members of this committee from the Democratic side, taking broad-minded men, who would do their duty in the investigation, I would not care. If he should select them all from this side, I would not care. Above all, he should not select anybody, whether he is on this side or on the other side, who would undertake to whitewash somebody for partisan political effect. That applies to every commission and every committee, and to every man, from the janitor up to the President in the White House.

If we would think less about party advantage, and a little more about the good of the country and the welfare of the people, who do not care a damn whether a recommendation comes from a Republican or a Democrat, just so it is right, we would get along better, we would have better laws, and we would have a better country and more happiness.

The party spirit which pervades everything and, if men happen to be Republicans, causes them to cover up what they believe to be wrong if it is done by a Republican, and, if they happen to be Democrats, to cover up what is wrong done by a Democrat, does not work toward good government and does not bring good government. A man here or in any other body, or on any committee or on any commission, just as a judge upon the bench, should not be moved by partisanship in any official action he takes or vote he casts. He has a duty that is higher than the duty he owes to his party. A party is nothing in the world but an instrumentality of government. There is nothing sacred about it. When we say, "This man did not vote for Mr. A, who was running for road supervisor on the Republican ticket, and therefore he is not a good Republican," the answer is that the man who makes that kind of a criticism is not a good citizen. I do not mean he is bad or wicked, or anything of that kind, but he is not as good a citizen as he would be if he could look above those things and let every man follow the dictates of his own conscience when the responsibility is upon him to perform an official act or to vote at an election.

Who else was it on the commission that has been criticized? Culbertson? Everybody, I think, concedes that he was Republican, appointed as a Republican, and now holds office as a Republican. I wish this committee would put Mr. Culbertson on the stand. He is another man whom I want to commend as being able, fearless, courageous, and honest, who did his duty on the commission as he understood it. He was met everywhere, from the beginning to the very end, with influences that I think were wrong, influences from the White House itself, as well as influences from elsewhere, to control his official action for a partisan reason. I will condemn that just as quickly if it be a Republican Party reason as if it were a Democratic Party reason. There is no doubt about those influences.

Culbertson had, on the one hand, a threat held out against him that he was perhaps going to be removed from office, because it was claimed that he had violated the law. On the other hand were various positions dangling in his face with no other purpose, I believe the evidence would disclose if all brought out, than to influence his official action on the Tariff Commission. He finally did accept an appointment. It has always been a question in my mind whether he ought to have done it, although it was a promotion. It has always been a question in my mind whether he did not yield to temptation. It would be all right under ordinary circumstances for a member of the Tariff Commission to resign and be appointed to a diplomatic position if that were his ambition, and that was Culbertson's ambition; but when it was done under the circumstances that he understood, and when he knew it was done to get him away from the Tariff Commission where he was doing work that did not satisfy members of his own party because he was following his convictions, I have always wondered whether he ought not to have had the stamina and the courage to turn it down.

A crown had been offered him before. He had pushed it aside each time. I would have thought more of Culbertson if he had pushed it aside this time. I can not criticize him for it. At least no man can criticize his work on the Tariff Commission, whether he agrees with the conclusions Culbertson reached or not.

His work will stand as a record forever in favor of Culbertson. He stood up at a time when it required courage to do it, and so did Lewis, and so did Costigan. There were three men during those trying times on the Tariff Commission who met

opposition and overcame influences which the majority of mankind perhaps would be unable to withstand. They made good. They still continued to do what they believed to be right, notwithstanding the demands made that they should submit their resignations, notwithstanding indirect threats that charges were made against them and that they might be removed from office, notwithstanding the allurements of higher positions that were kept dangling before them all the time. Whether one agrees with them or not is a different thing, and so far as this argument is concerned I care not anything about the tariff; but if anyone will consider these men under the powerful influences that were brought to bear against them and think of what they did, he will commend them. No matter what our opinion may be about the Tariff Commission we must have a love and affection for men who can stand up against such influences and do their duty.

Here was Lewis, a man who devoted a great part of his life to the public service, a man who came up from the most humble ranks of life, who worked his way—a laboring man. He finally got into the House of Representatives and served there, spending his time trying to bring about legislation favorable to the masses of the people, always standing for them. No party yoke ever controlled him when he saw his duty. He went out and continued to do it. He has not been able to save any money. He is now, comparatively speaking, a poor man, dependent upon his salary as a member of the Tariff Commission for the support of himself and his family. In that position his term expired and he was confronted with a proposition to submit to the appointing power his resignation. He knows what that means. No threat is made, but he is no fool. He knows enough of public life and he knows enough of human nature to know what that means. He knows it means an effort to control his official action as a member of the board, and he knows that if he would follow the wishes of the appointing power he can hold the office for another term.

Yet in the face of poverty, in the face of going out into the world without anything he refuses it and says he will not accept an appointment on those conditions.

Although he was reappointed, he knew then that his appointment was only going to last until a little while after election, and that is as long as it did last. Although he did receive a temporary appointment, his name never came to the Senate, and he went out into the world, giving up the position that meant more to him than language can describe.

That man is entitled to some praise and some commendation. The same thing can be said to a great extent of Costigan and of Culbertson. Costigan knows that he can not be reappointed. Costigan has even had the courage to say in public, talking about the Tariff Commission, that in his judgment there ought to be no appropriations made for it under present conditions until something is done to place it upon a square and honest basis. It means the abrogation of his own salary. It means that he must go out of public office. I have dealt with public men for a good many years, and it is very seldom that I have found one who is courageous and patriotic enough to be willing to give up his own place for the good of the country, for that means something as a member of the Government. So in my weak way I want to defend these men, not because some of them are Democrats or some of them are Republicans but because they are more than Democrats and because they are more than Republicans. They are American citizens who deserve the praise, the admiration, and the love of every American citizen in the country for standing up as they did under trying circumstances that come very seldom to any man, and they made good, even though they were confronted with such conditions.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I wish to say this for Mr. Culbertson. The German treaty was before the Foreign Relations Committee, and it was the desire to make it a model treaty for all commercial treaties in the future. The State Department sent Mr. Culbertson before the committee to present his views on certain provisions of the treaty and the necessity for our having the treaty.

Anyone who will read those hearings carefully and thoughtfully will realize that Mr. Culbertson is one of the ablest young men in public life to-day. He is not only able but he has courage. We were amazed at the information he gave us with reference to treaties we had with various countries that needed modification. Our relations with Great Britain by treaty were such that she was able to discriminate against us in all the territory outside of European waters, which really injured our trade. His statement was a revelation to the committee. He came before the committee as a representative of the State Department, and I believe was the ablest man they could send there to present their views on the commercial treaty with Germany.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, as I understand the pending resolution, there is absolutely no objection to the investigation. I think, in view of the many allegations that have been made, that it is very wise to have the investigation.

As to the personnel of the commission and the interesting discussion of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] in that connection, I have no comment. I do not know about it. The question that appeals to me is why there is any necessity to depart from traditional channels and precedents in naming a committee to make the investigation. The Finance Committee unquestionably is the committee that should consider subject matter of this character. The Finance Committee has in its membership representatives of both of the political parties as recognized and representatives who are thoroughly familiar with tariff questions and who, because of their service on the committee, are thoroughly familiar with the questions which would naturally be referred to the Tariff Commission.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an interruption?

Mr. EDGE. With pleasure.

Mr. KING. The Senator will recall that upon many occasions special committees have been appointed; for instance, the so-called Couzens committee, where we were investigating a matter that was purely within the jurisdiction of the Finance Committee, to wit, the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Government, and yet we appointed a select committee named by the Senate itself. We appointed a special committee to investigate the situation in Haiti. Many other special committees have been appointed. We took it away from our Foreign Relations Committee and named a special committee. I take it that the Senator is familiar with that fact. If I had a little more time, I could give the Senator a score of special committees that have been appointed.

Mr. EDGE. I am quite aware of that fact, but frankly I do not consider that a justification for a continuation of the policy. I believe in the orderly process of parliamentary procedure through committees appointed for specific purposes. The members of our committees, naturally, when they accept appointment on the respective committees, familiarize themselves with the responsibilities which would ordinarily go to the committees. I can not see the necessity for select committees on any subject that is already in charge, presumably, of some standing committee of the Senate. I understand from the remarks made by the chairman of the Finance Committee [Mr. SMOOT], although more or less connected with very refreshing humor at the time, that he is personally absolutely in sympathy with the investigation.

Among the minority members of the Finance Committee are the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] and the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] himself, both of whom have given a large part of their time in the public service to a study of financial responsibilities and financial problems. It seems to me if not a rebuff to the committee, at least a departure from the ordinary manner of conducting the business of the Government, for which there is absolutely no necessity. Here we are united in our determination and belief that the investigation should be made in order that the country at least may have the facts, whatever they may be. Why should we depart from the usual procedure in such matters?

I have seldom seen an important investigation like this where both sides of the Chamber were so united, and with that realization in mind it would seem all the less necessary to depart from accepted methods. I hope the Finance Committee will be recognized as it should be recognized, that it will be trusted as it should be trusted, and given the opportunity to make the investigation which seems to be so generally acquiesced in. The resolution as introduced by the able Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] provided originally for the investigation to be made by the Committee on Finance. The amendment suggested has apparently been an afterthought which to my mind, I repeat, does not seem to be justified.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, it seems to me that the pending resolution is a proper one to adopt to provide for conducting this investigation. If the investigation shall be intrusted to the Finance Committee of the Senate that committee will appoint a special committee to conduct it. The Finance Committee is too large to make the investigation. Should the Senate adopt the resolution it would simply do what the Finance Committee otherwise would do—appoint a special committee to carry on the investigation. I can see no reason why the Senate should not appoint a special committee under the circumstances, when the Finance Committee would appoint a subcommittee specially authorized to conduct the investigation.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Virginia yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. SWANSON. I do.

Mr. EDGE. Is it not the usual procedure when a subject is referred to a committee that a subcommittee of that committee is appointed to consider the subject matter?

Mr. SWANSON. I say that that is exactly what will be done by the Finance Committee should it be intrusted with the investigation. Under such circumstances that committee will appoint a subcommittee to conduct the investigation. Should we agree to the amendment to the resolution, all that we would do would be to let the Senate appoint a special committee of about the same size as a subcommittee which would be appointed by the Finance Committee.

Mr. EDGE. Should the amendment be adopted, all that would be done would be to take it out of the hands of the responsible committee of the Senate which is constituted for the purpose.

Mr. SWANSON. We should not be taking any special business from the Finance Committee with which it has been intrusted under the Rules of the Senate. The Finance Committee of the Senate could not conduct this investigation unless it were authorized to do so by the Senate. Should we adopt the amendment to the resolution, we shall not deprive the Finance Committee of any authority or any power or any right which it possesses under the rules of the Senate. What committee shall conduct the investigation, and whether this is the most effective way to accomplish the desired result, are questions for the Senate to determine.

I submit, Mr. President, that the resolution is in full accord with the precedents of the Senate. According to the precedents of the Senate, in the appointment of a committee of five, the majority of the Senate would usually be given three members, and the minority two members. That has been the usual practice.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield to me?

Mr. SWANSON. I yield.

Mr. BINGHAM. Was the Senator from Virginia present when the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] said, in effect, that the term "progressive," as used in the amendment, was a term which included all the Democrats and a certain number of Republicans? According to that statement, the amendment, therefore, actually attempts to put on this committee a fictitious majority composed of Senators whom we have no means of knowing by reference to any of our official documents.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, before the Senator from Virginia answers the question propounded to him by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM], based on what I am assumed to have said, it is necessary to point out the fact that his premise is incorrect.

Mr. BINGHAM. Then, I apologize to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. The proposed amendment is that a special committee of five shall be appointed by the Vice President, three of whom shall be Republicans and shall include one progressive Republican. There is nothing in the resolution that relates to "progressive" Democrats.

Mr. BINGHAM. I did not refer to that.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President——

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield to me?

Mr. SWANSON. Let me proceed. I will answer the Senator's question.

Mr. BINGHAM. May I ask the Senator from Arkansas a question?

Mr. SWANSON. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. BINGHAM. I am sorry I did not make myself understood. I did not refer to that part of the previous colloquy; but I did refer to the fact that the Senator from Arkansas, if my memory serves me correctly, said that all Democrats were progressive Democrats, and by using the term "progressive" in that sense and by——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. As a matter of fact, it was the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] who made that statement, but I concur in it. All Democrats ought to be progressive-minded citizens.

Mr. BINGHAM. Assuming that the Senator from Arkansas is correct—and I am willing to assume it for the purpose of the argument—in answer now to the argument of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] I desire to say that it is perfectly clear that it is the purpose of this amendment to create a representation for a fictitious majority party composed of all the Democrats and a certain number of Republicans, no one knows how many, for there is nothing in any of our documents that shows officially who are progressive Republicans, except that one Member on this side of the Chamber has specifically put himself down as a progressive Republican.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I heard the Senator make that statement about 10 minutes ago, and I want to reply to it, as I knew what the implication was in his first question. What are the real facts in this instance? By a combination or cooperation—I will make no distinction—between regular Republicans and progressive Republicans a majority of the Senate so constituted controls. No one denies that; no one disputes it. Every time the Republicans wish to make an excuse for not passing certain legislation which that party has promised the country, their excuse has been that the progressive Republicans and Democrats have united in preventing them from doing so. That is the usual excuse made where a regular reactionary majority exists in Republican States. The excuse is that the Senate is dominated by progressive Republicans and Democrats to defeat action by the Republican Party.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield to me?

Mr. SWANSON. No; I am not yet through. What does this resolution propose to do? It simply provides for the appointment of a committee to investigate the subject matter mentioned in the resolution, recognizing the actual conditions that exist in the Senate. What are the actual conditions which are admitted by everybody? That by a combination or cooperation of regular Republicans and progressive Republicans the Republicans have organized the Senate. In the resolution we propose properly to recognize that condition by providing for the appointment of two regular Republicans and one progressive Republican for the majority. That combination and cooperation gives the Republicans a majority. They know it; they can not deny it. The resolution as proposed to be amended is a recognition of that condition. The minority are Democrats. All the resolution proposes to do is to recognize the condition upon which the majority of the Senate is organized.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield to me at that point?

Mr. SWANSON. I will.

Mr. BINGHAM. But the only reason why there can be no denial of the remark which the Senator has said can not be denied is that there is no official list of progressive Republicans. If there were an official list of progressive Republicans, there could be no objection to the amendment, but the point which I make——

Mr. SWANSON. The Senator seems to have an idea that the Vice President has not the knowledge, capacity, and ability to go beyond an official published list. I know that he has a discerning mind; that he has an appreciation of the conditions in the Senate, and I am satisfied he will be able to select out of the 10 or 12 progressive Republicans in this body one to represent them on the special committee. If that one is not selected properly he can decline; he will know the situation; but the Senator from Connecticut wants to confine everything to an official list.

Mr. BINGHAM. Would the Senator object in that case putting into the RECORD at this point a list of those whom he regards as progressive Republicans?

Mr. SWANSON. I will name one whom I would be very glad to see appointed on that committee. I think the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] should be on that committee, and I know full well, unless the amendment shall be adopted, that he will not be put on it. If I had the power of appointment of the Vice President I would put him on the committee. He started the movement for this proposed investigation; he put facts before the Senate that entitle him to be on the committee; but I know an effort is being made to have the members of the committee appointed from the Finance Committee in order to prevent him from becoming a member of the committee of investigation. That is my frank, candid opinion of the situation, but the Senator seeks to disguise it.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, if the Senator from Virginia will yield to me for a moment I should like to ask the Senator from Connecticut if he agrees with the Senator from Virginia in that statement.

Mr. BINGHAM. The Senator from Arkansas has already denominated the senior Senator from Nebraska as a progressive Republican, and I was going to ask the Senator from Arkansas when I got the floor in my own right—and I say this in all seriousness—if there has been——

Mr. HARRISON. I suggest that the Senator from Connecticut has not answered the question I asked. I asked the Senator from Connecticut if he did not agree with the Senator from Virginia that the Senator from Nebraska should go on this committee if one should be named.

Mr. BINGHAM. Far be it from me, Mr. President, to dictate to the Vice President as to whom he should select. The point I am making in all seriousness is this, that this resolution refers to three types of Senators—Democrats, Republicans, and progressive Republicans. There is no question in anybody's mind, I assume, as to the Democrats, although if the Vice President should appoint from this side of the aisle certain Senators who in his inner consciousness he deems to be Democrats rather than Republicans, I can imagine the protest that would arise on the other side of the aisle.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President——

Mr. BINGHAM. Just a moment.

Mr. SWANSON. The Senator can speak in his own time. I heard him before. I would yield for a question, but I want to consume a few minutes in my own right.

Mr. President, I realize that there is a certain condition on the other side of the Chamber, and that condition ought to be recognized in the resolution. Senators are cooperating over there who do not like to say they are Republicans unless a prefix is put before the word "Republican." They say, "We are progressive Republicans"; they do not say, "We are regular Republicans"; they like to have a prefix before the word "Republican," so as not to be subject to a certain amount of suspicion that goes with the term "regular Republican." I think the resolution ought to recognize the conditions which exist in the Senate.

The Senator from Connecticut can not deny that the present majority of the Senate has control by the cooperation of a number of Senators known as progressive Republicans and the regular Republicans. Why should not the appointment of a special committee recognize the real condition that exists in the Senate rather than to be governed by the designations as set forth in the Congressional Directory?

Mr. BINGHAM. Why should not the official directory recognize it?

Mr. SWANSON. Every Senator describes himself as he sees fit in the Congressional Directory. That document was written at the beginning of the session, but since the session has progressed, since legislation has been put before this body——

Mr. BINGHAM. Have they become progressive Republicans since the beginning of this session?

Mr. SWANSON. Since the Republican Party has adopted policies against which some Republicans want to protest the progressive representation has grown, and it will grow larger in this country if the Republican Party continues the policies which it has espoused and puts through in the future the legislation which it contemplates.

Mr. President, the resolution proposes a fair recognition of the conditions existing in the Senate, a recognition of its organization, a recognition of the special conditions surrounding the control of the Senate by a majority. The resolution is fair and just in that respect. In addition to that, this is the only way by which the senior Senator from Nebraska, who is acquainted with this matter, who is earnest about it, and who brought it to the attention of the Senate and the country, can be made a member of the committee of investigation.

I am not suggesting to the Presiding Officer the course which he should pursue; but he has a right to appoint two Republican members of the Finance Committee and two Democratic members of the Finance Committee, and then the resolution as proposed to be amended will give him an opportunity to put on the committee the senior Senator from Nebraska, who I think ought to be on the committee if we are going to have an earnest, determined, full investigation.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator amend the amendment so as to carry out his desire?

Mr. SWANSON. So far as I am individually concerned, I should be very glad to put in the name of the senior Senator from Nebraska and leave out the words "progressive Republican," if the Senator wants that done.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, it seems to me to be a very serious point which has been raised here. Instead of having a bipartisan committee proposed in accordance with the party titles which Members accept when they come into the Senate and which they put into the directory, we assume a tripartite arrangement. There are certain Senators on this side of the aisle who seldom vote with those to whom the Senator refers as "regular Republicans." Personally I would have no objection whatever to the word "regular" being placed in front of my name in the directory. On the other hand, there are certain Senators on this side of the aisle, and I think I may say without contradiction that there are certain Senators on the other side of the aisle who regard themselves as progressives. They do not use the term "progressive" in front of the word "Republican" or "Democrat," but they might very properly be considered as progressive. Yet there is no means of knowing whether or not they would be properly included in this resolution. It seems to me to have a resolution referring definitely to "progressive Republicans," when there is no official list of them, is establishing an extremely dangerous precedent.

If the Senator from Arkansas, who accepted the amendment——

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BINGHAM. I will yield in a moment. If the Senator from Arkansas, who accepted the amendment, will read into the RECORD a list of those whom he considers to be "progressive Republicans," and they are willing to accept the designation, that is one thing; but if there is no list at all, it seems to me that it is an extremely dangerous precedent, and that the question should receive very earnest consideration. Personally I am in entire sympathy with the resolution as introduced by the senior Senator from Arkansas, and I have no objection to the amendment presented by the Senator from Utah, except that it refers to a party that does not exist here except in the minds of certain Senators. It would be perfectly possible, if it were not improper under the rules to mention Senators by name, to indicate certain Senators who consider themselves progressives and yet do not always vote with the senior Senator from Nebraska by any means.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. Would the Senator have any objection to the amendment of the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] if it provided simply that this investigation should be made by a special committee?

Mr. BINGHAM. None whatever.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator would be willing to support that amendment?

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. Not refer it to the Finance Committee, but have a special committee appointed, and have no limitation on the authority of the Vice President?

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. I am glad to hear the Senator say it.

Mr. BINGHAM. I will say to the Senator that I am in entire agreement with him—I hope he will not object to that—in his attitude toward bipartisan boards. Personally, I think that boards and commissions ought to be selected by the President in accordance with their ability, in accordance with their known integrity, and not merely because of certain labels which may be attached to them.

Mr. President, there is another point in connection with this amendment which seems to me extremely unfair. It expressly prohibits any representation on this committee of the only third party which is officially recognized in our records—the Farmer-Labor Party. Is that considered fair to that minority party?

Mr. NORRIS. How many members of the Farmer-Labor Party would the Senator like to have on this committee?

Mr. BINGHAM. I am not advocating——

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I should like to answer the Senator's suggestion. There is one Member of the Senate who is a member of the Farmer-Labor Party. There are something like 8 or 10 Members of the Senate, at least, who are recognized as progressive Republicans. As to furnishing a list, it is not difficult to do that. It would not only include the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], as I have already stated, but it would include the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. COUZENS], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], probably the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. FRAZIER], and the junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HOWELL]. It would include other Senators whom I do not take the liberty of naming at this time.

Mr. BINGHAM. May I ask the Senator why he will not name them?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. But I am amazed at the failure of the Senator from Connecticut to recognize the fact, after his very distinguished and otherwise intelligent service here, that there exist in this body a number of Senators who have earned throughout the United States recognition of the fact that they are progressive Republicans.

Mr. BINGHAM. The Senator has misunderstood me.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. No; I have not.

Mr. BINGHAM. I recognize their existence in this Chamber just as clearly as the Senator from Arkansas does.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Very well; then what is the Senator quibbling about?

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, what I desire to have put on the record is an official list of these Senators, if they are to be included in a resolution of this kind. There are certain Senators on this side of the aisle who seldom vote with the Senators mentioned by the Senator from Arkansas, who consider themselves progressive in every sense of the word "progressive," and who have a right to consider themselves progressive; but the trouble is that there is a special significance of the word "progressive," meaning a kind of political party.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me——

Mr. BINGHAM. I decline to yield at the present time.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Surely the Senator will not decline to yield for a question after I have yielded to him upon every occasion when he desired to interrupt me.

Mr. BINGHAM. I did not understand the Senator to ask a question.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. What I want to ask the Senator is, can he give any reason why, in fairness and justice, that element known as progressive Republicans in the Senate should not be represented on this committee?

Mr. BINGHAM. None at all, Mr. President.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. They originally combined their efforts to secure the passage of the so-called flexible provision of the tariff law.

Mr. BINGHAM. The Senator is using my time to argue, not to ask a question. In answer to his question I will state that I have no objection whatever to the progressive Republicans being represented on this committee, although I think it would be far better if the resolution provided that a committee of five Senators appointed by the Vice President should consider this question without regard to party. Since, however, the resolution has been presented in the form in which it has been presented, it seems to me it is impossible to use the words "progressive Republican" in the sense of a political party, when with one exception there is no Senator in this Chamber who bears that official label. Until that time presents itself it seems to me most unfortunate to use that expression in an amendment which excludes the Farmer-Labor Party entirely, and which attempts to label certain Republicans here, with or without their consent, as belonging to a third party.

I recognize perfectly well the existence of that group; and if the members of that group will furnish the Vice President or will put in the directory their labels as progressive Republicans, then no question can arise that we have three distinct parties in this Chamber, or four with the Farmer-Labor Party. Until that time arrives, however, it seems to me that a wording of that kind is entirely out of place in the amendment.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, before the Senator yields the floor may I ask him one question?

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. HARRISON. I desire to have his position made clear. As I understand, the term "progressive Republican" is so offensive to the Senator from Connecticut that he prefers, instead of writing it into this resolution, to write that the Farmer-Labor Party shall have one representative.

Mr. BINGHAM. Not at all. The Senator has misunderstood me.

Mr. HARRISON. I am glad the Senator does not take that position.

Mr. BINGHAM. I used the term in no offensive sense whatever, nor did I assume at any time that it was an offensive appellation. The point which I am trying to make, and which I am sure the Senator from Mississippi will get if he will listen but a moment, is that if we are going to refer to a section of the Senate as progressive Republicans, then an official list of them should be prepared, and it should not be left in the hands of the Vice President to determine whether or not I am a progressive Republican. Of course, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] has already clearly stated, and I have admitted, that I do not come under that appellation; but he has given the names of only three Republicans whom he does not consider as progressive. If he is perfectly willing for all the other Republicans except the three named to be considered as progressive, I have no objection; but I do object to the use in a resolution, under the same category as the words "majority party" and the words "minority party," of the term "progressive Republican," just as though we recognized in our lists those three parties on the floor.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the persistency with which the Senator from Connecticut continues to press his request that somebody shall prepare a list of progressive Republicans and submit it indicates to me that it is rather with the idea that he wants to classify some men over here in a class that will be different and perhaps in his estimation on a little lower level than the ordinary Republicans.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BINGHAM. I think the Senator has misjudged me. There is no question of a lower level.

Mr. NORRIS. Perhaps I have. I certainly do not want to misjudge the Senator.

Mr. BINGHAM. I trust that before the Senator gets through he will tell the Senate how the Vice President may determine, under the terms of the resolution, who are progressive Republicans and who are not, in all seriousness.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FRAZIER. Perhaps the Senator from Connecticut wants a list such as that in which the official organization on this side classed my good friend the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART] and myself. Perhaps they are intending to take further action along the same line, so that they can line up the rest of them in the same class as the Senator from Iowa and myself.

Mr. NORRIS. That suggests a new idea to me, and it leads me to take a different course and to talk a little differently from the way I intended to talk, because it would be an awful thing in my case if they took that action in reference to me. Perhaps, when the Senator from Connecticut gets this list that he wants the Senator from Arkansas to give, the next thing will be a conference of Republicans, and they will prove by the list given by the Democratic leader that I am not a Republican, and I will have to give up my committees and be classified with the down-and-outs who were put out in the cold about a year ago.

Mr. FRAZIER. At the bottom of the list.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not believe, however, that that is the object of the able Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BINGHAM. I thank the Senator.

Mr. NORRIS. Still, he must have some motive in trying to get this list. Does he want to get an education himself? Is it for his own information that he wants to know this, or is the inquiry based upon some other motive?

Mr. President, there is not any man here who can classify his fellow men.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

Mr. BINGHAM. Why, then, should the Vice President be granted that privilege?

Mr. NORRIS. Just wait until I get through. There is not any man here who can classify his fellow man as to his political affiliations. The man does not live, either here or elsewhere, who can do it always and not be mistaken. There is a line of demarcation that no man possesses the ability always to point out. On the other hand, there are those who stand out prominently in the Democratic Party as being regular and reactionary, and there are those who stand out in the Republican Party as being regular and reactionary—and I am using the word "reactionary" in no offensive sense—and others who are progressive, sometimes even called socialistic, though wrongfully, I think.

A man has the right to do that if he wants to; so that if we are only going to pick out a few, a blind man can pick them out. The Vice President can not always tell with accuracy just who is a progressive Democrat and who is a reactionary Democrat, or who is a progressive Republican and who is a regular Republican. Honest men will differ in many instances; but nobody would question the Vice President's judgment if he selected the Senator from Connecticut as a regular Republican. I say that with perfect respect to the Senator from Connecticut. Everybody knows that is where he belongs.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; and I hope the Senator from New Jersey is not offended because I did not include him in the class with the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. EDGE. Not in the slightest degree. I think my class is very well known. Does the Senator believe that any Member of this body would take offense if the Vice President should decide, for instance, that the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] is a progressive?

Mr. NORRIS. I have heard many people say he was progressive, and I have heard many people say he was not. You can take your choice. I am not going to decide the matter. I am going to leave that to my friend from Washington. He is not here at the moment; but he can make his own choice if he wants to, or make none. I do not care. It does not make any difference to me.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, the Senator believes it should be left to each individual?

Mr. NORRIS. It has to be. Who is it that told the Senator from New York, whom I respect, and whose judgment I respect in selecting his party affiliations, that he is a Republican? I can go down into the State of New York and get many men in that State to say from the mountaintops that there is not any difference between the Senator from New York and Governor Smith. [Laughter.] I can get thousands of people to say that as between the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] and Governor Smith the voter could shut his eyes and vote for either one, and the result would be just the same.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President——

Mr. NORRIS. I am not saying that. I do not claim that. I do not believe that, I will say frankly to my friend from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator is just repeating rumors that have reached him?

Mr. NORRIS. No; not rumors. Why, we hear politics in New York talked about all over the country, and how, if the Republicans nominate the right kind of a man—and it is often said that it is my good friend here—and the Democrats nominate the right kind of a man, it is only Hobson's choice, and it does not make any difference who is elected. That is true of all of us, I presume. That only demonstrates that you can not get a unanimous opinion as to the politics of anybody. I have heard the Vice President, who sits before me, denounced as not being a good Republican. I heard that in the campaign.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Then, as I understand, the Senator would leave it to each individual to decide for himself how he should be classified politically?

Mr. NORRIS. Why, yes; I would.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In that event would the Senator object to the Vice President considering me seriously for appointment on this committee as a progressive Republican?

Mr. NORRIS. I would not. If the Vice President wanted to appoint the Senator as a progressive Republican——

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from Nebraska would make no complaint?

Mr. NORRIS. I would make no complaint. I would simply disagree with his judgment and say, "Go ahead. I have faith that Senator WADSWORTH will do his duty." [Laughter.]

Mr. WADSWORTH. To use the hackneyed political expression, "Many of my friends are urging me" to announce my candidacy as a progressive for this place.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. Just wait a moment. The Senator has said something that I can not let go without noticing. I did not know that the Senator was a candidate for a position as a progressive.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not yet.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator's friends are talking with him about it?

Mr. WADSWORTH. They may urge me. [Laughter.]

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I will yield after a while, but I have not gotten through with this matter yet. Let me answer the Senator from New York first.

The Senator from New York has the bee in his bonnet to become a progressive candidate for office. Mr. President, if that gets out down in New York among the regulars, they will slaughter him before to-morrow night. He will not stand a ghost of a show to be reelected to the Senate.

Mr. BINGHAM. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. Not now. Just wait a while. If the Senator from New York is now thinking of becoming a progressive candidate for office, he might just as well hang his harp out on the weeping willow tree now as to wait until later, because down in Wall Street there are not very many progressive Republicans. The facts are, however, that if the Senator announces that he is a progressive, I am willing that he should designate himself so. It is perfectly immaterial to me, and I think he ought to have, and I think he does have, and is the only man who does have, the right to say how he shall be designated. There are many Democrats sitting right here in front of me now from Southern States with ideas that agree ninety-nine times out of a hundred with the ideas of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], but they are Democrats and he is a Republican. They vote together, they work together, even on tariff matters. But they designate themselves Democrats and he designates himself a Republican.

Down in the South one has to be a Democrat if he is anybody. I speak of that without any complaint. I think it is only the natural thing. I want the country to see and get the truth. After all, a designation, whether you call yourself this or that, does not change the nature of the brute. You may call yourself a Democrat and vote for all of the policies of the so-called faction of the Republican Party known as reactionary. The tariff is usually designed as the thing that divides men in the Republican Party from those in the Democratic Party, although I do not believe that is the only thing. I think everybody concedes that is one of the great points of difference. Just look at the faces here. Can the Senator from Utah and the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from New York and the Senator from Connecticut get together and bring in a tariff bill with a wall so high that it will give any offense to some of our brethren over on the other side? They will back them up in it in a minute.

Mr. BINGHAM. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. In a moment. They will back them up right away, and they do it honestly. I am not criticizing their action, but they are doing it as Democrats. Ninety per cent of this party business is mostly a fiction. Gentlemen talk about the division over here between progressives and reactionaries, and there is a division. There is no use denying the truth. Everybody knows that is the truth. I say that without any disrespect to anybody in either faction. But shall somebody come along and say that because there is that kind of a division you should meet in conference and put four or five men out of the party and say, "You are not Republicans"? Why should that be done? The men who helped to put them out themselves have been guilty, as far as supporting men in political contests is concerned, of supporting more Democrats than these men ever did all put together.

Mr. REED of Missouri. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. NORRIS. In just a moment.

Mr. REED of Missouri. I wanted to suggest to the Senator that it is nearly 2 o'clock, and I think we might apply cloture. We have talked on this question as long as we talk on international questions.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I digress long enough to say that I am opposed to cloture. [Laughter.] So I had bette give a practical illustration of my belief, possibly.

I have an amendment which I shall offer, the consideratiot of which will probably take some time. I have not the remotest idea that we can finish the consideration of this matter by 2 o'clock; and I want to have it concluded, too, because this resolution, or a similar resolution, ought to be passed.

Mr. REED of Missouri. Mr. President——

Mr. NORRIS. But speaking of the progressives, some have been kind enough, although some probably did not mean it as a compliment, to designate me in this debate as one who beyond all doubt was a progressive Republican. Yet what is the truth? The last time I was elected to this body I ran on the Republican ticket, and the Progressive Party nominated the man who was running on the Democratic ticket. So my opponent, a Democrat, had the progressive nomination in my State, and remained on the ticket and was voted for. Every straight progressive vote in that contest was recorded in favor of the Democratic nominee. I do not speak in criticism of that, because I think my opponent was a progressive, I think as good a progressive in his ideas of government as I claim to be. So what I say is in no sense a criticism. But it shows that the designation of me here as a Republican was the designation my people put on me when I was elected to the Senate. But the progressives went to somebody else. It only shows that we can not settle this question. It only shows that when we commence to classify this man and that man we run up against a stone wall.

But let me get directly to the amendment that is proposed.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, before the Senator gets to that will he yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I beg the Senator's pardon. I promised to yield to him.

Mr. BINGHAM. The Senator's point, as I understand it—and he will correct me if I am wrong—is that the designation of "Republican" and "Democrat" which is put in the directory is the one which a Senator assumes for himself?

Mr. NORRIS. I suppose so. We all put such a designation in the directory. The Senator put his in, did he not?

Mr. BINGHAM. Absolutely; and a Senator has a perfect right to designate himself as belonging to whichever party he considers himself a member of.

Mr. NORRIS. I think so.

Mr. BINGHAM. I agree entirely with the Senator on that point. But that does not meet the situation with regard to this amendment, the Senator will observe, because it assumes that

there are a number of Republicans here with a label which they have assumed and a number of Democrats with a label which they have assumed, and a number of progressive Republicans. Would the Senator assume that all those sitting on the other side of the aisle are progressive Democrats?

Mr. NORRIS. No; I do not think they are. The combination of the progressive Republicans and the progressive Democrats has been mentioned several times, combining to do their duty and on different questions arising, the parties dividing along different lines. We had an illustration not long ago of the reactionary Republicans and the reactionary Democrats forming a coalition and putting a tax bill across, which, to my mind, is one of the worst that was ever put on the statute books.

Mr. BINGHAM. I hope the Senator will realize that when he uses the terms "reactionary" and "progressive" he is applying——

Mr. REED of Missouri. Mr. President, I would like to know how long this filibuster can go on without calling for some action in the nature of cloture.

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut. There is no limit on the debate. Has the Senator from Connecticut a question to ask?

Mr. BINGHAM. Just a moment. The Senator was kind enough to yield, and the Senator from Missouri, without having the floor, interrupted.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. BINGHAM. The question which I was referring to was the Senator's remark regarding the number of reactionary Republicans and reactionary Democrats and the number of progressive Republicans and progressive Democrats. The Senator will admit that when he speaks of progressive Republicans he uses a term which those to whom it applies have chosen to use for themselves, and enjoy using, and regard as descriptive; will he not?

Mr. NORRIS. No; I will not. When I call a man a progressive Republican I do not consult him in advance to find out whether that term is objectionable to him. It might be. But I am assuming that he has classified himself, and I am not going to classify him, unless it is somebody who stands out so prominently in his ideas and goes so far toward the extreme, as does the Senator from Connecticut, that nobody has any doubt about it.

Mr. BINGHAM. That was just the point to which I desired to call the Senator's attention.

Mr. NORRIS. I have had my attention called to it several times. I have gone over it several times, and I do not want to take up the time of the Senate in going over it again. The Senator can do what he pleases. It is perfectly immaterial to me what he designates me. I am not going to be the judge of my fellow Senators. They can do their own judging. But when it comes to the selecting of a few without classifying everybody, then there can be no doubt about what we should do. Doubts come. For instance, I never had any doubt before that the Senator from New York was a progressive Republican, but I am beginning to wonder now. He has confessed that he is coquetting with the progressives, with the idea of becoming the candidate for office along that line, and if I had classified him as an old-liner, it might have been offensive to him, and I might not have known it. So we can not judge those things. But that has nothing to do with what is before us, not a thing.

Mr. BINGHAM. The word to which I objected was the word "reactionary." The Senator deliberately and specifically classified certain Senators here as "reactionary."

Mr. NORRIS. I told the Senator I meant no offense in that.

Mr. BINGHAM. That is not a fair description of Senators——

Mr. NORRIS. If the Senator will give me a name that is more agreeable, I will use it instead. Would he rather that I say "regular"?

Mr. BINGHAM. Constitutional——

Mr. NORRIS. Constitutional; all right.

Mr. BINGHAM. Senators who desire to stand by the Constitution.

Mr. NORRIS. Then I will designate the Senator from Connecticut as a "constitutional Republican," and I hope that in the next edition of the Congressional Directory the Senator, in writing up his biography for the amusement and edification and education of admiring multitudes, will classify himself as a "constitutional Republican."

Mr. BINGHAM. Will the Senator tell us whether, in his opinion, the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. DILL], on the other side of the aisle, is a progressive Democrat?

Mr. NORRIS. No; I have declined to do that, and the Senator can not lead me on to that uncertain ground. I have tried to be fair and tell the Senator the reason for my position, and I have been assuming all the time that the Senator was moved by the very best of motives and that he was not trying to put somebody in a hole. Now he rather indicates by his persistency, when he asks about this man and that man and this man's wife and that man's wife, that he is trying to get somebody onto dangerous ground, and he can not do that with me. He might just as well stop trying.

Mr. BINGHAM. The Senator misjudges my motives entirely. Here is a resolution offered which uses certain words, two of which are perfectly well understood, and we have official lists of the members of the parties indicated. The third is not understood. Do I understand that the Senator is in favor of the amendment now before the Senate?

Mr. NORRIS. I am going to vote for it unless it is modified by an amendment such as that suggested by the Senator. I would not object to giving the Vice President carte blanche without saying anything about politics, letting him appoint whomsoever he pleases. But I am opposed to the Finance Committee making this investigation, and that is just what I wanted to come to, but the Senator has been interrupting me for the last half hour. That is something that is before the Senate, which we have to pass on, and at the risk of being misunderstood I am compelled now to say something by which, I want to assure the Senate and I want particularly to assure my friend from Utah, I mean no offense. I say that, in my judgment, it would not be fair if this investigation were made by the Finance Committee. It would at once be considered in the country as one step in a whitewash. It might not be that. I have faith in the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT]. I believe he is conscientious, but his ideas about what should be done, even though he is conscientious, do not agree with mine. For instance, it would be disclosed by an investigation that this man Culbertson, a member of the Tariff Commission, was called into conference by the Senator from Utah, where the only persons present besides Mr. Culbertson were the Senator from Utah and others who believed in the sugar tariff and the attorneys for the various sugar companies. To my mind, that was out of place. I do not charge the Senator from Utah with any wrong purpose. I think he thought it was perfectly proper, but I do not think he ought to have done it.

Mr. SMOOT. Would it not be proper and right to say that before ever Culbertson went into the committee room at all I told him in my own office what they wanted and what they wanted to see him for?

Mr. NORRIS. All right.

Mr. SMOOT. It was in his hands to decide whether he would go or whether he would not go.

Mr. NORRIS. But the Senator from Utah invited him.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the resolution under consideration will go to the calendar. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The READING CLERK. A bill (S. 575) to amend section 4 of the interstate commerce act.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the further consideration of Senate Resolution 162.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the resolution is before the Senate and will be proceeded with.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, replying to the Senator from Utah, the conference came about on the initiative of the Senator from Utah. I want to repeat that, according to his theory of government and according to his theory of the Tariff Commission. I am not charging that there was anything wrong about it, but according to my theory there was, and I have to say so frankly or else be dishonest with myself. I do not think the Senator from Utah ought to be the chairman of the committee that would investigate the Tariff Commission. I do not believe the Senator from Utah, if the investigation is to be conducted by a subcommittee, ought to appoint the subcommittee that would investigate the Tariff Commission, and the country does not believe it either. I do not believe we can investigate the action of the Tariff Commission on the sugar question without investigating the senior Senator from Utah, and that is the reason why I believe the question ought not to go to the Finance Committee. It ought to be considered by an independent committee.

Mr. REED of Missouri. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Bayard	Fess	McKellar	Schall
Bingham	Fletcher	McLean	Sheppard
Blease	Frazier	McMaster	Shipstead
Borah	George	McNary	Shortridge
Bratton	Glass	Mayfield	Simmons
Brookhart	Goff	Means	Smoot
Broussard	Gooding	Metcalf	Stanfield
Bruce	Hale	Neely	Stephens
Butler	Harreld	Norris	Swanson
Cameron	Harris	Nye	Trammell
Capper	Harrison	Oddie	Tyson
Caraway	Heflin	Overman	Wadsworth
Copeland	Howell	Pepper	Walsh
Couzens	Johnson	Phipps	Watson
Dale	Jones, N. Mex.	Pine	Weller
Deneen	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Wheeler
Dill	Kendrick	Ransdell	Williams
Edge	King	Reed, Mo.	Willis
Ernst	La Follette	Robinson, Ark.	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The Chair understands that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] has accepted the modification of his resolution in the form of the amendment submitted by the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING].

Mr. NORRIS. In that case it is then in order to offer an amendment, which I send to the clerk's desk and ask to have read.

Mr. BINGHAM. Is there to be no vote on the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING]?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Arkansas accepted the amendment of the Senator from Utah as a modification of his resolution. The amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the end of line 7, on page 2 of the resolution, add the following:

The committee shall also investigate the appointment of members of said commission and report to the Senate whether any attempt has been made to influence the official action of members of said commission by any official of the Government or other person or persons, and, if so, what were the means or methods so used?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I want to say just a word in regard to the amendment. As the resolution was drawn I doubt very much whether it would be in order to go into the questions that have been raised on the floor of the Senate, for instance, in regard to the appointment of Mr. Lewis, in regard to the influences that were used to control, as I believe they were, the actions of Mr. Culbertson, or to bring into evidence the meetings that it is admitted took place between Mr. Culbertson and the attorney for one side of the controversy in the sugar case, the meetings held at the instigation or on the initiative of the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT].

It seems to me that no investigation of the Tariff Commission, especially as it pertains to the sugar schedule, the flexible part of the tariff law, ought to omit those things. There ought to be no doubt that the truth is going to be brought out. Either the charges are true or they are not true. If they are not true, that fact ought to be shown and the men who made them compelled to apologize or be driven from public life. If the charges are true, then it is due to those making them that they no longer be compelled to live under the slogan that has more or less gone over the country that they are doing something wrong in trying to injure their own political party. Therefore, it seems to me, the committee ought to be directly authorized to go into the facts and investigate those things which have been promulgated and charged on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President, I am heartily in favor of the resolution proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] and I am heartily in favor of having the investigation a most searching one into all the operations of the Tariff Commission. I have already served notice, so far as one member of the commission is concerned, who happens to be, or to have been, a resident of my State, that, should he be reappointed by the President, I shall most assuredly oppose, tooth and nail, his confirmation. But I think that it would be a mistake to adopt the amendment suggested by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS]. If we have an investigation we want, of course, as far as possible not only a thorough but a perfectly fair investigation. It seems to me the effect of the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska would be to suggest in the very beginning of the investigation the idea of partisanship. It is obviously aimed partly at the President in his relations to Mr. Lewis, one of the former members of the commission, and partly at the chairman of the Finance Committee [Mr. SMOOT].

If we are going to have an investigation, let us have one that will in every respect excite and justify the confidence of the general public. The amendment is plainly marked on its face by partisanship; and while I want the investigation just as searching, just as inquisitorial, and, I may say, just as merciless as possible, yet when its results are given to the public I want it to have been of such a character as to convey to the American people generally the idea that it had been fair and, so far as possible, nonpartisan, and that the conclusions of the committee are entitled to the very highest measure of respect. Therefore I shall be compelled to vote against the amendment submitted by the Senator from Nebraska, especially as the terms of the resolution are broad enough to comprehend its objects.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I would like to have the resolution read as it would read in case the amendment were adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read as requested.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution as proposed to be amended, as follows:

Resolved, That a special committee composed of five Senators, three of whom shall be members of the majority and include one who is a progressive Republican, and two of whom shall be members of the minority, said committee to be appointed by the Vice President, is hereby authorized and directed to investigate the manner in which section 315 (the flexible provision) of the tariff act of 1922 has been and is being administered. The inquiry shall have particular reference to the regulations and procedure of the Tariff Commission, the powers exercised and the functions performed by said commission, and to the institution, investigation, hearing, and decision of cases arising under said section.

Said inquiry shall also comprehend the agents and processes employed by the Tariff Commission in proceedings to ascertain the difference in costs of production in the United States and in competing countries, as well as the method of ascertaining which country constitutes the principal competing country within the meaning of said tariff act of 1922.

The committee may inquire into any and all other facts, circumstances, and proceedings which it deems relevant in arriving at an accurate conclusion touching the operation and administration of the tariff laws.

The committee shall also investigate the appointment of members of said commission and report to the Senate whether any attempt has been made to influence the official action of members of said commission by any official of the Government or other person or persons, and if so what were the means and methods so used.

The committee may summon witnesses, administer oaths, hear testimony, and compel the production of papers, documents, books, and records in the possession of or kept by the Tariff Commission.

The committee shall promptly report its proceedings, findings, and recommendations to the Senate.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Arkansas, has he indicated any intention of accepting this amendment, and I will make the same inquiry of the Senator from Utah.

Mr. KING. I have made no such indication.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, I have not said anything touching the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS]. My feeling is that the resolution as drafted would comprehend any fact or circumstances in relation to the operation and administration of the tariff laws and of the agents and processes employed in their administration, and that the amendment is not necessary.

Mr. WATSON. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS].

Mr. KING. I understand that the amendment which I offered has been accepted and now constitutes a part of the resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment offered by the Senator from Utah has been accepted as a modification of the resolution of the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. NORRIS. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

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

Mr. BAYARD (when his name was called). On this question I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED]. If the Senator from Pennsylvania were present, he would vote "nay." I transfer my pair with him to the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] and vote "yea."

Mr. BRATTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON]. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold my vote.

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. DU PONT].

I transfer that pair to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] and vote "yea."

Mr. KING (when his name was called). On this vote only I am paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. McKINLEY]. If I were permitted to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. OVERMAN. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. He being absent, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS] with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERRIS], and

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD].

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I transfer my general pair with the Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. EDWARDS] and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. BROUSSARD. I have a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES], who is absent. Not being able to secure a transfer, I withhold my vote.

Mr. STANFIELD. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. KEYES] and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. OVERMAN. May I inquire whether the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] has voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He has not voted.

Mr. OVERMAN. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] to the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] and vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 38, nays 30, as follows:

YEAS—38

Bayard	George	McNary	Shipstead
Blease	Harris	Mayfield	Simmons
Borah	Harrison	Neely	Stephens
Brookhart	Howell	Norris	Swanson
Caraway	Johnson	Nye	Trammell
Copeland	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Tyson
Couzens	Kendrick	Pittman	Walsh
Dill	La Follette	Reed, Mo.	Wheeler
Fletcher	McKellar	Robinson, Ark.	
Frazier	McMaster	Sheppard	

NAYS—30

Bingham	Fess	Metcalf	Stanfield
Bruce	Goff	Oddie	Wadsworth
Butler	Gooding	Pepper	Watson
Cameron	Hale	Phipps	Weller
Dale	Harreld	Pine	Williams
Deneen	Jones, Wash.	Ransdell	Willis
Edge	McLean	Schall	
Ernst	Means	Shortridge	

NOT VOTING—28

Ashurst	Edwards	Heflin	Reed, Pa.
Bratton	Fernald	Keyes	Robinson, Ind.
Broussard	Ferris	King	Sackett
Capper	Gerry	Lenroot	Smith
Cummins	Gillett	McKinley	Smoot
Curtis	Glass	Moses	Underwood
du Pont	Greene	Norbeck	Warren

So the amendment of Mr. NORRIS was agreed to.

Mr. BINGHAM. I desire to submit an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. The Senator from Connecticut proposes to strike out in the amendment suggested by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] and accepted by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] the words "and include one who is a progressive Republican," so as to read:

That a special committee composed of five Senators, three of whom shall be members of the majority and two of whom shall be members of the minority——

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I will state very briefly for the benefit of some Senators who were not in the Chamber at the time of the discussion——

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I rise to a point of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah will state it.

Mr. KING. I raise the point of order that the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut is not in order at this time. The amendment offered by the Senator from Utah, which was a change in the original resolution, was agreed to, and this is practically a vote upon the same question.

Mr. BINGHAM. The amendment was not agreed to. If there had been any question of the amendment being agreed to by anyone except the originator of the original resolution, I would have moved my amendment at that time. That is the reason why I directed to the Chair a parliamentary inquiry, whether the amendment as suggested by the Senator from Utah is now a part of the original resolution, and I was informed that it is.

Mr. KING. If I may be pardoned, while my amendment did not follow all of the parliamentary proceedings involved in the adoption of an amendment, the effect was the same as if the Vice President had formally submitted the question upon the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, if there was no vote taken upon the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah, if I was permitted to accept the amendment and incorporate it in my resolution, I think it would be fair to permit the Senate to vote on an amendment to it, because the effect of that action was just the same as if the original resolution had incorporated the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. KING. I submit the point of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair rules that the point of order is not well taken.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I should like to explain very briefly the reason for the amendment.

The resolution as drafted refers to two classes of persons—those who bear a party label, namely, those in the majority and in the minority, and those who have a distinction given them as a matter of opinion, a state of mind which the Vice President may or may not consider them to have entered into. Therefore it seems to me it is highly improper to combine the two things; and I have moved to strike out that part of the resolution which refers to the Vice President's opinion of the state of mind, and to leave it merely in the form in which it refers to those having a party label.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I understand that if this language is stricken out the Vice President's authority will be confined to the appointment of Democrats and Republicans.

Mr. BINGHAM. Members of the majority and the minority. If the resolution should be amended as proposed by the Senator from Cennecticut, there will be nothing in it to prevent three so-called progressive Republicans from being placed on the committee. It merely says "three from the majority party and two from the minority party."

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Mr. President, a few moments ago, when the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] was pending, I stated that I did not believe the amendment was necessary, because the language of the resolution was broad enough to enable the committee to investigate any subject connected with the agents of the Tariff Commission in the administration of the tariff laws or with the manner of the operation of the tariff laws. To have voted against the amendment, however, would have been construed by the committee itself as an instruction not to investigate the subject matter of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska; and that was the reason why I voted for the amendment.

The proposal of the Senator from Connecticut has the same principles applicable to it. The question has been raised here as to how this special committee shall be constituted. My purpose in accepting the amendment creating a special committee of five, instead of referring the investigation to the Finance Committee, was to make certain that the outstanding viewpoints reflected in the Senate touching the subject of the tariff and the administration of the tariff laws should be represented on the membership of the committee. For that reason I favored giving the progressive Republicans in this body representation on the committee.

To adopt the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut after the discussion that has taken place here, and strike out the words "progressive Republican," might very well be construed as an expression of opinion by the Senate that the progressive Republicans in this body should not be represented on the committee. I think they ought to be represented. I think they are entitled to representation and that the best interests of the country require that they shall be represented.

For that reason I shall vote against the amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President, just two or three words to call attention to the fact that it seems to me that there is a special reason why there should be a progressive Republican upon this committee. It is that the great States of the Northwest are mainly agricultural States and have a peculiar interest, of course, in the operation of the tariff. We all know that there has been a great deal of discontent in those States in relation to the actual workings of the tariff, so it seems to me that it is peculiarly proper that there should be a progressive Republican upon this committee.

I am bound to add, before I take my seat, as a result of my observation of this body, that, including the two Democratic

progressives in this body, if I may call them such, decidedly the most cohesive element in it is the progressive element. I think that the progressives in the Senate are as richly entitled to the character of a party as either of the other two elements in the Chamber.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I regard this resolution as one of considerable importance. I should like to see the Senate take no hasty action. I want to see a committee selected that will command the respect of the country, because I think they are going to have a very important task, and one that will attract a great deal of attention. Not only ought this to be a committee that will have the respect of the country, but it ought to be known at the time of its appointment that it is going to the bottom of whatever it investigates; that it has no ax to grind; that it has no political party to serve, but that it is going to get the truth, no matter where it may cause it to go.

There has been some feeling in regard to the matter. There is more than appears on the surface of the amendment that is pending now. As I said in the course of the debate, so far as I am concerned I am willing to leave it without any limitation to the Vice President, although I am going to vote against this amendment for the reason that since it is there, a vote any other way would be misconstrued. I believe it to be the duty of the Vice President, when he appoints this committee, as it would be his duty in appointing any other committee, to appoint in the first place a committee the majority of whom are in favor of the investigation. He ought to preclude any possibility that there is going to be a whitewash here, and he ought to preclude any possibility that it is going to be a committee moved only by disreputable motives, for the purpose of finding fault with somebody, or for the purpose of injuring somebody. It ought not to be either extreme; and when we think it over calmly everybody will agree, I think, to both of those propositions.

If the matter were allowed to rest just a little while, to cool off just a little, if Members would think about it and have consultations back and forth and have consultations with the Vice President, I think it would not be a difficult matter, and this committee would be appointed practically by unanimous consent, and it would be one that would command the entire respect of everybody here in the particular work it is going to have to do.

I would rather, myself, that we did not vote on this matter at once. Perhaps it can all be agreed to. If it is obnoxious or offensive to anybody to put such limitations upon the appointing power of the Vice President, I do not want to do it. I do not know any reason, however, why the committee to be appointed should not be composed of Senators who feel it their duty to make an investigation thoroughly, honestly, and fairly.

Before we vote on this question, Mr. President, I want to relieve the Vice President, no matter how this vote may go, of one responsibility that might be embarrassing to him. I can not help but feel that the motion probably affects me personally more than any other Member of the Senate. I would not feel that way if it had not been for the fact that in the course of the debate my name has been mentioned in connection with this committee. There is only one so-called progressive, and in the course of the debate my name has been mentioned a great many times by those who favor the resolution as one who ought to be on this committee.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. NORRIS. In just a moment I will yield.

There is another reason, Mr. President, that seems to me to relieve this question entirely of any bias or prejudice or ill will or bad feeling that may come. I was the Senator who brought to the attention of the country—not entirely alone, but perhaps more than any other Senator—one of the phases that this committee is going to be called upon to investigate. It has been charged hundreds of times in partisan newspapers over the country that in doing that I was moved by motives that were not honorable, and that I did it only for the purpose of injurying somebody, or finding fault with somebody; and very often it was said that I was trying to create trouble within my own party. If I was moved by anything of that kind I was unconscious of it, but I recognize that those charges had to come; and I am very anxious that this investigation shall start out without any possibility of a cloud on the committee that is going to make the investigation, because if I were put on it I realize that those charges would be made. It would be said, "Here is an unfair committee starting out," and an impression would be spread more or less all over the country that would affect the work of the committee, and interfere, to quite an extent, with its proper investigations. So I want to say now, before we vote on this question, before we know whether we are going to be in or out, for the benefit of the Vice President in case the resolution should afterwards be passed, that I will not accept a place on this committee.

The only reason why I hesitate to say that is because, as the Chair knows, I am declining something that as a matter of fact has not been offered to me, and perhaps never would have been offered to me; and in that respect it may be just a little embarrassing. I would not have mentioned it if it had not been so often referred to in the debate.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the wording of the resolution ought not to be offensive to anybody. I believe there ought to be that kind of a Republican on this committee. I think if we did not hurry too much we could perhaps agree on somebody, perhaps on the full membership of the committee.

I remember that the discussion on the resolution for the Daugherty investigation ran along here for several days, and before we came to a final settlement there was a unanimous-consent agreement as to just who the members of the committee would be.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM].

Mr. BINGHAM and Mr. McKELLAR called for the yeas and nays, and they were ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAYARD (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. REED]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. BRATTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. ROBINSON], and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. BROUSSARD (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as to my pair as on the previous roll call, I withhold my vote.

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as before as to my pair and its transfer, I vote "nay."

Mr. JONES of New Mexico (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], and vote "nay."

Mr. OVERMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. EDWARDS], and vote "nay."

Mr. STANFIELD (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. KEYES] and vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to announce the following pairs:

The senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS] with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERRIS]; and

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] with the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD].

The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 41, as follows:

YEAS—29

Bingham	Ernst	Metcalf	Stanfield
Butler	Fess	Oddie	Wadsworth
Cameron	Goff	Pepper	Weller
Couzens	Gooding	Phipps	Williams
Cummins	Hale	Pine	Willis
Dale	Harreld	Schall	
Deneen	McMaster	Shortridge	
Edge	Means	Smoot	

NAYS—41

Bayard	Glass	McNary	Shipstead
Blease	Harris	Mayfield	Simmons
Borah	Harrison	Neely	Stephens
Brookhart	Howell	Norris	Swanson
Bruce	Johnson	Nye	Trammell
Caraway	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Tyson
Copeland	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Walsh
Dill	Kendrick	Ransdell	Wheeler
Fletcher	King	Reed, Mo.	
Frazier	La Follette	Robinson, Ark.	
George	McKellar	Sheppard	

NOT VOTING—26

Ashurst	Fernald	Lenroot	Sackett
Bratton	Ferris	McKinley	Smith
Broussard	Gerry	McLean	Underwood
Capper	Gillett	Moses	Warren
Curtis	Greene	Norbeck	Watson
du Pont	Heflin	Reed, Pa.	
Edwards	Keyes	Robinson, Ind.	

So Mr. BINGHAM's amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is upon agreeing to the resolution as amended.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I want to call to the attention of the author of the resolution and to the attention of the Senate the fact that as the resolution was introduced the Committee on Finance was authorized to make the investigation. Therefore, no provision was necessary for the payment of the expenses of the investigation. The resolution provides that—

The committee may summon witnesses, administer oaths, hear testimony, and compel the production of papers, documents, books, and records in the possession of or kept by the Tariff Commission.

Of course, that will involve some expense, and that being the case, under the law, the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate must pass upon the measure.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I will move to strike that provision out of the resolution and will let the committee itself report a resolution making the authorization.

Mr. SMOOT. I was just about to ask the Senator which he would rather do. I do not want to hinder the passage of the resolution for a moment, but that matter will have to be taken care of.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I move to strike out the language commencing with line 8, down to and including line 11. I will state that it is expected that if the language shall be stricken out, the special committee, when it shall have been created, will report a resolution giving it the authorization necessary.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 8, to strike out down to and including line 11, as follows:

The committee may summon witnesses, administer oaths, hear testimony, and compel the production of papers, documents, books, and records in the possession of or kept by the Tariff Commission.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. NORRIS. I did not quite understand the Senator from Arkansas. He said that the special committee would report.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Yes.

Mr. NORRIS. He means the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, does he not?

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. No. In the regular course of events the special committee will submit to the Senate a resolution authorizing it to incur expenses in connection with the hearings, and that will automatically go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

LONG-AND-SHORT-HAUL CLAUSE OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT

Mr. WADSWORTH. I ask that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 575) to amend section 4 of the interstate commerce act.

Mr. GOODING. I ask unanimous consent that Senate bill 575 be temporarily laid aside.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

WAR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate resume the consideration of the War Department appropriation bill.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8917) making appropriations for the military and nonmilitary activities of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, and for other purposes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I ask that the Senate turn, in the consideration of the bill, to page 38, line 13. Through an error in printing the words "including necessary traveling expenses" are found on that line, and they should be stricken out, for that phrase, or its equivalent, occurs on line 9 of the same page in an amendment already adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WILLIS in the chair). The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 38, line 12, to strike out the comma after the word "validated" and the words "including necessary traveling expenses."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KING. I would like to ask the Senator from New York whether the two provisions found in the bill permitting the employment of certain experts at not to exceed $50 a day was approved by the Bureau of the Budget, and whether, if it was approved by the Budget, they took into account the certain effect upon other appropriation bills and the certain demand which will be made for the employment of so-called experts in all of the departments of the Government? I am asking for information and not by way of criticism.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, the two provisions found in this bill, one relating to the Army Air Service and the other to the Ordnance Department, are putting into effect a practice which has existed for some time and which was regarded as legal with respect to per diem allowances until the comptroller ruled that the allowances could not be paid in those amounts. This is for the purpose of validating in past payments made in good faith. My recollection is that the practice has the approval of the Budget. Its continuation excites no criticism or objection from the Budget.

Mr. KING. It will mean no additional expense?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not over what has been expended in the past. It is limited to $10,000 a year altogether.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the next amendment.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Medical and Hospital Department," on page 43, at the beginning of line 16, to strike out "$1,197,011" and insert "$938,255," so as to read:

For the manufacture and purchase of medical and hospital supplies, including disinfectants, for military posts, camps, hospitals, hospital ships and transports, for laundry work for enlisted men and Army nurses while patients in a hospital, and supplies required for mosquito destruction in and about military posts in the Canal Zone; for the purchase of veterinary supplies and hire of veterinary surgeons; for expenses of medical supply depots; for medical care and treatment not otherwise provided for, including care and subsistence in private hospitals of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, of applicants for enlistment, and of prisoners of war and other persons in military custody or confinement, when entitled thereto by law, regulation, or contract: *Provided*, That this shall not apply to officers and enlisted men who are treated in private hospitals or by civilian physicians while on furlough; for the proper care and treatment of epidemic and contagious diseases in the Army or at military posts or stations, including measures to prevent the spread thereof, and the payment of reasonable damages not otherwise provided for, for bedding and clothing injured or destroyed in such prevention; for the pay of male and female nurses, not including the Army Nurse Corps, and of cooks and other civilians employed for the proper care of sick officers and soldiers, under such regulations fixing their number, qualifications, assignments, pay, and allowances as shall have been or shall be prescribed by the Secretary of War; for the pay of civilian physicians employed to examine physically applicants for enlistment and enlisted men and to render other professional services from time to time under proper authority; for the pay of other employees of the Medical Department; for tuition of officers of the Medical Department, including the Army Nurse Corps, under section 127-a of the Army reorganization act approved June 4, 1920; for the payment of express companies and local transfers employed directly by the Medical Department for the transportation of medical and hospital supplies, including bidders' samples and water for analysis; for supplies for use in teaching the art of cooking to the enlisted force of the Medical Department; for the supply of the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark.; for advertising, laundry, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses of the Medical Department, $938,255.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Engineer School," on page 46, line 12, after the word "instruction," to insert a comma and "$29,835," so as to read:

And for travel expenses of officers on journeys approved by the Secretary of War and made for the purpose of instruction, $29,835.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I rise at this point to ask the Senator from New York a question, which does not, however, apply to this amendment at all. What provision is there in this bill for the buying of nitrates? I remember we had quite a large amount of nitrates on hand at some point in the West, and I do not know whether we have been buying any for the Army since. Can the Senator give me any information about that?

Mr. WADSWORTH. In reply to the inquiry of the Senator from Tennessee let me say that there is no direct appropriation in this bill for the purchase of nitrates for the Army.

Mr. McKELLAR. We still have a supply on hand from that accumulated during the war?

Mr. WADSWORTH. We have. The appropriation in this bill will make possible the manufacture of small-arms ammunition to a certain extent, very limited, and also for certain

types of ammunition for field artillery, the surplus of which has been exhausted. Of course, the manufacture of ammunition involves the use of nitrates, but there is no provision in this bill for the purchase of any raw nitrate.

Mr. McKELLAR. Can the Senator give me any information about the average cost of nitrates per year, or the average amount used in tons?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No; I could not. We have been manufacturing so little ammunition in the last four or five years, since the war, that the amount would be negligible. We have been using the surplus of ammunition, and it is only in this last year that certain types of ammunition, just a few types, which have been carried in reserve, have been exhausted, and this bill permits the replenishment of the reserves by a small appropriation.

Mr. McKELLAR. My recollection is, from information received during the time I served on the Military Affairs Committee with the Senator from New York, that after the war we stored a very large amount of nitrates at some points in Iowa, I have forgotten just where, and I suppose we have been drawing on those reserves for some time. I was wondering whether any of it was still left.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Oh, yes; there is some left. I think it is at Ogden, Utah. I am not certain, but I think so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment on line 12, page 46.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next amendment will be stated.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Engineer School," on page 46, at the end of line 18, to strike out the comma and "$29,835," so as to read:

Provided further, That section 3648, Revised Statutes, shall not apply to subscriptions for foreign and professional newspapers and periodicals to be paid for from this appropriation.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Seacoast defenses, United States," on page 48, line 22, after the figures "$200,000," to insert: "and in addition thereto the sum of $100,000 of the unexpended balances of the appropriation for 'Arming, equipping, and training the National Guard, 1923,' and reappropriated for 1925, is hereby reappropriated and made available for the fiscal year 1927, for the purposes named in this paragraph," so as to read:

For protection, preservation, and repair of fortifications for which there may be no special appropriation available, and of structures for the submarine-mine defense of the United States and for maintaining channels for access to submarine mine wharves, $200,000, and in addition thereto the sum of $100,000 of the unexpended balances of the appropriation for "Arming, equipping, and training the National Guard, 1923," and reappropriated for 1925, is hereby reappropriated and made available for the fiscal year 1927, for the purposes named in this paragraph.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Seacoast defenses, Panama Canal," on page 50, line 6, after the figures "$100,000," to insert: "and in addition thereto the sum of $400,000 of the unexpended balances of the appropriation for 'Arming, equipping, and training the National Guard, 1924,' is hereby reappropriated and made available for the fiscal year 1927, for the purposes named in this paragraph," so as to make the paragraph read:

For preparation of plans for fortifications and other works of defense, including surveys for roads, Canal Zone, $3,000.

For the construction of seacoast batteries on the Canal Zone for defense of the Panama Canal, $100,000, and in addition thereto the sum of $400,000 of the unexpended balances of the appropriation for "Arming, equipping, and training the National Guard, 1924," is hereby reappropriated and made available for the fiscal year 1927, for the purposes named in this paragraph.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator in charge of the bill whether he can say why the amounts were not spent last year for the National Guard? I see they are reappropriated, both the amount on page 50 and the amount on page 48.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That was not last year's appropriation. It was an appropriation of the previous year, 1924, as the Senator will see by the wording of the amendment. The explanation given to the committee was that the recruiting of the guard and its enlargement had been halted during that fiscal year, with the result that it did not require the entire appropriation to arm and equip it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I was interested because of the situation in the National Guard in my own State. I was informed by the department that they did not have the money. I notice that the appropriation was for 1924 instead of 1925, but I imagine, if they had the sums which seem to have been appropriated in previous years, they could easily have gotten authority for making the appropriations available for succeeding years to build up the National Guard.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I may say to the Senator that it is extraordinarily difficult to make in advance an accurate estimate of the cost of the National Guard for any one year. It fluctuates in its strength, and the recognition of new units brings in variable elements of expenditure, so that, so far as my experience teaches me, we have never yet had a really accurate estimate of just what the guard is going to cost. We come pretty close to it, but occasionally we incur a deficit and occasionally we find ourselves with a surplus.

Mr. McKELLAR. How does this appropriation, including appropriations made this year and reappropriation of the amounts appropriated for 1924, compare with the amount that was appropriated last year?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The appropriation carried in the bill for the support of the National Guard for the next fiscal year is larger than the appropriation for the current year.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does the Senator recall about how much larger it is?

Mr. WADSWORTH. About $1,000,000 larger. It will permit the guard to maintain an average strength of about 185,000 men. The increase is largely due to the fact that the surplus of arms, uniforms, and equipment in the hands of the War Department, upon which the guard has been drawing from time to time, is approaching exhaustion, so that the item for arming and equipping the National Guard as carried in the bill has had to be increased over the corresponding item for the present fiscal year. In other words, we can not live on our fat much longer. We must go into the market and buy.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I think one explanation of the surplus is that there were not as many drills as they expected there would be during that year, and therefore they did not need quite as much money as was appropriated. There was a falling off in the number of drills.

Mr. WADSWORTH. For the purpose of the record and for the information of those Senators who are present and interested in the matter, I desire to make a brief statement concerning the amendment on page 50. It will be seen that the House bill carries an appropriation of $100,000 for the construction of seacoast batteries on the Canal Zone for defense of the Panama Canal. The Senate committee proposes that $400,000 be added to that amount out of the unexpended balances which the Senator from Tennessee and I have just been discussing. Here is the situation:

By previous acts of Congress appropriations were made for the purpose of at least starting the work. On the Pacific side of the Canal Zone, at or near the Pacific entrance to the canal, the War Department has been erecting four 16-inch gun batteries. Those guns are the last word in heavy artillery, with a range which certainly is equal to and probably excels that of any other gun. The engineers build the emplacements for guns, and it will be noticed that the appropriation comes under the head of the Engineer Corps. To build the emplacements for the four guns, with their magazines and all the machinery to operate them, is quite an undertaking and will cost about $1,100,000.

The four guns themselves are ready. Two of them are actually in place in improvised emplacements. Three of the carriages to support the four guns are ready and the fourth is being manufactured and will be finished shortly. But with an annual appropriation of only $100,000 to build an emplacement which will cost $1,100,000, it will take 11 years to build the emplacements in which these guns are to be used. Your committee thought that was not true economy. If we are to have the guns, and we have them, and the carriages, and we will have all the carriages in a few months, we might as well place the guns. Therefore the committee added $400,000 of the unexpended balance to the House appropriation and Budget estimate of $100,000 to expedite the completion of the emplacements.

Mr. McKELLAR. How long will it take to complete them?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The emplacements could be done in about a year and a half if the Engineer Corps had the money, but it will take 11 years at the rate the appropriations are proposed by the Budget and adopted by the House.

Mr. McKELLAR. It seems to me the provision suggested by the committee is a very wise one.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The money will have to be spent some day, and it is economical to do it with one "bite of the cherry" rather than to extend it over a term of 11 years.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator think it is wise to retain such large unexpended balances which have been appropriated for some particular activity and then divert them to an activity of an entirely different character? Ought not the appropriation, if it were not used for the specific purpose designated, to have been covered back into the Treasury and then a reappropriation made for the very important work which the Senator has indicated? It is just a matter of policy.

Mr. WADSWORTH. As a matter of fiscal policy, of course I believe in appropriating direct each year for what we need for the next fiscal year. Of course errors are made in estimates. They can not be accurate to the last cent. An appropriation made by the Congress for the support of the Army is available for two years under the Constitution and no longer. This fund under ordinary circumstances would be covered back into the Treasury on June 30 next, which would mark the expiration of the year following the year for which it was appropriated. I would rather see every appropriation clearly defined, accurately estimated each year; but sometimes, as the Senator knows, elements enter into the situation which we can not anticipate, and the committee thought in this case it was a wise way to use the money.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is purely a question of bookkeeping.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is all.

Mr. KING. It is more than a question of bookkeeping, because the figures would show an appropriation of a given sum last year or the year before, but that a portion of the amount was actually not expended. We reappropriate that money now, and it will bear upon its face the indicia of a new appropriation, so that it will appear as though our expenses are greater than they actually are. It seems to me it is an unwise policy.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator need not concern himself very much about it, because there are not a great many of these unexpended balances.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment on page 50, line 6, is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the subhead "Ordnance Department, Ordnance Service," on page 52, line 9, after the figures "$1,066,500," to insert a colon and the following proviso:

Provided, That the Ordnance Department is hereby authorized to employ under its various appropriations not exceeding four consulting engineers as the Secretary of War may deem necessary at rates of pay to be fixed by him not to exceed $50 a day for not exceeding 50 days each and necessary traveling expenses, including a per diem not to exceed $4 in lieu of subsistence: *Provided further*, That amounts heretofore paid or obligated for such services and expenses are hereby authorized and validated.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Ordnance stores, ammunition," on page 52, line 26, to strike out "$2,801,135" and insert "$2,861,265," so as to make the paragraph read:

For the development, manufacture, purchase, and maintenance of airplane bombs, pyrotechnics, grenades, ammunition for small arms, targets, and accessories for bomb, small arms, and machine-gun target practice; and ammunition for military salutes at Government establishments and institutions to which the issues of arms for salutes are authorized, $2,861,265.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Chemical Warfare Service," on page 59, line 11, to strike out "$1,207,980" and insert "$1,232,980, of which sum not to exceed $25,000 may be used in completing agricultural research experiments in exterminating the cotton-boll weevil," so as to read:

For purchase, manufacture, and test of chemical warfare gases or other toxic substances, gas masks, or other offensive or defensive materials or appliances required for gas-warfare purposes, including all necessary investigations, research, design, experimentation, and operations connected therewith; purchase of chemicals, special scientific and technical apparatus and instruments; construction, maintenance, and repair of plants, buildings, and equipment, and the machinery therefor; receiving, storing, and issuing of supplies, comprising police and office duties, rents, tolls, fuel, gasoline, lubricants, paints and oils, rope and cordage, light, water, advertising, stationery, typewriting and adding machines, including their exchange, office furniture, tools, and instruments; for incidental expenses; for civilian employees; for libraries of the Chemical Warfare Service and subscriptions to periodicals which may be paid for in advance; for expenses incidental to the organization, training, and equipment of special gas troops not otherwise provided for, including the training of the Army in chemical warfare, both offensive and defensive, together with the necessary schools, tactical demonstrations, and maneuvers; for current expenses of chemical projectile filling plants and proving grounds, including construction and maintenance of rail transportation, repairs, alterations, accessories, building and repairing butts and targets, clearing and grading ranges, $1,232,980, of which sum not to exceed $25,000 may be used in completing agricultural research experiments in exterminating the cotton-boll weevil.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Seacoast defenses, insular possessions," on page 64, line 9, after the name "Hawaiian Islands," to strike out "$40,000" and insert "$90,000, and in addition thereto the sum of $100,000 of the unexpended balances of the appropriation for 'Arming, equipping, and training the National Guard, 1923,' and reappropriated for 1925, is hereby reappropriated and made available for the fiscal year 1927 for the purposes named in this paragraph," so as to read:

For construction of fire-control stations and accessories, including purchase of lands and rights of way, purchase and installation of necessary lines and means of electrical communication, including telephones, dial and other telegraphs, wiring and all special instruments, apparatus and materials, coast-signal apparatus, subaqueous, sound, and flash ranging apparatus, including their development, and salaries of electrical experts, engineers, and other necessary employees connected with the use of Coast Artillery; purchase, manufacture, and test of range finders and other instruments for fire control at the fortifications, and the machinery necessary for their manufacture in the Hawaiian Islands, $90,000, and in addition thereto the sum of $100,000 of the unexpended balances of the appropriation for "Arming, equipping, and training the National Guard, 1923," and reappropriated for 1925, is hereby reappropriated and made available for the fiscal year 1927 for the purposes named in this paragraph.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Militia Bureau, National Guard, arming, equipping, and training the National Guard," on page 68, at the end of line 19, to increase the appropriation for expenses, camps of instruction, from $9,670,517 to $9,872,517.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, at the end of line 22, to increase the appropriation for expenses, selected officers and enlisted men, military service school, from $308,000 to $400,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 69, line 5, to increase the appropriation for travel of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army in connection with the National Guard from $300,000 to $375,000.

The next amendment was, on page 71, line 2, after the words "National Guard," to insert the words "and 'Arms, uniforms, equipment, etc., for field service,'" so as to read:

The appropriations herein made for "Arming, equipping, and training the National Guard" and "Arms, uniforms, equipment, etc., for field service" shall be available until December 31, 1927.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There seems to be some confusion in the print with reference to the amendment just stated.

Mr. McKELLAR. It does not appear on page 71 of the print I have.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I can explain it. The committee amendment comes in after the words "National Guard" on page 71, line 2. One print before the Senators does not contain it. The other print contains it in Roman type. It should be in italics. It is merely to correct a matter of giving the proper title to the unexpended balance.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the subhead "Organized Reserves," on page 72, line 24, after the numerals "1924," to strike out "$525,000" and insert "$528,300," so as to read:

Headquarters and camps: For establishment, maintenance, and operation of divisional and regimental headquarters and of camps for training of the Organized Reserves; for miscellaneous expenses incident to the administration of the Organized Reserves, including the maintenance and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles; for transportation of baggage, including packing and crating, of reserve officers on active duty for not less than six months; for medical and hospital treatment, continuation of pay and allowances not to exceed six months, and transportation when fit for travel to their homes of members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army injured in line of duty while on active duty under

proper orders or while voluntarily participating in aerial flights in Government-owned aircraft by proper authority as an incident to their military training, and for the preparation and transportation to their homes and burial expenses of the remains of members of the Organized Reserves who die while on active duty, as provided in section 4 of the act of June 3, 1924, $528,300.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 73, after line 2, to insert:

For travel of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army in connection with the Organized Reserves, $100,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I notice on page 69 an item for travel of officers and noncommissioned officers, $375,000, and now the item just read carries $100,000. Does the Senator think that both amounts are necessary? Is not the work so closely integrated that the officers who discharge the duties with respect to one matter can perform the duties with respect to the other?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No; they are two entirely different sets of officers assigned to entirely different work. One group of Regular Army officers are assigned as instructors for the National Guard. In other words, to use an ordinary phrase, they are the "coaches" of the guard. They are taken care of by the item of $375,000 on page 69. The other item on page 73 is for the use of officers of the Regular Army and noncommissioned officers who are assigned to the Organized Reserves and who must of necessity visit the several units of the reserve organization to which they are assigned in order that they may give them proper instruction and training.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the subhead "Citizens' military training, Reserve Officers' Training Corps," on page 76, line 12, after the word "vehicles," to strike out "$3,911,493" and insert "$3,926,493," so as to read:

For the procurement, maintenance, and issue, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, to institutions at which one or more units of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps are maintained, of such public animals, means of transportation, supplies, tentage, equipment, and uniforms as he may deem necessary, including cleaning and laundering of uniforms and clothing at camps; and to forage, at the expense of the United States, public animals so issued, and to pay commutation in lieu of uniforms at a rate to be fixed annually by the Secretary of War; for transporting said animals and other authorized supplies and equipment from place of issue to the several institutions and training camps and return of same to place of issue when necessary; for purchase of training manuals, including Government publications; for the establishment and maintenance of camps for the further practical instruction of the members of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and for transporting members of such corps to and from such camps, and to subsist them while traveling to and from such camps and while remaining therein so far as appropriations will permit or, in lieu of transporting them to and from such camps and subsisting them while en route, to pay them travel allowance at the rate of 5 cents per mile for the distance by the shortest usually traveled route from the places from which they are authorized to proceed to the camp and for the return travel thereto, and to pay the return travel pay in advance of the actual performance of the travel; for pay for students attending advanced camps at the rate prescribed for soldiers of the seventh grade of the Regular Army; for the payment of commutation of subsistence to members of the senior division of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, at a rate not exceeding the cost of the garrison ration prescribed for the Army, as authorized in the act approved June 3, 1916, as amended by the act approved June 4, 1920; for medical and hospital treatment, subsistence until furnished transportation, and transportation when fit for travel to their homes of members of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps injured in line of duty while at camps of instruction under the provisions of section 47a and section 47d of the national defense act approved June 3, 1916, as amended; and for the cost of preparation and transportation to their homes and burial expenses of the remains of members of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps who die while attending camps of instruction as provided in section 4 of the act approved June 3, 1924; and for the cost of maintenance, repair, and operation of passenger-carrying vehicles, $3,926,493, to remain available until December 31, 1927.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 77, line 5, after the word "exceed," to strike out "$100" and insert "$15,000," so as to read:

Provided further, That not to exceed $15,000 of the total appropriated by this act may be expended for the transportation of authorized Reserve Officers' Training Corps students who may be competitors in the national rifle match and to subsist them while traveling to and from said match and while remaining thereat.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Citizens' military training camps," on page 79, at the beginning of line 7, to strike out "$2,807,471" and insert "$2,820,671," so as to read:

For furnishing, at the expense of the United States, to warrant officers, enlisted men, and civilians attending training camps maintained under the provisions of section 47d of the national defense act of June 3, 1916, as amended by the act of June 4, 1920, uniforms, including altering, fitting, washing, and cleaning when necessary, subsistence, and transportation, or in lieu of such transportation and of subsistence for travel to and from camps travel allowances at 5 cents per mile, as prescribed in said section 47d; for such expenditures as are authorized by said section 47d as may be necessary for the establishment and maintenance of said camps, including recruiting and advertising therefor, and the cost of maintenance, repair, and operation of passenger-carrying vehicles; for gymnasium and athletic supplies (not exceeding $15,000); for mileage, reimbursement of traveling expenses, or allowance in lieu thereof as authorized by law, for officers of the Regular Army and Organized Reserves, traveling on duty in connection with citizens' military training camps; for purchase of training manuals, including Government publications; for medical and hospital treatment, subsistence until furnished transportation, and transportation when fit for travel to their homes of members of the citizens' military training camps injured in line of duty while attending camps of instruction under the provisions of section 47a and section 47d of the national defense act approved June 3, 1916, as amended, and for the cost of preparation and transportation to their homes and burial expenses of the remains of civilians who die while attending camps of instruction, as provided in section 4 of the act approved June 3, 1924; in all, $2,820,671, to remain available until December 31, 1927.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice, Quartermaster supplies and services for rifle ranges for civilian instruction," on page 80, at the end of line 23, to strike out "$40,700," and insert "$101,700," so as to read:

To establish and maintain indoor and outdoor rifle ranges for the use of all able-bodied males capable of bearing arms under reasonable regulations to be prescribed by the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice and approved by the Secretary of War; for the employment of labor in connection with the establishment of outdoor and indoor rifle ranges, including labor in operating targets; for the employment of instructors; for clerical services, not exceeding $20,000; for badges and other insignia; for the transportation of employees, instructors, and civilians to engage in practice; for the purchase of materials, supplies, and services, and for expenses incidental to instruction of citizens of the United States in marksmanship, and their participation in national and international matches, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, and to remain available until expended, $101,700.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 80, line 25, after the word "exceed," to strike out "$100" and insert "80,000," so as to make the proviso read:

Provided, That out of this appropriation there may be expended not to exceed $80,000 for the payment of transportation, for supplying meals, or furnishing commutation of subsistence of civilian rifle teams authorized by the Secretary of War to participate in the national matches.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Title II—Nonmilitary activities of the War Department, Quartermaster Corps, national cemeteries," on page 84, line 14, after the word "cemeteries," to strike out "$180,000, of which amount $10,000 shall be expended by the Secretary of War toward erecting a fitting marking of the burial place, at Washington Crossing Park, Pa., of 40 soldiers who died in the American Revolution," and insert "$170,000," so as to make the paragraph read:

For continuing the work of furnishing headstones of durable stone or other durable material for unmarked graves of Union and Confederate soldiers, sailors, and marines, and soldiers, sailors, and marines of all other wars in national, post, city, town, and village cemeteries, naval cemeteries at navy yards and stations of the United States, and other burial places, under the acts of March 3, 1873, February 3, 1879, and March 9, 1906; continuing the work of furnishing headstones for unmarked graves of civilians interred in post cemeteries under the acts of April 28, 1904, and June 30, 1906; and fur-

nishing headstones for the unmarked graves of Confederate soldiers, sailors, and marines in national cemeteries, $170,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "National military parks, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park," on page 88, line 6, after the word "maintenance," to insert "including not exceeding $5,000 for posts and guard rails on highways," and at the end of line 8 to strike out "$73,265" and insert "$78,265," so as to make the paragraph read:

For continuing the establishment of the park; compensation and expenses of the superintendent, maps, surveys, clerical and other assistance; maintenance, repair, and operation of one motor-propelled and one horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicle; office and all other necessary expenses; foundations for State monuments; mowing; historical tablets, iron and bronze; iron gun carriages; roads and their maintenance, including not exceeding $5,000 for posts and guard rails on highways; repair or removal of towers, purchase of small tracts of lands heretofore authorized by law, $78,265.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 90, line 25, to strike out "$155,167" and insert "$157,167," so as to make the paragraph read:

WASHINGTON-ALASKA MILITARY CABLE AND TELEGRAPH SYSTEM

For defraying the cost of such extensions, betterments, operation, and maintenance of the Washington-Alaska military cable and telegraph system as may be approved by the Secretary of War, to be available until the close of the fiscal year 1928, from the receipts of the Washington-Alaska military cable and telegraph system which have been covered into the Treasury of the United States, the extent of such extensions and betterments and the cost thereof to be reported to Congress by the Secretary of War, $157,167.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, and trails, Alaska," on page 92, line 20, after the word "amended," to strike out "$751,000" and insert "$1,000,000," so as to read:

For the construction, repair, and maintenance of roads, tramways, ferries, bridges, and trails, Territory of Alaska, to be expended under the direction of the board of road commissioners described in section 2 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the construction and maintenance of roads, the establishment and maintenance of schools, and the care and support of insane persons in the district of Alaska, and for other purposes," approved January 27, 1905, as amended by the act approved May 14, 1906, and to be expended conformably to the provisions of said act as amended, $1,000,000, to be immediately available, and to include $1,000 compensation to the president of the Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska, in addition to his regular pay and allowances.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers," on page 95, at the end of line 13, to strike out "$430,000" and insert "$410,000," so as to make the paragraph read:

Subsistence: For pay of commissary sergeants, commissary clerks, porters, laborers, bakers, cooks, dishwashers, waiters, and others employed in the subsistence department; food supplies purchased for the subsistence of the members of the home and civilian employees regularly employed and residing at the branch, freight, preparation, and serving; aprons, caps, and jackets for kitchen and dining-room employees; tobacco; dining-room and kitchen furniture and utensils; bakers' and butchers' tools and appliances, and their repair not done by the home, $410,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 97, line 5, to reduce the appropriation for Central Branch, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, at Dayton, Ohio, from $1,187,500 to $1,167,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 99, line 18, to reduce the total appropriation for the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from $7,705,100 to $7,685,100.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was concluded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This completes the committee amendments.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I have been instructed by the committee to offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Which the Secretary will state.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 10 it is proposed to strike out all after the numerals "$2,658,790," in line 20, down to and including line 23, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

: *Provided*, That hereafter enlisted men entitled to receive allowances for quarters and subsistence shall continue, while their permanent stations remain unchanged, to receive such allowances while sick in hospital or absent from their permanent-duty stations in a pay status: *Provided further*, That allowances for subsistence shall not accrue to such an enlisted man while he is in fact being subsisted at Government expense.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York explain the purpose of that amendment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, a curious and unlooked-for state of affairs has developed with respect to the allowances which may be given to enlisted men of the Regular Army in lieu of quarters or subsistence. The pay law provides that when a noncommissioned officer or an enlisted man is assigned to a place where there are no Government quarters; that is, at a place far removed from an Army post, he shall get a certain allowance with which to pay his rent; but the law is so phrased at present, and has been so construed by the comptroller, as to bring about a situation like this: A sergeant, for example, a man with a family, is drawing a rental allowance while he is not living in Government quarters. He receives an order to go to another place temporarily and remain there two or three weeks or two or three months. He has to obey the order. He may be sent to a training camp to assist in training some citizen components of the Army during the summer; he has to leave his family in the quarters which he is renting, for which he has been paying out of his rental allowance. If he does go to the other point in response to the order to perform duty at that place, he loses his rental allowance. Of course it places him in an almost impossible situation. It is true he himself can be living in a tent at the training camp and getting his food, but in the meantime his family are deprived of all rental allowance from the Government.

Another instance has arisen which is even more trying. It has been held now that a sergeant, for example, who is drawing rental allowance will lose that rental allowance if he falls sick and has to go to a hospital, on the theory, I suppose, that he himself is getting his living at the hospital, his food and his shelter; but, of course, it is a catastrophe to that man, not only because he is ill but because the fact that he is ill automatically starves his family.

So this amendment which the Senate committee proposes, and which was dealt with in part in the House in the language of the bill which is found on page 10, in lines 20 to 23, provides:

Provided, That hereafter enlisted men entitled to receive allowances for quarters and subsistence shall continue, while their permanent stations remain unchanged, to receive such allowances while sick in hospital or absent from their permanent-duty stations in a pay status: *Provided further*, That allowances for subsistence shall not accrue to such an enlisted man while he is in fact being subsisted at Government expense.

It has to do with rental allowance instead of subsistence. It is merely a matter of decency and justice to these men.

Mr. KING. Will the amendment increase the expense?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Only infinitesimally. The increase will be exceedingly small.

Mr. KING. And it does not permit duplication?

Mr. WADSWORTH. None; that is impossible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from New York.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I offer another amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Which the Secretary will state.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 35, in lines 6 and 7, it is proposed to strike out the words "but not including hiring of personnel."

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

Mr. KING. Will the Senator from New York, please, explain that? Is that an increase or a limitation?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, here is the situation with respect to that: The Senator from Utah may know that the Signal Corps of the Army has a radio net extending over the country, linking up the War Department with a considerable number of Army posts. I suppose it might be said that the center of that net is here in Washington. The War Department itself is linked up by it. It is the earnest desire of the Signal Corps to extend that service to the Capitol Building.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator mean the Capitol here in Washington?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Right here in Washington. That will involve the employment of three or four telegraphers to send the news from the Capitol here to the radio broadcasting set which the Signal Corps maintains for the purpose of sending messages to the various parts of the country where the War Department has establishments. I have a letter here which is dated March 5, 1926, explaining the amendment.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I may say to the Senator that I see no advantage in having the Capitol connected, because no executives are here and the legislative branch of the Government does not give orders to the War Department. There may be persuasive reasons, however, why the amendment should be agreed to.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I presume legislative messages will be carried. A good many of these stations are remote, and the War Department has to be in communication with them, any way. The map showing the extent of this work is rather an interesting one. I have here a letter written by General Lord to General Smither, the chief coordinator here in Washington, which is as follows:

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, March 5, 1926.

Gen. H. C. SMITHER,
Chief Coordinator.

MY DEAR GENERAL SMITHER: Yesterday Captain Jackson of your office and Major Sadtler of the Signal Corps brought to my attention a proposal to extend the War Department radio net so as to embrace the handling of telegrams for the legislative branch of the Government.

I presented this matter to the President this morning, and he offers no objection whatever to the proposal, but rather thinks that it is a thing which can very properly be done.

Major Sadtler stated to me that the last phrase appearing in the estimate for the Signal Service of the Army, on page 995 of the Budget for the fiscal year 1927, which reads "but not including the hiring of personnel," would prevent the extension of the radio net service to the legislative branch of the Government, for the reason that additional personnel would be required for such extension. In view of this, I have been authorized by the President to state that there will be no objection to the elimination of the phrase quoted above.

Sincerely yours,

H. M. LORD, *Director.*

I understand the number of persons required will be four.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, of course, it is a very insignificant item, and yet I can not conceive of any necessity for it. For instance, Congress will adjourn probably by the 1st or 15th of June, and possibly earlier, so there will be no legislative activity from then until next December, but these employees will be here, although there will be no news. As I have said, there will be no laws being enacted; no committees will be in session; there are no executive officers who stay here and no officers of the Army are here.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The service is at the disposal of all officers of the Government, including Members of Congress. It will permit legislative telegrams being sent to the various posts and points covered by the radio net of the Signal Service.

Mr. KING. Let me ask whether Senators and Representatives ever avail themselves of this service?

Mr. WADSWORTH. They can if they pay for it. It is not a service furnished free of charge to persons outside the Army.

Mr. KING. Of course, the instrumentalities are down at the War Department—the headquarters are there—and, in view of the fact that the Capitol is so close to the headquarters of the Army, and undoubtedly there are a number of telegraphers and the necessary machinery there for the purpose of transmitting all orders and all military information, I am not able to perceive any necessity for having telegraphers here.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do not think it is a matter of immense importance; it is small.

Mr. KING. It would mean several thousand dollars a year, would it not?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No; it does not necessarily mean additional employees.

Mr. KING. I supposed it did.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Employees of the Signal Corps can be assigned to work of that kind, if the department so desires.

Mr. KING. I supposed it involved the creation of an enlarged personnel.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from New York in behalf of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I make the usual request that the clerks be authorized to make corrections in section numbers and in totals.

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

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, two or three years ago we made provision for a survey of the Tennessee River and its tributary waters. We have appropriated a little over $500,000 to carry on that survey. The engineers state, if it is carried out according to the original plans, that amount of money will be sufficient to complete the survey, but they say that it has been developed that if they are permitted to make further surveys of some of the smaller tributaries it will result in very great saving and also make possible the development of a much larger amount of water power. So I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, to come in on page 93, after line 25.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 93, after line 25, it is proposed to insert the following:

The limit of cost fixed for the completion of the survey of the Tennessee River and its tributaries as recommended in House Document 319, Sixty-seventh Congress, second session, is hereby increased to $790,800 and the survey extended to include tributaries with a drainage area of about 100 square miles, and the funds for the prosecution of this work within the limit above set out may be allotted from appropriations heretofore, herein, or hereafter made by Congress for the improvement, preservation, and maintenance of rivers and harbors: *Provided,* That reports of such survey or surveys may be made to the Congress from time to time, but the Engineer Department shall not give out information as to said surveys to other persons until after a report, partial or final, shall be made to the Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Washington.

Mr. FLETCHER. That does not call for an additional appropriation, as I understand?

Mr. JONES of Washington. No; the amount will be paid out of the $50,000,000 appropriation carried by the bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. It will come out of the general appropriation made for rivers and harbors?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. I think that is a very splendid work. It is not yet completed, but it has already proven to be of very great advantage, because they have found immense water-power possibilities. It involves three propositions—water-power development, navigation, and flood control—and I think it is important to carry on that work to completion. I am sure that we will get ample returns from that kind of an appropriation.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Let me read a paragraph from a letter which I received from the Chief of Engineers, whom I asked about this matter. He says in part:

It is now regarded as advisable to extend the survey to such tributaries as have a drainage area of about 100 square miles, where, on account of the great fall which may be obtained in special instances, such a small watershed will enable a dam to be built which will provide not less than 1,000 primary horsepower. It is believed that this extension of the survey will greatly add to the value of the survey now in progress—

And so forth.

Some of us think it is very advisable to have this amendment go to conference, in any event, in order that it may be given very careful consideration. As has been stated, the amount comes out of the $50,000,000 appropriation and does not increase the appropriation carried by the bill. I ask that the letter from which I have quoted may be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

The letter referred to is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
Washington, March 9, 1926.

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
Chairman Committee on Commerce,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR JONES: In accordance with your desire for a statement concerning the status of the Tennessee River improvement and the question of the advisability of extending the scope of the survey, I respectfully submit the following:

The plan for the survey for which the appropriation of $515,800 was made by Congress was that the survey should cover the main stream and those tributaries which would develop a reservoir storage capacity of power derivable from a watershed equivalent to 1,000 square miles or more. The survey has progressed to such point that it can be stated that it will be completed with the sum available if the plan originally adopted be adhered to. The survey so far performed, however, has shown that not only can a much greater development of power upon the main stream and the principal tribu-

taries be obtained than had been anticipated from any information possessed heretofore, but also that by the judicious use of reservoirs upon the smaller tributaries that primary power at the dams upon the larger streams can be materially increased. It appears that with reservoirs properly established and properly regulated upon the minor tributaries, the primary power at some of the larger dams can be so increased as to fully justify an extension of the survey to such point as will develop the facts concerning the locations at which the smaller reservoirs should be located. The upper Tennessee River and its tributaries lie in the region of greatest general rainfall in the United States, and both on this account and from the fact that the streams are in a mountainous region, where high dams can be established and large head of water maintained, a given area will develop a relatively large amount of power.

It has been found also as a result of the survey so far prosecuted that the high dams which will be built for power purposes will in most cases upon the main stream back the water up to such extent that there will be a navigable depth of 9 feet between these dams. Whether or not it will be possible to extend this 9-foot depth throughout the whole length of the river is one of the reasons why it is considered advisable to extend the survey to the lower river—a portion not originally included in the estimate for $515,800. It now appears not impossible to secure a navigable depth of 9 feet or greater upon the main stream and also upon the more important tributaries without any great cost to the United States, this depth being provided, as above indicated, as a result of the construction of the power dams.

It might be stated that the original estimate of $515,800 was based upon the assumption that that amount would be made available in one sum and the work could proceed uninterruptedly. Only $200,000, however, was appropriated at the outset, and the balance of the funds was not provided until two years later. In the meantime, the first appropriation had become exhausted, and the survey and drafting forces disbanded. It was necessary, therefore, to effect a reorganization which required a considerable direct expense and, in addition, the delay added materially to the overhead cost of the work.

It is now regarded as advisable to extend the survey to such tributaries as have a drainage area of about 100 square miles, where, on account of the great fall which may be obtained in special instances, such a small watershed will enable a dam to be built which will provide not less than 1,000 primary horsepower. It is believed that this extension of the survey will greatly add to the value of the survey now in progress, and as applications are now being received for the dams, which the survey has indicated will be desirable, it is extremely advisable that the necessary data for the most efficient and economical system should be made available as soon as possible.

It is estimated that the extension of the survey as here contemplated will cost about $275,000, and if this amount can be appropriated before the work now in progress is finished, all arrangements can be made to carry it on uninterruptedly with the present work at a very considerable saving in cost.

Very sincerely,

H. TAYLOR,
Major General, Chief of Engineers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is still before the Senate as in Committee of the Whole and open to amendment.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, on page 93, line 20, I move to strike out "$50,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$40,000,000." The bill carries $50,000,000 for rivers and harbors, and my motion contemplates its reduction to $40,000,000. I regret to say, Mr. President, that I have no encouragement from Senators in offering this amendment. Most of the States will get a part of this huge appropriation. The little streams and canals within many of the States will receive further contributions from the Federal Treasury. We have already expended considerably more than $1,000,000,000 upon our rivers and harbors. More than one-half of this amount has been expended upon what some people euphemistically call "inland waterways." It would be more accurate to say that most of them are little streams and rivulets which never can be made available for transportation purposes.

A few years ago I took the trouble to examine all records of the Government dealing with rivers and harbors. I examined hundreds of reports and ascertained every little spring and stream and rivulet and canal upon which Federal money had been expended. There were literally scores, and indeed hundreds, where the flow of the water was from 1 to 2 and 3 feet in depth and but a very few feet in width. Many of them, as I have stated, were little brooks and country streams which during the greater part of the year were so small that they would scarcely float insignificantly small pieces of wood.

Upon hundreds of these streams there was no navigation. They are not navigable streams, and appropriations for their alleged development under no theory, as I understand the powers of the Federal Government, can be justified.

Mr. President, the records which I examined showed that there was less freight carried upon the inland waterways of the United States now than there was 50 years ago. Millions have been spent upon the Mississippi River and yet it carries but a small amount of freight, and the quantity transported is annually growing less. Many of the canals which have been constructed at great cost have been abandoned, and few, if any, serve any useful purpose. I repeat, that we have wasted approximately a half billion dollars upon our inland streams and waterways.

Mr. President, we will take up the consideration, perhaps to-morrow, of a railroad bill known as the railway long-and-short-haul measure. It seems to give some relief to various sections of the United States which have suffered from discriminatory freight rates imposed by the railroads and still permitted by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Senators have voted to permit these injustices to the intermountain section of our country, as well as to other sections, and yet have squandered millions upon our waterways which seem only to have aided the railroads in continuing unjust policies and maintaining inordinately high freight rates.

I was speaking of the Mississippi River, and referred to the fact that the boats found thereon are fewer now than in the days of Mark Twain. I am told, sotto voce, by my friend from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] "there are no boats upon the Mississippi."

Mr. BROUSSARD. Mr. President——

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

Mr. KING. I yield to my friend.

Mr. BROUSSARD. I should not like that statement to go unchallenged. The Government is operating barges on the Mississippi River.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. PITTMAN. Of course it is general knowledge that the Government is operating barges on the Mississippi and Warrior Rivers. I referred to private or individual companies. As a matter of fact, General Ashburn, in his testimony before the committee, stated that it would be impossible for private corporations or individuals to operate under the opposition that even the Government line receives.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the statement of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] and the statement made by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] demonstrate the fact that our appropriations for water transportation, or at least many of them, have been of little utility. The Senator says there are barges upon the Mississippi River. It is true that there are a few, carrying a little freight and operated by the Government, and the Treasury of the United States meets the charges and any deficits that arise.

Mr. BROUSSARD. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Utah that the barge lines are making money. They have made money in the last few years.

Mr. FLETCHER. That is the testimony of General Ashburn—that they are operating profitably.

Mr. BROUSSARD. They are making money; and it is the intention of the Congress, as I undertake to interpret its policy, after the proper arrangement for the distribution of freight charges between the railroads and the barges, to permit these barges to be sold to private parties.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the project to which the Senator has referred is merely a relic of the war. I recall that some citizens of St. Louis came to Washington during the war and urged, as a "war necessity," that the Government construct and operate barges upon the Mississippi River. We passed some ill-advised and improper legislation then, because it was supposed to be "necessary in the prosecution of the war." We were fired by patriotism and stimulted by considerable emotionalism, which led to some unwise legislation and some extravagances. I opposed the project then, believing that it would be a failure, and I think it has been a failure. Of course, I accept the word of my friend from Louisiana that there is no deficit now in the operation of the barges; but I venture the assertion that those who have furnished us the figures have not taken into account the capital invested, the insurance, the overhead which will be charged to the Government, because there are bound to be some governmental activities in connection with the supervision of it one way or another, and in one department or in another department of the Government.

Mr. BROUSSARD. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator again?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BROUSSARD. If the Senator will take the trouble to read the reports made by General Ashburn, he will find that all expenses have been deducted from the earnings, and that depreciation has been charged against it and all operation costs of every kind, and still it shows a profit in its operation.

Mr. KING. Has there been taken into account the capital invested, and has provision been made for its amortization?

Mr. BROUSSARD. Yes, sir; everything has been taken into account.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. PITTMAN. I have not my hand on the exact statement to which the Senator from Louisiana refers; but I have in my possession General Ashburn's statement, and I will read two little paragraphs which will be enlightening:

The necessity for the passage of this act—

That is, referring to the Gooding bill—

to me is so paramount that I am glad to have the opportunity of appearing here. I will probably be followed by rate experts. I do not claim to be a rate expert. You will have a mass of specific data presented to you that will befog you so that you will not know where you will stand unless you are a rate expert, and it takes from 30 to 40 years to become a rate expert.

There is a basic principle involved. Congress has decided that it is their intention to protect, foster, and develop waterways, and to foster and preserve in full vigor both rail and water transportation. I believe that Congress was in earnest when it gave that expression of its policy. I know it was in earnest when it created the Inland Waterways Corporation and placed upon it the necessity and the duty of enforcing this thing.

Now, as long as it remains in the power of the railroads to reduce their rates on account of actual competition to such a point that they can kill water transportation, water transportation can not come back. It is essential, as far as I can see from a waterway standpoint, that the railroads should have said to them now and effectively: "You have used these practices in the past, but the time has come to stop them. When we said we meant to encourage the waterways, we meant what we said. And you can no longer invoke this clause, the short-and-long-haul clause, because we intend to have water transportation come back." If that is done, then what are the railroads going to do? They are going to devote their energies to something besides destroying water transportation. You will find, if you could analyze it, that a large part of the so-called losses that the railroads have are losses which are due to rates which have been put in effect primarily to destroy water competition.

One other short paragraph in connection with that.

Mr. GOODING. Mr. President——

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

Mr. KING. Will the Senator wait until the Senator from Nevada gets through?

Mr. GOODING. I just wanted to ask that the Senator from Nevada state the official position that General Ashburn occupies. I should like to have it appear in the RECORD at this point; that is all.

Mr. PITTMAN. General Ashburn is a United States Army officer who is in general charge of the Government barge line or barge corporation on the Mississippi and Warrior Rivers, and was taken out of the Army and placed in that position by reason of being an expert in that line.

He says:

I am convinced that no agency, other than the Government of the United States, would have withstood such vicious assaults made upon our demonstration, such misrepresentations of facts, such combined attacks to belittle the demonstration and to prevent the success, as the Government has, in the reestablishment of the great common carrier operated on the Mississippi-Warrior Rivers by the Inland Waterways Corporation.

* * * * * * *

The sine qua non of successful common carriage is cooperation with the railroads. So long as it remains in the power of the railroads to destroy water transportation not governmentally operated, so long will private capital refuse to contract on such a venture.

I will simply add this, while I am on my feet, to the Senator: It is not so much a question of the rules that are in effect at the present time, but it is a question of the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to give a rate at competitive points to water lines so low that they may take a part, if not all, of the built-up transportation.

May I illustrate that in this way:

There are 5,000,000 tons of revenue traffic being carried through the Panama Canal to-day. The western railroads have made application to the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix an 80-cent rate on steel out to the Pacific coast. What is the object of it? There is no disguise about what is the object. The representatives of the executives who testified before our committee state very frankly what it is. They say: "We want our share of that traffic that is going through." We have asked them: "What do you consider your share?" They say: "Well, half." The majority of the Interstate Commerce Commission have testified before us that they consider it their duty to have a part of the transportation of the boats carried by railroad. Mr. Aitchison, in testifying, says he does not believe it will get them half. He says he believes it will get them not over a quarter.

This is the question: How can a rate on steel be fixed that will enable the railroads to carry half the steel to Los Angeles and San Francisco and not result in them carrying it all? Why should a man want to ship his steel on the railroad unless it were more advantageous to do so? They have to make a rate that is more advantageous, or the boats will carry it. As a matter of fact, there was one gentleman before the committee of the House who was perfectly frank in this matter. That was Mr. Donnelly, president of the Northern Pacific Railroad. This is what he said:

If it is the policy of the Interstate Commerce Commission that the railroads shall be permitted to handle any and all traffic which shall show some profit above the out-of-pocket cost, then the railroads can handle all of the business now transported by steamship, both east and west, through the Panama Canal.

There are applications pending now by the railroads of the West to reduce the rates on 47 different articles at the competitive points on the Pacific Coast to a figure low enough to give them half of all the traffic there. Mr. Donnelly says that the 80-cent rate will give them half of it. The Interstate Commerce Commission thinks it will give them only a quarter of it. The rate, mind you, is a rate which no one calls anything except an out-of-pocket cost rate. It is not a reasonable rate, because in making application on the forms provided by the Interstate Commerce Commission one has to state right on the face of the application that the rate he asks is not a reasonable rate and that he only asks it so as to get a part of the water transportation. It is from one-half to one-quarter of the rate charged for a haul a hundred miles shorter on the same line. In some cases, to Salt Lake, the rate is four times what it is for the same distance to a coast point. It does not even include depreciation, maintenance, and overhead charges. It is not supposed to earn any dividends, any interest on the investment or on the bonds. It is what has been termed, for the sake of the argument, an indefinable thing called "out-of-pocket cost." In other words, it is supposed to pay for the coal used in the engine, the salary of the engineer, and that of the brakeman.

Mr. Esch said they could not put the same rates in effect at a point a hundred miles nearer, because if they did so the loss to the railroad in maintaining that rate would be too great. Mr. Shoup, of the Southern Pacific, said that to put the same rate in on the shorter haul would bankrupt them. As a matter of fact, that is the issue. We will cripple the Panama Canal if we do not take away from the Interstate Commerce Commission their discretion, and all these beautiful theories of Mr. Hoover and others for great canal systems in this country will go glimmering. It is the duty of everyone in this country who does not get a direct benefit from the expenditure of the money, as distinguished from improvements, to fight every development of every river and canal unless at the same time the discretion is removed that will prevent the utilization of that money for water transportation.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada referred to my State and the disastrous effect of the discriminatory freight rates upon the economic development of the intermountain region. Apropos of his statement permit me to mention the crushing results of these rates upon the iron and steel industry of my State and Colorado, where steel and iron of a superior grade are produced, but the transportation charges to the Pacific coast are so high that the progress of the industry is materially arrested. Though Utah is less than 800 miles from the coast, steel and iron can be shipped from Pittsburgh to the Atlantic coast, and down through the Caribbean Sea and the canal and up the Pacific coast to Los Angeles or San Francisco at a cost less than from Utah to the Pacific coast. I observe an item in this bill for $7,000,000 plus for expenses in operating the Panama Canal. We have given a monopoly to our coastwise trade, and for a while they had free tolls, and even now the charges are so small that they are no obstacle whatever to water transportation from coast to coast. The people of the intermountain region, as well as those of the entire Nation, were taxed to build the Panama Canal,

and the tolls charged intercoastal freight carried through the canal are not adequate to properly and fully reimburse the United States and, in the last analysis, the people.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I think it a little inaccurate to say that we tax any of the people of the United States for the maintenance of the Panama Canal. The Panama Canal is much more than supporting itself out of its receipts.

Mr. KING. That is quite recently.

Mr. WADSWORTH. It may interest the Senator to know that the Panama Canal is paying all of its expenses, of every kind and description, plus interest on the amount of the investment, to such an extent that we can say now that it is earning a little over 5 per cent on the investment, net.

Mr. KING. I am very glad to learn that; but it will be many years before the original cost is paid; and already it is contended a new canal must be constructed or the present one enlarged.

Mr. WADSWORTH. So no one is taxed for its support.

Mr. KING. I am not sure that all factors in the equation are considered; the capital invested, the deterioration, the added cost to the Nation in guarding and protecting the canal. Congress gives the coastwise trade a monopoly, and then permits the use of the Panama Canal without a reasonable compensation being paid to the Government.

Mr. RANSDELL. Mr. President, right on that point I want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that our coastwise vessels do pay toll through the Panama Canal.

Mr. KING. Yes; but not an adequate toll as I view the situation.

Mr. RANSDELL. No; it is the same toll that other vessels pay, as I understand it.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator will remember the tolls controversy.

Mr. RANSDELL. Am I not correct in my statement?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly.

Mr. RANSDELL. I remember the fight when the Democratic Party repealed the free tolls provision of the Panamal Canal act. We had the provision in the act and my party said it was wrong, and it was repealed. Now, our coastwise vessels pay just the same as all other vessels going through the Panama Canal.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator how, if they pay an adequate toll, freight can be carried from the east to the west, from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific coast, in American vessels for the low freight rates mentioned by the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. RANSDELL. The only way I can account for it, I will say to the Senator, is that water transportation is very much cheaper than transportation by rail. When a ship is loaded at Boston or New York, for instance, and starts southward and goes through the Panama Canal, it costs very little to that vessel to go one, or two, or three, or even four thousand miles more, when it is once loaded, whereas the railroad has to bear a heavy burden all along the line. The railroad offers very great frictional resistance to the movement of the freight. Water, being a liquid, the vessel goes forward with very little propelling power. I can not give the exact proportion, but students of the subject will tell you that it costs a great deal less, infinitely less, to transport freight on the water than it does to transport it on the land. I remember the figures for the Great Lakes. I have studied them a number of times. The actual cost to carry freight on the Great Lakes from Duluth, for instance, to Buffalo, N. Y., a little over a thousand miles, is less than one-ninth of the average railroad rate to carry the same freight. I think on the ocean, going from the Atlantic to the Gulf, it would even be less than one-ninth. So the Senator can see that these enormous vessels, with tremendous cargoes, carrying freight for less than one-ninth what it costs to transport by rail, can afford to charge less and yet make a considerable profit.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, with the low rate mentioned by the Senator from Nevada on freight from the Atlantic to the Pacific through the canal it is obvious that the intermediate sections, particularly the intermountain region, can not compete on the Pacific coast, though they may be located only a few hundred miles from the Pacific coast, with those who are engaged in like activities and industries 2,500 miles farther away.

Mr. RANSDELL. I am in sympathy with the Senator, but I did not want a misunderstanding as to the tolls provision of the Panama Canal act to exist. I simply rose to correct that, because I knew the Senator did not intend to state it erroneously.

Mr. KING. My position is that we are giving what amounts to a gratuity or bounty to the coastwise trade in the monopoly granted and the low tolls charged. Of course, as the Senator can see, the policy is destructive to the development of intermediate sections. The intermountain section can not ship east nor west in competition with water transportation through the Panama Canal and with the reduced and limited tolls paid by the coastwise vessels.

Mr. RANSDELL. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. RANSDELL. What would the Senator suggest as a means of correcting that at the Panama Canal? He must not forget that we have the Suez Canal to compete with the Panama Canal, and he must not forget that we have the great continent we call Europe, which manufactures many of the same products we manufacture. So it would not be feasible, it seems to me, to impose any higher rates of toll on vessels from foreign countries, at any rate, which use the Panama Canal, including those of South America. How would the Senator correct that, so far as the canal is concerned?

Mr. KING. This could be done if the interpretation of the interstate commerce law is such as some assert, namely, require the Interstate Commerce Commission to assume jurisdiction over water rates and establish rates from coast to coast that would be fair in view of all conditions and having in view all sections of the country.

If the Interstate Commerce Commission could fix reasonable rates upon water transportation, and if the coastwise trade paid a reasonable rate for the use of the Panama Canal, it is manifest that freight could not be hauled, as it is now, for an insignificant charge measured by the railroad rates from the east coast to intermediate points. I do not think there need be any apprehension of injury to our commerce because of the Suez Canal, as the Senator seems to anticipate.

Mr. RANSDELL. The Senator overlooks the foreign competition. Granting that we could fix the rates in this country, we could not fix them in Canada, and Canada produces many of the commodities we produce. An enormous amount of lumber that goes to the Pacific coast from the Atlantic comes from Canada. Europe produces many of the same commodities we produce. Granting that the Interstate Commerce Commission could fix the rates from the Atlantic cities around to the Pacific, who would fix the rates on that ocean traffic from the Old World, and the various countries of the world, around to the Pacific? Does not the Senator see that they would come in and drive our Atlantic coast business out of the market?

Mr. KING. The Senator knows that for a number of years there was destructive competition between boats owned by the United States and by American citizens and companies plying between coastal points, and particularly between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. Indeed, as the Senator knows, because he was an able and diligent member of the Committee on Commerce, many of the ships sold by the Government to private individuals were driven from the sea because of cutthroat competition.

Mr. RANSDELL. The Senator means cutthroat competition from foreign ships, does he not?

Mr. KING. No; cutthroat competition between American-owned vessels.

Mr. RANSDELL. I do not know anything about that. I think the Senator is mistaken.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I inquire if we may have a vote on the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. KING. I would have been through before this if I had not been interrupted by Senators.

I was remarking, when interrupted, that after an examination of the hundreds of projects which had cost the Government more than a billion dollars I reached the conclusion—and I think this was the view which was expressed by former Senator Kenyon, who was a deep student of the problem—that at least 50 per cent of our appropriations for rivers and harbors had been wasted. We know that upon the Mississippi River and upon other streams upon which millions of dollars has been spent there are fewer boats now than there were 30, 40, or 50 years ago, and those streams are less serviceable for carrying freight than they were before the Civil War. We are asked now to appropriate $50,000,000 for various projects, some of them doubtless worthy projects, but I have no doubt that a careful scrutiny of all of the items embraced within the $50,000,000 fund would show that many are unwise and entirely lacking in merit. I think if we appropriate $40,000,000 we are too generous.

Moreover, I want to help our Republican friends redeem their promises. They are only promises, not executed, and our friends have never intended to execute them. I want to aid them in the redemption of their promise to practice economy. I do not want them to spend $5,000,000,000, as they are determined to do during the next fiscal year. After we have met the deficit which will inevitably arise between the adjournment of Congress and the expiration of the next fiscal year we will have to appropriate before we adjourn more than $600,000,000 deficit for the present fiscal year. Our Republican friends, with their usual political strategy, will apparently reduce the expenditures this year to approximately $4,500,000,000, but before the end of the next fiscal year Congress will be called upon to appropriate an additional $500,000,000.

After I have secured a vote on the pending amendment—and, of course, I shall be defeated, because the Republicans will not vote for it and many of my Democratic friends will not vote for it—I shall move to recommit the bill with instructions to report a bill carrying appropriations of $300,000,000 instead of $343,000,000.

Mr. RANSDELL. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate only a few moments, but I can not let go unchallenged some of the statements made by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING]. He said three times, perhaps oftener, in his speech that the waterways of the Nation have cost over a billion dollars. I believe that is true. Since the foundation of our Government in 1789, we have spent perhaps more than a billion dollars on waterways, but that was for all the harbors and rivers and small streams and canals of this great Republic during a period of nearly 140 years. Considerably more than one-half of this sum was for the harbors of the country and the improvement of the Great Lakes. No expenditure ever made by our Government has been so beneficial to the people of the Nation as the greater portion of this sum of over $1,000,000,000.

The Senator did not tell us anything about the enormous sums spent for railroads. I could tell about that, but I am not going to take the time of the Senate to do so. It is infinitely more than we have spent to improve our rivers and harbors.

The Senator from Utah said to-day——

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RANSDELL. Certainly.

Mr. KING. The Senator ought to tell the Senate, in connection with that statement, that the freight carried by the water instrumentalities is so infinitely small, measured by the stupendous amount carried by the railroads, that the disparity of which he speaks is far less when measured by the situation which I have indicated.

Mr. RANSDELL. I can not admit the entire correctness of that statement. The freight carried at the great harbors of the country like Boston, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Savannah, Charleston, Jacksonville, Mobile, New Orleans, Galveston, Houston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle is immense. The volume runs into colossal figures. Those harbors could not serve the people, not alone of America but of the world, if we had not made them available to ships of the greatest draught by the expenditure of very large sums of money.

The commerce on the Great Lakes is enormous. It is carried at rates one-ninth the average railroad rates, and this remarkably low rate is possible because of the canalized system of the Great Lakes through the St. Mary's River, the Detroit River, and the many harbors of all these Great Lakes. The whole country gets the benefit. Of course, there is not as much freight carried on all of our rivers and all of our harbors as on the railroads, but there is a colossal commerce on them, and it is carried at rates very much cheaper than those by rail.

Mr. President, the Senator from Utah charges that we are expending vast sums on insignificant creeks and small streams.

All I have to say in regard to that is that the Senator has made the statement so often on this floor that I imagine he now believes the correctness of it when he makes it. He alludes to former Senator Kenyon, a very distinguished Member of this body, who was in the habit of making the same statement. But I say to the Senator from Utah and to other Senators that it is not correct. There is not a single item of appropriation made by our great Government in the entire $5,000,000,000 alluded to by the Senator—if we are really appropriating that vast sum—that is more carefully spent, that has more safeguards thrown around it, than every single dollar appropriated for rivers and harbors. I say that, sirs, after having been a close student of the subject during the 27 years of my service in the American Congress. I have watched all our appropriations, and I am thoroughly convinced that none of them have so many safeguards thrown around them as expenditures for the waterways of the Republic.

The Senator wants to reduce the item of $50,000,000 to $40,000,000. He wishes to reduce it by $10,000,000. He does not tell us why. He generalizes. He seems dissatisfied with the appropriations for rivers because his section is having trouble with the railroads. I would like to say to the Senator that the great misfortune to the rivers of the country is that they have had very serious trouble with the railroads for the past half century.

The Senator tells us there is practically no commerce on the rivers.

There is very little, but I would like to say to the Senator from Utah and to those Senators who do me the kindness to listen to me that the reason why there is so little commerce on great rivers like the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Mississippi, and others is that the railroad companies by their cutthroat methods of competition drove river boats out of existence. It was the efforts of the railroads to destroy water competition that drove away those boats.

Mr. President and Senators, I have no quarrel with the railroad companies. They are behaving fairly well now. But I would like to see the people of this country enjoy the first and best method of transportation the world has ever enjoyed, that by water. We had the water for thousands of years before anyone dreamed of a railroad. We had the waterways for thousands of years before there were any improved highways except perhaps in and around great cities like ancient Rome and Athens.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. RANSDELL. I yield.

Mr. HEFLIN. The Senator has, of course, observed that where there is a waterway paralleling a railway the people of those communities always get better freight rates on the railroad.

Mr. RANSDELL. That is absolutely correct. It seems to me that the Senator from Utah, instead of opposing the item, would help us to make improved waterways just as far out into the great West as possible. He must not overlook the fact that in the early days steamboats navigated the Missouri River to Fort Benton, Mont., many hundreds of miles west of the Mississippi. They carried freight there by water long before there was any railroad.

Let us improve the waterways to the highest degree, and we shall secure one of the finest regulators of rates, and will find legitimate competition in transportation. Competition, Senators, is the life of trade and of business. We do not need any law to regulate legitimate, proper competition between business competitors. Let us improve the waterways thoroughly and prevent the railroads by law from their cutthroat methods formerly pursued. Then, I say to Senators from the great West, they will find cheaper rates away out into their section than they now enjoy. The waterways people and representatives of the intermountain region ought to pull together, but the Senator from Utah is trying to divide them and antagonize them.

The engineers say, "We need this $50,000,000; we need every dollar of it, and it is not sufficient either. It ought to be more than $50,000,000." Yet the Senator from Utah is trying to cut it down. I do not think there is the slightest danger of his effort succeeding, and I hope there will not be a vote for his amendment except his own.

Mr. President, I would like to go into the subject much further, but believe I have said enough.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to return to page 93 and to reconsider the vote by which the amendment there was agreed to, for the purpose of permitting me to offer an amendment to the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the vote whereby the amendment on page 93 was agreed to will be reconsidered.

Mr. McKELLAR. I now offer the amendment which I send to the desk, to be inserted after the amendment previously presented by the Senator from Washington, for the purpose of amplifying the language.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of the amendment offered by the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] insert the following proviso:

Provided, That reports of such survey or surveys may be made to the Congress from time to time, but the Engineer Department shall not give out information as to said surveys to other persons until after a report, partial or final, shall be made to the Congress.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I see no objection to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee to the amendment of the Senator from Washington.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I know there is a solid phalanx of Senators behind this bill, and I appreciate the futility of any attempt to modify it or to strike out any of the appropriations carried therein. More than $340,000,000 is to be taken from the Treasury of the United States to meet the provisions of this measure. We are at peace with the world, and there is no situation calling for military preparation. We have an Army of approximately 112,000 and yet are making appropriations larger than were made by Germany when she was a great military power and had between a half million and a million men in her military service.

This bill, like substantially all appropriation bills, is loaded down with enormous overhead expenses and with a multitude of features and provisions which consume in the aggregate a very large fraction of the total appropriation. There are perhaps 30,000 civil employees in the War Department, and the machinery constructed and maintained to train and employ the comparatively small Army that we maintain becomes unwieldly and involves expenditures far beyond the benefits derived.

It has been charged that democracies are always extravagant, that they incline toward bureaucracy, waste, and cumulative organizations and agencies. Our appropriation bills support this indictment. We are spending annually at least $250,000,000 more for employees than are needed to properly carry on Federal activities.

An examination of the pending bill reveals the enormous amount appropriated for expenses of officers and civilian employees and for activities which in my opinion could, without loss to the strength or efficiency of the Army, be greatly restricted and in some instances abandoned. This bill carries $50,000,000 for rivers and harbors. Appropriations for rivers and harbors have always brought together in the utmost harmony substantially all Senators. There is something unique in the spell which rivers and harbors cast upon Congress.

Senators grow eloquent in speaking about water transportation, our inland waterways, the cheapening of freight rates, and the binding together of the country through the agencies of rivers and canals. And yet the larger the appropriations made the less traffic upon our inland waterways. I think it may be stated as a proposition or a formula that in proportion, as appropriations for rivers and canals are increased, the traffic upon the same is decreased.

Former Senator Kenyon and a few who united with him in the Senate for years pointed out the folly of many of the appropriations made for inland waterways. Attention was challenged by them to canals which cost millions which were practically abandoned to the millions wasted on little bayous and swamps and rivulets and insignificant streams which never carried and never could carry any freight or commerce. I had the honor to be associated with Senator Kenyon in some of these contests, and though the wasteful character of millions of dollars for these inland streams was demonstrated, all efforts to prevent a continuation of such policy were in vain.

Mr. President, perhaps it is a confession of weakness to admit before submitting my motion that I do not expect that it will carry. I feel, however, that I am doing my duty, and regardless of the consequences I shall challenge this enormous appropriation bill and move for its recommittal. It is not irony when I say that I want to help the Republicans if they will show any disposition toward economy in inaugurating and carrying out economies in our national administration. I confess that I become a little weary in listening to the loud declamations of Republican orators concerning the so-called "economy" of President Coolidge and the Republican Party.

I have stated upon a number of occasions during this session that there were no evidences of economy—indeed, that the expenditures for the next fiscal year, after the deficiency bills which will be submitted are acted upon, will be in excess of the expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926. In other words, under the Republican régime, the expenses of the Federal Government will never be lower than they are now, but upon the contrary will increase. This means that the National Budget must provide approximately $5,000,000,000 for the annual expenses of the Government.

The military and naval expenditures for the next fiscal year will be at least $700,000,000. Not that entire amount will be carried in the bills which will be passed before adjournment, but when Congress meets in December, deficiency bills will be presented, and before it adjourns in March, 1927, millions of dollars will be added to the stupendous sums carried in the naval appropriation bill, which we passed a few days ago, and the Army appropriation bill, which is now before us.

Mr. President, I protest against the extravagance of this administration, against the lack of economy, and the gross inefficiency and incompetency in the administration of our national affairs. I now move that the bill be recommitted to the committee with instructions to report back a bill, the aggregate appropriations of which shall not exceed $300,000,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the junior Senator from Utah.

The motion was not agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

ORDER FOR RECESS

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business to-day it take a recess until 12 o'clock noon to-morrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Washington? The Chair hears none, and that order will be made.

PROHIBITION

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I understand that to-morrow the Senator from Idaho [Mr. GOODING] desires to make a speech on the bill that is now before the Senate, which is known as the long and short haul bill. I want to give notice that at the conclusion of the speech of the Senator from Idaho I desire to offer some remarks on the subject of prohibition.

INDIAN AND PRIVATE LANDS IN LUMMI INDIAN RESERVATION, WASH.

Mr. DILL. Out of order, from the Committee on Indian Affairs I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 60) for the purpose of reclaiming certain lands in Indian and private ownership within and immediately adjacent to the Lummi Indian Reservation, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes, and submit a report (No. 354) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $65,000, or so much thereof as may be required, for reclaiming by construction of dikes approximately 4,000 acres of lands in Indian and private ownership within and immediately adjacent to the Lummi Indian Reservation, in the State of Washington: *Provided*, That the total cost of the project shall be distributed equitably among the lands in Indian ownership and the lands in private ownership that may be benefited in accordance with the benefits received as designated by the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 2. The construction charge properly assessable against the Indian lands shall be reimbursed to the Treasury of the United States under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, and there is hereby created a lien against all such lands, which lien shall be recited in any patent issued therefor, prior to the reimbursement of the total amount chargeable against such lands.

SEC. 3. No part of the sum provided for herein shall be expended for construction on account of any lands in private ownership until an appropriate repayment contract in accordance with the terms of this act and in form approved by the Secretary of the Interior shall have been properly executed by the landowners whose lands may be benefited by the project.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to declare by public notice the cost of the project and the equitable share to be assessed against the lands benefited in accordance with their respective benefits, which cost shall be repaid in annual installments, the first installment to be 5 per cent of the total charge and be due and payable on the 1st day of December of the third year following the date of such public notice, the remainder of the said cost with interest on deferred amounts against land in private ownership from the date of said public notice to be 4 per cent per annum, to be payable on each December 1 thereafter, on the same basis as the first installment, until the obligation is paid in full.

SEC. 5. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to perform any and all acts and to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this act into full force and effect.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CONSTRUCTION OF ROAD ON LUMMI INDIAN RESERVATION, WASH.

Mr. DILL. From the Committee on Indian Affairs I report favorably without amendment the bill (S. 3217) to authorize an appropriation for the construction of a road on the Lummi Indian Reservation, Wash., and submit a report (No. 355) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KING. I desire to ask the Senator from Washington whether that bill has been approved by the Committee on Indian Affairs?

Mr. DILL. It has been approved by the committee and also by the department.

Mr. KING. And it has also been approved by the Budget Bureau?

Mr. DILL. Yes.

Mr. KING. Is the appropriation carried in the bill to come out of the Treasury of the United States or out of Indian funds?

Mr. DILL. It is an appropriation out of the Treasury of the United States to complete a county road crossing Indian lands which can not be built out of the regular funds that are appropriated for State aid.

Mr. McKELLAR. How much is the proposed appropriation?

Mr. DILL. It is $20,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That not to exceed the sum of $20,000 is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the completion and graveling of the road which has been partially constructed by Whatcom County across Lummi Indian Reservation, in the State of Washington, to be expended under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *Provided*, That the proper authorities of the State of Washington or the county of Whatcom shall agree to maintain such road free of expense to the United States.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TOMBIGBEE RIVER BRIDGE, ALABAMA

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, in view of the unanimous-consent order which has been granted to recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow, I wish to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of House bill 8382, which provides for the construction of a bridge in my State.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill named by him. Is there objection?

Mr. KING. Let the bill first be reported by title.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The title of the bill will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H. R. 8382) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Tombigbee River near Aliceville, on the Gainsville-Aliceville road, in Pickens County, Ala.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. KING. Is this proposed legislation in accordance with the policy which has been adopted?

Mr. BINGHAM. I will state for the benefit of the Senator from Utah that the bill for which the Senator from Alabama has asked consideration is a bill granting to the highway department of the State of Alabama the right to construct a free bridge and has nothing to do with tolls. The bill carries an amendment which is in accordance with the policy which was adopted by the Senate a few days ago.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, on page 2, line 3, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

So as to make the section read:

That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the highway department of the State of Alabama, and its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Tombigbee River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near Aliceville on the Gainesville-Aliceville road in the county of Pickens, in the State of Alabama, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906: *Provided*, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

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

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

CONSIDERATION OF BRIDGE BILLS

Mr. WADSWORTH obtained the floor.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York permit me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, there are a number of bridge bills on the calendar, all in exactly the same form, which have been reported by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM]. I ask unanimous consent for their present consideration.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does the Senator mean en bloc?

Mr. HEFLIN. En bloc, if there be no objection.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I think they had better not be put on the Journal en bloc.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I will object to that being done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard to that procedure.

Mr. HEFLIN. Then, Mr. President, I ask that they may be considered separately. There is no objection to them so far as I know. They are in exactly the same form as the bridge bill which the Senate just passed.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I may say that none of them provide for toll bridges; they all provide for free bridges.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, the bills are in consecutive order on the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Alabama again state his request for unanimous consent? The Chair thinks it is an unusual proceeding in the Senate.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, I have objected to considering the bills en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan objects to the consideration of the bills in the manner suggested by the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I merely submitted that request for the purpose of saving time. I ask now that the Senate may proceed to consider the bills to which I have referred in the consecutive order in which they appear on the calendar. It will take but a few moments to dispose of them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

ELK RIVER BRIDGE, ALABAMA

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8386) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across Elk River on the Athens-Florence road between Lauderdale and Limestone Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment on page 2, line 3, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments in the case of the bills which are now

being considered, which amendments are identical and have had the approval of the committees of both Houses, be not read by the clerk.

Mr. COUZENS. Mr. President, what is the particular amendment to which the Senator has reference?

Mr. BINGHAM. The amendment is that which, as the Senator will recall, requires the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers to pass not only upon the plans of the bridge from the point of view of navigation but also upon the plans of the bridge from the point of view of the volume and weight of the traffic.

Mr. COUZENS. Is that the only amendment?

Mr. BINGHAM. That is the only amendment to any of these bills.

Mr. HEFLIN. All of them are reported with the same amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

TENNESSEE RIVER BRIDGE NEAR SCOTTSBORO, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8388) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Tennessee River near Scottsboro, on the Scottsboro-Fort Payne road, in Jackson County, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 2, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

TENNESSEE RIVER BRIDGE NEAR WHITESBURG FERRY, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8389) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Tennessee River near Whitesburg Ferry, on Huntsville-Lacey Springs road, between Madison and Morgan Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 3, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

TOMBIGBEE RIVER BRIDGE NEAR JACKSON, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8390) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Tombigbee River near Jackson, on the Jackson-Mobile road, between Washington and Clarke Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 2, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

TOMBIGBEE RIVER BRIDGE BETWEEN CHOCTAW AND MARENGO COUNTIES, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8391) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Tombigbee River on the Butler-Linden road between the counties of Choctaw and Marengo, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 2, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

TOMBIGBEE RIVER BRIDGE NEAR GAINESVILLE, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8511) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Tombigbee River near Gainesville on the Gainesville-Eutaw road between Sumter and Green Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 2, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

COOSA RIVER BRIDGE NEAR CHILDERSBURG, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8521) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Coosa River near Childersburg on the Childersburg-Birmingham road between Shelby and Talladega Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 2, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

COOSA RIVER BRIDGE NEAR FAYETTEVILLE, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8522) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Coosa River near Fayetteville, on the Columbia-Sylacauga road, between Shelby and Talladega Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 3, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

PEA RIVER BRIDGE NEAR SAMSON, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8524) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to reconstruct a bridge across Pea River near Samson on the Opp-Samson road in Geneva County, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 2, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

PEA RIVER BRIDGE NEAR GENEVA, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8525) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to reconstruct a bridge across Pea River near Geneva on the Geneva-Florida road in Geneva County, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 2, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

CHOCTAWHATCHEE RIVER BRIDGE, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8526) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Choctawhatchee River on the Wicksburg-Daleville road between Dale and Houston Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 2, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

PEA RIVER BRIDGE AT ELBA, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8527) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across Pea River at Elba, Coffee County, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 1, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

COOSA RIVER BRIDGE BETWEEN CHILTON AND COOSA COUNTIES, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8528) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Coosa River on the Clanton-Rockford road between Chilton and Coosa Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 3, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

TENNESSEE RIVER BRIDGE NEAR GUNTERSVILLE, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8536) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across Tennessee River near Guntersville on the Guntersville-Huntsville road in Marshall County, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 3, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

COOSA RIVER BRIDGE NEAR PELL CITY, ALA.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8537) granting the consent of Congress to the highway department of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Coosa River near Pell City on the Pell City-Anniston road between St. Clair and Calhoun Counties, Ala., which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment on page 2, line 3, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

COOSA RIVER BRIDGE NEAR WETUMPKA, ALA.

Mr. HEFLIN. There is one more bridge bill, Mr. President, being Order of Business No. 319, House bill 8316, which I ask to have considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 8316) granting the consent of Congress to the State Highway Commission of the State of Alabama to construct a bridge across the Coosa River near Wetumpka, Elmore County, Ala., which had been reported to the Committee on Commerce with an amendment in section 1, page 2, line 1, after the numerals "1906," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to

and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF WILLIAMSBURG DECLARATION

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, there is a concurrent resolution coming over from the House which I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 13), which was read, as follows:

Whereas the Virginia Convention in session in the city of Williamsburg, on the 15th day of May, 1776, adopted a resolution instructing the representatives of Virginia in the Continental Congress to propose a resolution declaring the "United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the Colonies"; and

Whereas, pursuant to this action, a resolution was offered by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, in the Continental Congress and adopted on the 29th day of June, 1776, declaring the Colonies free and independent, and absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, which was followed by the Declaration of Independence; and

Whereas it is appropriate that Congress should recognize the 15th of May of the current year as the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of an event of such great historic interest and importance: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there shall be a committee of Congress consisting of 10 Members, 5 of whom shall be appointed by the Presiding Officer of the Senate and 5 by the Speaker of the House, to participate as representing the Congress of the United States in the observance of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary to be held in the city of Williamsburg, Va., on the 15th day of May, 1926.

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, May 15, 1926, will be the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the famous address of Patrick Henry, moving the resolution that later on was offered by Richard Henry Lee in the Continental Congress to the effect that the American Colonies are by right and ought to be free and independent. I should like to have the concurrent resolution considered, and I understand the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] desires to offer an amendment to it

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Ohio if the resolution carries an appropriation?

Mr. FESS. It carries no appropriation whatever. The Senator from Virginia, however, I understand, desires to offer an amendment making some provision for the expenses of the committee to be appointed.

Mr. SWANSON. I desire to offer an amendment. By an oversight the expenses of the committee to be appointed for the House and Senate were not provided for in the resolution. A committee of five Members from each House is to be appointed to represent the Congress at the celebration which is to be held. It will cost very little for the committee to go to Williamsburg, and I do not think the Senate will be bankrupted if it pays the expenses of the five members of the committee appointed to represent it on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the great event which is to be commemorated.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Does not the Senator think that the resolution and proposed amendment ought to go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate?

Mr. SWANSON. I do not think so. The amendment I desire to offer comes in on page 2, line 6, after the numerals "1926," and proposes to add the words "the expenses of said committee to be paid equally out of the contingent funds of the Senate and House, the amount thereof not exceeding $500." I think that amount will cover the expenses of the committee.

Mr. President, the declaration of Williamsburg marked the establishment of the first Republic in the Western Hemisphere. On the 15th day of May, 1776, Virginia declared herself free and independent. Of all the Colonies Virginia was the first to sever her connection with the British Empire and declare her independence. At the same time she directed her Representative in the Continental Congress to move that all of the Colonies are free and independent and directed the motion to be made in her name.

Mr. OVERMAN. What was the date of that action?

Mr. SWANSON. The 15th day of May, 1776.

Mr. OVERMAN. That was five days before the Mecklenberg declaration?

Mr. SWANSON. I am not talking about the Mecklenberg declaration. There is no necessity of bringing in any historical events of the State of North Carolina. No American Colony prior to the 15th day of May, 1776, had declared itself free and independent. It was the first republic on the Western Hemisphere.

It seems to me that the anniversary of the establishment of the first republic in two continents ought to be celebrated. I ask that my amendment be adopted, and I trust the Senate, without reference to the committee, will agree to the House concurrent resolution.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I suggest that the resolution should go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, together with the amendment proposed by the Senator from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair thinks that under the rule the resolution and the amendment, which will be considered pending, will necessarily go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and that reference will be made.

NATIONAL SESQUICENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

Mr. WARREN. From the Committee on Appropriations I report back favorably without amendment the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 197) to regulate the expenditure of the appropriation for Government participation in the National Sesquicentennial Exposition, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the appropriation made in the first deficiency act, fiscal year 1926, to enable the Government of the United States to participate in the National Sesquicentennial Exposition, may be expended for the purposes enumerated in that act without regard to the provisions of any other act relating to the expenditure of public moneys or the employment of personal services on the certificate of the National Sesquicentennial Exhibition Commission that the materials or services were necessary to enable the United States Government to participate in said exposition: *Provided*, That this authority shall not be construed to waive the submission of accounts and vouchers to the general accounting office for audit.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF HAITI

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I stated yesterday, after the Senator from Nevada [Mr. ODDIE] had offered certain documents for the RECORD relating to Haiti, that I should feel constrained to make some comments upon the same to-day. I intended to speak upon the Haitian question to-day, and offer a resolution dealing with Haitian affairs, but the time has been otherwise occupied. I intended also to read as a part of my remarks practically all of the memorandum which yesterday was the subject of controversy, and also to call the attention of the Senate to an interview by an American who has been in Haiti recently, and whose statements and charges relative to conditions there will scarcely be considered less serious than the statements in the memorandum to which reference was made. However, I shall not offer to-day the resolution, but give notice that I shall seek an early opportunity to address the Senate upon conditions in Haiti.

RED RIVER BRIDGE AT OR NEAR MONCLA, LA.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Louisiana, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House bill 8463, a bill granting the consent of Congress to the construction of a bridge—not a toll bridge—in the usual form, with the customary amendment which we have just adopted in connection with other bridges.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of House bill 8463, granting the consent of Congress to the construction of a bridge across the Red River at or near Moncla, La. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment.

The amendment was, on page 1, line 10, after "1906," to insert: "*Provided*, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Louisiana highway commission to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Red River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near Moncla, in the Parish of Avoyelles and State of Louisiana, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled, "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906: *Provided*, That such bridge shall not be constructed or commenced until the plans and specifications thereof shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers as being also satisfactory from the standpoint of the volume and weight of the traffic which will pass over it.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

LONG-AND-SHORT-HAUL CLAUSE OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 575) to amend section 4 of the interstate commerce act.

Mr. GOODING obtained the floor.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

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

Mr. GOODING. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD the telegrams and letters which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Carolina? The Chair hears none.

The telegrams and letters are as follows:

[Telegram]

CHARLOTTE, N. C., *March 9, 1926.*

Hon. F. M. SIMMONS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We understand Gooding bill comes up in the Senate Wednesday. We think this bill will be hurtful to our interests in getting competitive rates established. We are already handicapped as compared with other sections. Will appreciate your voting against this bill.

CHADWICK-HOSKINS CO.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., *March 10, 1926.*

Hon. F. M. SIMMONS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Believe it would be better to let interstate commerce law stand as at present. Think North Carolina and its industries stand more to lose than to gain if all discretion is taken from the Commerce Commission in the matter of considering competition under certain conditions as proposed by the Gooding bill.

W. N. REYNOLDS.

WILSON, N. C., *March 10, 1926.*

Hon. F. M. SIMMONS,

Capitol, Washington, D. C.:

We oppose Senate bill 575, as we believe it is unwise to take from the commission the discretionary powers of permitting rail lines to meet competition of boat lines after due hearing and investigating. It would be detrimental to the tobacco interests of North Carolina.

WILSON TOBACCO BOARD OF TRADE,
W. J. KING, *President.*

RALEIGH, N. C., *March 10, 1926.*

Hon. F. M. SIMMONS,

Capitol, Washington, D. C.:

We are opposed to the Gooding bill requiring rigid application of fourth section of interstate commerce act and prefer allowing Interstate Commerce Commission to decide fourth-section applications on their merits.

NORTH CAROLINA COTTON GROWERS' COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., *March 10, 1926.*

Hon. F. M. SIMMONS,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Our southern cotton manufacturers are concerned regarding Gooding bill now pending. This bill if enacted, we understand, would tie the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission in such way that the commission would have no authority to make competitive rates, no matter what situation might arise making it necessary for us to have competitive rates. The steady growth of industrial development in the South makes issue of rates paramount. Trust you can use your influence to bring about defeat of Gooding bill.

AMERICAN COTTON MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION,
Per W. D. ADAMS, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

HIGH POINT, N. C., *March 9, 1926.*

Senator F. M. SIMMONS,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We, along with other large shippers, are very much interested in the Gooding bill now before the Senate and trust you will see your way clear to oppose this bill.

There are so many complications in rate making that we would like to see all rate making left with the Interstate Commerce Commission, believing that the commission gives the necessary time and thought to such matters so that shippers and transportation companies usually receive fair treatment.

Many thanks for your kind consideration.

Yours very respectfully,

TOMLINSON CHAIR MANUFACTURING CO.,
C. F. TOMLINSON, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

CHATHAM MANUFACTURING CO.,
Winston-Salem, N. C., March 10, 1926.

Hon. F. M. SIMMONS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SIMMONS: Our larger shippers here, who cover the United States with their products, feel as I do, that the Gooding bill would cost us a good deal of money if it becomes a law.

We have tried to investigate it pretty thoroughly and would be very much gratified if, in your wise judgment, you will see it as we do. Our freight rates are terrific now, as you know.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours truly, H. G. CHATHAM.

Mr. GOODING. Mr. President, in my judgment there never has been before the Senate a more important bill than Senate bill 575, as far as the transportation of the country is concerned. Knowing the lateness of the hour, I do not, of course, desire to proceed this evening. I will ask the Senator from Washington if it is the intention to have an executive session?

Mr. JONES of Washington. It is.

Mr. GOODING. Then I will yield the floor, Mr. President.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. JONES of Washington. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

RECESS

Mr. JONES of Washington. I move that the Senate take a recess, the recess being until to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 37 minutes p. m.) the Senate, under the order previously entered, took a recess until to-morrow, Friday, March 12, 1926, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 11, 1926

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 18, 1926:

Marion F. Haralson.

John F. Mahoney.

(These officers have passed the examinations required by law and the regulations of the service.)

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE

David Leland Spaulding, of Washington, to be register of the land office at Seattle, Wash., vice Irving D. Smith, resigned.

REAPPOINTMENT IN THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS OF THE ARMY

GENERAL OFFICER

To be brigadier general, reserve

Richard Coke Marshall, jr., reserve, from February 4, 1926.

POSTMASTERS

ALABAMA

Joseph D. Pruett to be postmaster at Boaz, Ala., in place of J. D. Pruett. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Meige C. Bronson to be postmaster at Dadeville, Ala., in place of M. C. Bronson. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Tommie P. Lewis to be postmaster at Seale, Ala., in place of T. P. Lewis. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Pallie M. Ellis to be postmaster at Valley Head, Ala., in place of P. M. Ellis. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Henry E. Hart to be postmaster at Waverly, Ala., in place of H. E. Hart. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

ARIZONA

James L. T. Watters to be postmaster at Duncan, Ariz., in place of J. L. T. Watters. Incumbent's commission expired February 2, 1926.

CALIFORNIA

Christian F. Richter to be postmaster at Auburn, Calif., in place of C. F. Richter. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

Vada M. Slye to be postmaster at Cucamonga, Calif., in place of V. M. Slye. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

Charles H. Silva to be postmaster at Newcastle, Calif., in place of C. H. Silva. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

Roy E. Copeland to be postmaster at San Jacinto, Calif., in place of R. E. Copeland. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

Clarence Beckley to be postmaster at Santa Paula, Calif., in place of Clarence Beckley. Incumbent's commission expired March 4, 1926.

Samuel F. Ellison to be postmaster at Vacaville, Calif., in place of S. F. Ellison. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

Clifford M. Moon to be postmaster at Victorville, Calif., in place of C. M. Moon. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

COLORADO

John W. Hultquist to be postmaster at Wray, Colo., in place of J. W. Hultquist. Incumbent's commission expired March 8, 1926.

Charley W. Mickey to be postmaster at Rico, Colo., in place of Clare Bloomingkemper, resigned.

IDAHO

Laura S. Enberg to be postmaster at Fruitland, Idaho, in place of Iona Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1925.

Ira W. Moore to be postmaster at St. Anthony, Idaho, in place of I. W. Moore. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Charles H. Hoag to be postmaster at Worley, Idaho, in place of C. H. Hoag. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

ILLINOIS

Edward H. Hannant to be postmaster at Mount Sterling, Ill., in place of E. H. Hannant. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

John W. Sheary to be postmaster at New Holland, Ill., in place of J. E. Sheary. Incumbent's commission expired October 20, 1925.

Isaac D. Gum to be postmaster at Pocahontas, Ill., in place of I. D. Gum. Incumbent's commission expired March 1, 1926.

Maurice Z. Moore to be postmaster at Industry, Ill., in place of J. O. Miller, removed.

INDIANA

Jacob W. Mintzer to be postmaster at Ashley, Ind., in place of J. W. Mintzer. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1926.

Edgar H. Newlin to be postmaster at Bloomingdale, Ind., in place of E. H. Newlin. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

William O. Nation to be postmaster at Centerpoint, Ind., in place of W. O. Nation. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Arthur F. Saylor to be postmaster at New Paris, Ind., in place of A. F. Saylor. Incumbent's commission expired February 15, 1926.

Byron B. Ganger to be postmaster at Bristol, Ind., in place of L. B. Kantz, resigned.

IOWA

Cleon F. Wigton to be postmaster at Britt, Iowa, in place of C. F. Wigton. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Armanis F. Patton to be postmaster at Gowrie, Iowa, in place of A. F. Patton. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Lynn McCracken to be postmaster at Manilla, Iowa, in place of Lynn McCracken. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Keith L. McClurkin to be postmaster at Morning Sun, Iowa, in place of K. L. McClurkin. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1925.

Ida G. Schloeman to be postmaster at Norway, Iowa, in place of I. G. Schloeman. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Danel O. Clark to be postmaster at Ogden, Iowa, in place of D. O. Clark. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Otto Anderson to be postmaster at Ossian, Iowa, in place of Otto Anderson. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Leo E. Perry to be postmaster at Rhodes, Iowa, in place of L. E. Perry. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Ralph S. Van Hooser to be postmaster at Terril, Iowa, in place of R. S. Van Hooser. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Charles P. Worrell to be postmaster at Whiting, Iowa, in place of C. P. Worrell. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

KANSAS

Harry T. Hill to be postmaster at Colony, Kans., in place of H. T. Hill. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Samuel N. Nunemaker to be postmaster at Hesston, Kans., in place of S. N. Nunemaker. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Eva M. Baird to be postmaster at Spearville, Kans., in place of E. M. Baird. Incumbent's commission expired January 17, 1926.

KENTUCKY

John P. Perkins to be postmaster at Albany, Ky., in place of J. P. Perkins. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

LOUISIANA

Charles J. Slack to be postmaster at Maringouin, La., in place of C. J. Slack. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1926.

Henry A. Donaldson to be postmaster at Reserve, La., in place of H. A. Donaldson. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1926.

Dorothy J. Fetzer to be postmaster at South Mansfield, La., in place of D. J. Fetzer. Incumbent's commission expired March 7, 1926.

MAINE

La Forest T. Spear to be postmaster at Rockport, Me., in place of L. T. Spear. Incumbent's commission expired November 23, 1925.

MASSACHUSETTS

Jennie L. Holbrook to be postmaster at East Douglas, Mass., in place of J. L. Holbrook. Incumbent's commission expired January 30, 1926.

Effie M. Ellis to be postmaster at East Wareham, Mass., in place of E. M. Ellis. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Lester M. Blair to be postmaster at Whitinsville, Mass., in place of L. M. Blair. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Frederick M. Hickey to be postmaster at Grafton, Mass., in place of Martin Hickey, deceased.

Doris B. Daniels to be postmaster at Shrewsbury, Mass., in place of H. E. Buxton, resigned.

MICHIGAN

Helen G. Smith to be postmaster at Mohawk, Mich., in place of T. H. Berryman, resigned.

MINNESOTA

William F. Bischoff to be postmaster at Bigfork, Minn., in place of Folmer Bjorge, resigned.

MISSISSIPPI

James C. Reddoch to be postmaster at Quitman, Miss., in place of J. C. Reddoch. Incumbent's commission expired February 28, 1926.

MISSOURI

Edwin H. Vemmer to be postmaster at Gerald, Mo., in place of E. H. Vemmer. Incumbent's commission expired March 8, 1926.

James A. Pidcock to be postmaster at Lockwood, Mo., in place of J. A. Pidcock. Incumbent's commission expired February 2 1926.

James H. Somerville to be postmaster at Mercer, Mo., in place of J. H. Somerville. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Glenn S. Elliston to be postmaster at Montrose, Mo., in place of G. S. Elliston. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

May Venard to be postmaster at Tina, Mo., in place of May Venard. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Leland T. Moore to be postmaster at Warsaw, Mo., in place of L. T. Moore. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

MONTANA

Henry O. Woare to be postmaster at Chester, Mont., in place of J. T. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired January 17, 1926.

Sidney Bennett to be postmaster at Scobey, Mont., in place of Sidney Bennett. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Almon W. Eaton to be postmaster at Wolfeboro, N. H., in place of A. W. Eaton. Incumbent's commission expired January 25, 1926.

NEW JERSEY

Alfred P. Jolin to be postmaster at High Bridge, N. J., in place of E. B. Ramsey. Incumbent's commission expired November 18, 1925.

Harry J. Manning to be postmaster at South Plainfield, N. J., in place of P. F. Kaine, resigned.

NEW YORK

Melvin A. Marble to be postmaster at Clayton, N. Y., in place of M. A. Marble. Incumbent's commission expired March 7, 1926.

Harry J. Goodfellow to be postmaster at Fayetteville, N. Y., in place of H. J. Goodfellow. Incumbent's commission expired March 7, 1926.

Lucy E. Murray to be postmaster at Florida, N. Y., in place of L. E. Murray. Incumbent's commission expired December 14, 1925.

Harold E. Sargent to be postmaster at Liverpool, N. Y., in place of H. E. Sargent. Incumbent's commission expired January 5, 1926.

Lewis O. Wilson to be postmaster at Long Beach, N. Y., in place of L. O. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired February 21, 1926.

David R. Dunn to be postmaster at Scarsdale, N. Y., in place of D. R. Dunn. Incumbent's commission expired November 17, 1925.

William H. Evans to be postmaster at Morrisville, N. Y., in place of R. W. Northup, resigned.

NORTH CAROLINA

Robert O. Smith to be postmaster at Creedmoor, N. C., in place of R. O. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired November 9, 1925.

Gideon T. Matthews to be postmaster at Rocky Mount, N. C., in place of L. F. Tillery. Incumbent's commission expired June 4, 1924.

NORTH DAKOTA

John H. Bolton to be postmaster at Fairmount, N. Dak., in place of E. W. Wetherbee. Incumbent's commission expired November 8, 1925.

Abbie L. Boyd to be postmaster at Pingree, N. Dak., in place of A. L. Boyd. Incumbent's commission expired March 4, 1926.

OHIO

Egbert H. Phelps to be postmaster at Andover, Ohio, in place of E. H. Phelps. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

William S. Burcher to be postmaster at Beallsville, Ohio, in place of W. S. Burcher. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1926.

Frank M. McCoy to be postmaster at Bloomingburg, Ohio, in place of F. M. McCoy. Incumbent's commission expired February 10, 1926.

George F. Ruggles to be postmaster at Jefferson, Ohio, in place of G. F. Ruggles. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Cortelle B. Hamilton to be postmaster at Kinsman, Ohio, in place of C. B. Hamilton. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Adda B. Henkle to be postmaster at Larue, Ohio, in place of A. B. Henkle. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

William F. Lafferre to be postmaster at Lewisville, Ohio, in place of W. F. Lafferre. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1926.

Leonard L. Harding to be postmaster at Milford, Ohio, in place of L. L. Harding. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Harry H. Davis to be postmaster at New Holland, Ohio, in place of H. H. Davis. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Theodore S. Hephinger to be postmaster at New Philadelphia, Ohio, in place of T. S. Hephinger. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

William T. Sprankel to be postmaster at New Straitsville, Ohio, in place of W. T. Sprankel. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Mathias Tolson to be postmaster at Salineville, Ohio, in place of Mathias Tolson. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

James W. Rush to be postmaster at Sardis, Ohio, in place of J. W. Rush. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1926.

Fred Mills to be postmaster at Sebring, Ohio, in place of Fred Mills. Incumbent's commission expires March 13, 1926.

Ward B. Petty to be postmaster at Sycamore, Ohio, in place of W. B. Petty. Incumbent's commission expired February 10, 1926.

John F. McQueen to be postmaster at Wellsville, Ohio, in place of J. F. McQueen. Incumbent's commission expired February 28, 1926.

OREGON

Minta D. Cathers to be postmaster at Wheeler, Oreg., in place of M. D. Cathers. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

PENNSYLVANIA

Joseph A. Buchanan to be postmaster at Ambler, Pa., in place of J. A. Buchanan. Incumbent's commission expired February 6, 1926.

Ira R. Burns to be postmaster at Bellwood, Pa., in place of I. R. Burns. Incumbent's commission expired August 17, 1925.

Fred F. Duke to be postmaster at Clifton Heights, Pa., in place of Bernard Doherty. Incumbent's commission expired October 24, 1922.

Samuel W. Hodgson to be postmaster at Cochranville, Pa., in place of S. W. Hodgson. Incumbent's commission expired March 7, 1926.

Anna M. Hess to be postmaster at Duncansville, Pa., in place of A. M. Hess. Incumbent's commission expired August 24, 1925.

William Rosemergy to be postmaster at Mayfield, Pa., in place of John Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired January 30, 1926.

John W. Eshleman to be postmaster at Mount Joy, Pa., in place of J. W. Eshleman. Incumbent's commission expired December 20, 1925.

Charles A. Graeff to be postmaster at Schuylkill Haven, Pa., in place of J. M. Ebling. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1924.

Percy B. Swanwick to be postmaster at Harmarville, Pa., in place of F. S. Davis, resigned.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Cecil L. Adams to be postmaster at Frankfort, S. Dak., in place of C. L. Adams. Incumbent's commission expired November 17, 1925.

TENNESSEE

Laura W. Malone to be postmaster at Alexandria, Tenn., in place of B. P. Compton. Incumbent's commission expired January 30, 1926.

William D. Howser to be postmaster at Clarksville, Tenn., in place of W. D. Howser. Incumbent's commission expires March 23, 1926.

Joe R. Taylor to be postmaster at Etowah, Tenn., in place of J. R. Taylor. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

William J. Whitsett to be postmaster at Lewisburg, Tenn., in place of W. J. Whitsett. Incumbent's commission expires March 24, 1926.

George B. Beaver to be postmaster at McMinnville, Tenn., in place of G. B. Beaver. Incumbent's commission expired January 17, 1926.

TEXAS

Marshall Callaway to be postmaster at Howe, Tex., in place of Marshall Callaway. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1926.

Collins M. Click to be postmaster at Lovelady, Tex., in place of C. M. Click. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Silas T. Compton to be postmaster at Mount Enterprise, Tex., in place of S. T. Compton. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

Rufus L. Hybarger to be postmaster at Pineland, Tex., in place of R. L. Hybarger. Incumbent's commission expired December 20, 1925.

Joseph E. Willis to be postmaster at Rochelle, Tex., in place of J. E. Willis. Incumbent's commission expired February 10, 1926.

Mary E. Holtzclaw to be postmaster at Tatum, Tex., in place of M. E. Holtzclaw. Incumbent's commission expired March 2, 1926.

UTAH

Eugene Chatlin to be postmaster at Helper, Utah, in place of J. F. Hunter, resigned.

VIRGINIA

Griffith S. Marchant to be postmaster at Mathews, Va., in place of G. S. Marchant. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

George E. Jones to be postmaster at Painter, Va., in place of G. E. Jones. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1926.

WASHINGTON

George L. Deu Pree to be postmaster at Marysville, Wash., in place of G. L. Deu Pree. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

Theodore M. Benedict, jr., to be postmaster at Lyle, Wash., in place of E. M. Splawn, resigned.

WEST VIRGINIA

Hattie Brown to be postmaster at Bramwell, W. Va., in place of M. R. Walker. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1924.

WISCONSIN

John W. Crandall to be postmaster at Deerbrook, Wis., in place of J. W. Crandall. Incumbent's commission expired February 15, 1926.

Michael C. Keasling to be postmaster at Exeland, Wis., in place of M. C. Keasling. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1926.

George B. Aschenbrener to be postmaster at Fifield, Wis., in place of G. B. Aschenbrener. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1926.

Chester A. Minshall to be postmaster at Viroqua, Wis., in place of W. N. Coffland. Incumbent's commission expired March 22, 1924.

Carl R. Anderson to be postmaster at Weyerhauser, Wis., in place of C. R. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired December 15, 1925.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 11, 1926

DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE

Philip Adams to be secretary.
Edward B. Rand to be vice consul of career.

POSTMASTERS

ALABAMA

Lucy Downing, Moulton.

ARIZONA

Donald McIntyre, Yuma.

CALIFORNIA

Henry M. Hammond, Alameda.
Florence E. Mathews, Brea.
Leonard E. Whitener, Coalinga.
Rena J. Wright, Downieville.
Walter L. Cleveland, Huntington Park.
Kenneth F. Reynolds, Irvington.
Rebecca Dabney, La Crescenta.
Miriam I. Paine, Mariposa.
Philip C. Scadden, Nevada City.
Fred R. Howe, Santa Cruz.
Edward T. Ketcham, Santa Maria.
Ray A. Ferrill, Smith River.
Mary L. Schellenger, Soquel.
Columbus W. Bouldin, Strathmore.
Elsie B. Lausten, Walnut Grove.

DELAWARE

William H. Rogers, Frederica.
John J. Jolls, Middletown.

FLORIDA

Jesse F. Warren, Apalachicola.
William B. Wingate, Callahan.
Edward N. Winslow, Cocoa.
Effie M. Robinson, Coleman.
Rexford D. L. Graves, Daytona Beach.
Elmer J. Roux, Fernandina.
Mattie D. Perry, Floral City.
Louis C. Lynch, Gainesville.
William H. Berkstresser, Hawthorn.
Vilma B. Rhodes, Oakland.
Pearl E. Graham, Orange City.
John D. Peterson, Pierson.
Orrell W. Prevatt, Seville.
Cornelia Higgins, Warrington.

INDIANA

Alice H. Firebaugh, Medaryville.

IOWA

John H. Taylor, New Sharon.
Thomas F. Fawcett, Ocheyedan.

KENTUCKY

Walter Robins, Brodhead.
Arthur G. Powell, Irvine.
Ludlow F. Petty, Louisville.
Oscar W. Gaines, Oakland.

LOUISIANA

Maude Norsworthy, Collinston.
Angus O. Ott, Kentwood.
Thomas E. Barham, Oak Ridge.
George S. O'Brien, Rhoda.

MAINE

Winnifred J. Libby, Ocean Park.

MASSACHUSETTS

George L. Minott, Gardner.
Frances C. Hill, Templeton.

MINNESOTA

George T. Sands, Alvarado.
Charles W. Strebel, Arlington.
Edward L. Barstow, Barnum.
Emily M. Drexler, Brandon.
Robert W. Stewart, Ceylon.
Michael Hollaren, Ellsworth.
Leslie A. Persons, Garvin.
Lewis Garden, Gary.
Erwin O. King, Hackensack.
Hazel W. Noeske, Hewitt.
Amos P. Wells, Holloway.
Harlan J. Miner, International Falls.
Lynn J. Dewey, Jeffers.
Fred G. Brower, Kimball.
Harry Coleman, Lancaster.
Edward M. La Fond, Little Falls.
Albert D. Day, Long Prairie.
Wallace R. Ackerman, Mapleton.
Andrew Bromstad, Milan.
Ralph V. Townsend, Minnesota Lake.
Walter W. Pearson, Nevis.
Arnold J. Derksen, Pequot.
James N. Kain, Round Lake.
William H. Wilson, Rushmore.
John C. Klein, St. Joseph.
Lewis A. Bradford, Verndale.
Joseph Groebner, Wabasso.

MISSISSIPPI

Nettie M. Scott, Lake Cormorant.
Lula M. T. Rutledge, Newhebron.

MISSOURI

Leland G. Riley, Eagleville.
John M. Atkinson, jr., Eldorado Springs.
Herold D. Condray, Ellsinore.
Clyde E. Jennings, Hollister.
Benjamin S. Lacy, Malden.
Guy Ridings, Middletown.
George W. Davies, Osceola.
Gustav C. Rau, Pacific.
William F. Norris, Perry.
Jennie M. Peck, Sheldon.

John J. Schaper, Warrenton.
Oscar F. Schulte, Washington.
Albert W. Selway, Williamstown.

NEW JERSEY

Charles H. Conner, Bayonne.

NEW YORK

Otis G. Fuller, Central Square.
Norman S. Taylor, Clayville.
Earl A. Wheeler, East Randolph.
Lena M. Johnson, Interlaken.
Darwin A. Sanders, Keene Valley.
David C. Gilmour, Morristown.
John B. Mullan, Rochester.

NORTH CAROLINA

Dan W. Hill, Asheville.
Loyd V. Sorrell, Cary.
Claude C. Tillman, Dover.
Walter F. Justus, Flat Rock.
Jenks Terry, Hamlet.
James L. Davenport, Jamesville.
John C. Smith, Lenoir.
Charles R. Thomas, Milton.
Henry Reynolds, North Wilkesboro.
Thomas H. Peele, Rich Square.

NORTH DAKOTA

M. Evelyn Peavy, Egeland.

OKLAHOMA

Mahlon F. Manville, Ada.
Leo C. Sharp, Antlers.
Thomas H. W. McDowell, Blackwell.
Ulysses S. Markham, Caddo.
Edgar R. Freels, Canute.
William C. Cooley, Cashion.
Dallas M. Rose, Davis.
Coral B. Waldie, Deer Creek.
William J. Krebs, Kaw.
Marshall H. Whaley, Morrison.
Robert V. Anderson, Muskogee.
James S. Goodwin, Stratford.
Etta B. Henderson, Wayne.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harry L. Warnick, Glen Riddle.
Edward F. Poist, McSherrystown.
Lawrence L. Steiger, Mercersburg.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Trower Cravens, Beaufort.
Louis Stackley, Kingstree.

TEXAS

Joseph C. Eakin, Chilton.
William J. Ott, Cuero.
Maggie Beck, Hillsboro.
Robert Dempster, Hitchcock.
Alfred M. Finger, Hondo.
Virgil A. Smith, Kenedy.
Thomas L. Darden, Meridian.
Sam G. Reid, Oglesby.
Charles E. Simpson, Refugio.
Willie E. Penick, Rule.
Thomas J. Hill, Yoakum.

VERMONT

Milton B. Hoag, Grand Isle.
Otto R. Bennett, Manchester.
Arthur G. Hinman, Middlebury.

WISCONSIN

Edward W. Guth, Adell.
Royal C. Taylor, Boyceville.
Dell L. Amerpohl, Brodhead.
Leo O. Dietrich, Cassville.
Benjamin F. Querhammer, Cazenovia.
Henry W. Lemmenes, Cedar Grove.
Lewis T. Larson, Danbury.
Clarence L. Jordalen, Deerfield.
Emil C. Kraemer, Fond du Lac.
Charles H. Prouty, Genoa City.
Charles P. Peterson, Glenwood City.
Kate S. Conrad, Hammond.
John P. Fitzgerald, Mellen.
William T. Hoyt, Rosendale.
Christian R. Mau, West Salem.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, *March 11, 1926*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

O Lord, Thou art the Judge of all the earth, and can do no wrong. May our offering unto Thee be an earnest and a contrite heart. We thank Thee for the hope, the joy, and the love that make life an abiding blessing. Be Thou unto us the inspiration of duty and the restraining power when the way is not clear. Emancipate the hearts of all men from the bondage of prejudice and intolerance. Give us the courage of a compelling faith that declares in the midst of all problems that man and his earth shall yet come to their glory. Gladden all our homes, and may they symbolize the peace and the rest of the Father's house above. The light on the altar of a happy home has been extinguished. We pause a moment in silence, for his memory is dear and his labor lives. Comfort the fireside in its affliction, and in the fading of the starlight may they see the coming morn. Amen.

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

NATIONAL SESQUICENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of House Joint Resolution 197, to regulate the expenditure of the appropriation for Government participation in the National Sesquicentennial Exposition.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of House joint resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Joint Resolution 197

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 197) to regulate the expenditure of the appropriation for Government participation in the National Sesquicentennial Exposition

Resolved, etc., That the appropriation made in the first deficiency act, fiscal year 1926, to enable the Government of the United States to participate in the National Sesquicentennial Exposition, may be expended for the purposes enumerated in that act without regard to the provisions of any other act relating to the expenditure of public moneys or the employment of personal services, on the certificate of the National Sesquicentennial Exhibition Commission that the materials or services were necessary to enable the United States Government to participate in said exposition: *Provided*, That this authority shall not be construed to waive the submission of accounts and vouchers to the General Accounting Office for audit.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like a few minutes to explain the purpose of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the gentleman from Illinois is recognized for five minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. When the appropriation for $2,185,500 was made for the sesquicentennial exposition, of which $1,185,500 was intended to be used for the exhibits to be displayed by the National Government, it was assumed that the work would be conducted under the ordinary laws in existence at the time. But the Secretary of Commerce, who is the chairman of the national commission, and the Secretary of State, who is a member, have sent a communication to the Committee on Appropriations setting out the impossibility of proceeding with the exposition necessary to enable the Government to make exhibits in time to meet the needs of the case. Time is the essence of the whole question here. To assemble the personnel that will be required both in Washington and Philadelphia under the civil-service rules, for example, they say will take about 60 days, whereas many exhibits are required to be installed under a time limit fixed before the end of that 60 days. It is clear from the statement they make to us that it would not be possible for them to proceed expeditiously if the civil-service rules are not waived.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Certainly.

Mr. SNELL. The joint resolution does not do anything more than was intended to do when we passed the original resolution.

Mr. MADDEN. No; but I think it ought to be explained for the record. Then, as to the letting of contracts, many of which must be let in the expenditure of the funds, under the law they would be required to advertise for bids. That would take 30 to 60 days before they could get the bids and before they could decide upon what they would do. Then they would have to

wait until the contracts were executed, which would take 30 or 60 days more, and by that time half of the exhibition period would be over.

So they submitted a resolution asking that the laws in respect to the employment of persons and the purchase of supplies be waived. The resolution did not provide, as they submitted it, for an audit of the account as approved by the national commission. I have inserted at the end of the resolution submitted to us a proviso which requires that all accounts for all purposes in connection with the expenditure of this money must be submitted to the Comptroller General for audit. I think, the Commitee on Appropriations unanimously thought, and it is by their authority that I am asking for this now—that the proviso should be added. The positions are only temporary; at the end of the exposition the positions no longer will exist and those required to conduct the service can not be recruited within the time necessary under the civil-service rules.

Mr. BLANTON. When did the time become the essence of the contract?

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman from Texas wants some time, Mr. Speaker, and I yield him three minutes.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, time has suddenly become the essence of this legislation. Yet this matter has been before Congress for a long time. In a former Congress the first resolution concerning it came up and subsequent ones have come down to the present situation when time becomes the essence of them all. This proviso is the most ridiculous one that I ever knew the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to place in a resolution. What is the use of submitting these accounts to the Comptroller General for audit when we are by law now saying that there shall be no restrictions and no limitations whatever on the expenditure of the $2,186,000. These people can spend it just like they want to. And any way they spend it will therefore be lawful. Then why have an audit by the Comptroller General?

Mr. BYRNS. My friend does not object to publicity, does he?

Mr. MADDEN. We want to know what they spend it for.

Mr. BLANTON. If we were providing how they shall expend it there would be a reason for letting the splendid Comptroller General audit it.

But when we give them this $2,186,000 and say, "Spend it just as you want to, Mr. VARE," what is the use of sending it to McCarl and bothering him about it? [Laughter.] They do not usually catch the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] napping; but he wanted to make some showing here before his colleagues that he was protecting the Treasury, because he is always doing that, and it appealed to him that he must do something, and so he says, "After they spend it and it is all gone, then let us let McCarl see how they spend it, so that we may find out something about it." But McCarl could not stop the expenditure of any of it. McCarl has stopped lots of money from being improperly spent. He stops the Navy Department and the Army every year from improperly spending hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman from Texas that Mr. McCarl has done a wonderful work.

Mr. BLANTON. Wonderful! He is the most wonderful man we have in the employ of the Government. He has made the railroads pay back into the people's Treasury hundreds of thousands of dollars, but after this proviso is passed, Comptroller General McCarl could not make these people pay back one cent, and the gentleman knows it, because it is lawful for them to spend as they please. He can not turn down a single account, and it is foolishness to adopt this last clause, as it is no safeguard whatever.

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

There was no objection.

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

VETERANS' LEGISLATION

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes out of order to prefer a unanimous-consent request and to discuss legislation affecting disabled veterans.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Dakota asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, last December, as chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Legislation, I introduced H. R. 4474, a general legislative bill affecting disabled veterans. Since that time the Committee on Veterans' Legislation has continuously had hearings on that measure and has discussed it. The committee has directed me to report a general bill based on the provisions of H. R. 4474. This involves a very great number of amendments to the bill as originally introduced, perhaps 75. For that reason the Veterans' Committee decided to introduce practically a new bill, which would require a new number. If that is brought before the House, it should be printed in such a way that the Members of the House will know what the committee has tried to do; and I am about to prefer a unanimous-consent request that when this bill is printed it be printed in two kinds of type, so that the present law would appear in italics and the part of the present law stricken out would have a line drawn through it and the amendments would appear in caps. If this is not done, it would be impossible for anybody except one who has especially studied the legislation to tell what it is all about. If it is done as I request, it will be easy for any Member of the House to know exactly what the committee has done—what has been stricken out, what is proposed, and what part of the old law is retained. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill, when it is introduced to-day, be printed as I have indicated.

Mr. BLACK of Texas. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, it seems to me that that would be an unusual way of printing the bill. Usually the report gives that information about a bill. Has the gentleman made any estimate as to how much that will increase the size of the bill?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. It will increase it very little. We have already had a confidential print in that form for the use of the committee. This type is all set up in exactly the form proposed, and it would be a distinct saving to the Government to have it printed in that way.

Mr. BLACK of Texas. I shall not object.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have looked at the bill proposed by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON]. A short time ago I introduced an amendment to the rules providing for the method of printing bills amending existing laws so that the Members on the floor and in the committee would know what is being attempted. I do not think that the method adopted by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] is the right method, because it involves additional paper and, I think, additional work. Nevertheless, I shall not object. I simply call attention to this amendment to the rules which I have proposed and which some couple of hundred Members of the House have agreed to, and which I hope the Committee on Rules will take up and consider very carefully and adopt, so that it will save the time of the Members in going over pending legislation amending existing law, not only when they are in their offices but here upon the floor. Many times it happens that bills are brought on the floor amending existing law with no indication upon the face of the bill of what is proposed to be amended. Much time is lost by questioning Members and in explaining what is proposed to be amended. Simply providing in the bill an indication of what is attempted would inform the Members without spending time and effort in explanation.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I am in hearty sympathy with the proposal of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MACGREGOR]. I think that should be adopted; but because we have this bill already printed in this form it would be much cheaper to let that type stand, and it will allow every Member of the House to know exactly what is proposed.

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

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I think the suggestion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MACGREGOR] is a wise one. It will save time. As long as we follow the present rule of printing, where it is proposed to amend a law, we must print the whole section. The gentleman's suggestion will save a great deal of time, because in a moment we can tell by inspection just what has been added to and what has been taken away from the present law.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I think the gentleman is correct.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. If the gentleman will permit, was it not true in the last Congress in its closing days when a bill came before the House every member of the committee interested found it very difficult to explain to the House—and I am sure the same thing happened on the other side of the Capitol—where the changes were?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. That was because of the form in which the bill was printed. We are trying to obviate that now.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Just as a bill coming from the Senate with amendments, the same method is employed in the printing of committee amendments.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Exactly the same.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Assuming this bill is introduced and a new bill printed under unanimous-consent request and it becomes necessary for the committee to report it with amendments, how can we determine what are the committee amendments?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I am going to report it at once without committee amendments.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Dakota asks unanimous consent to print the bill referred to in a manner indicating changes in existing law. Is there objection?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Reserving the right to object, for a matter of information I want to ask if any arrangement has been made for the consideration of this bill when reported?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. None, except I have discussed the matter with the Speaker for a moment. The bill has been just reported, and I expect to try to get it up as soon as I can under the general rules of the House, as indicated at the time of the passage of other veterans' legislation in 1924 and 1925.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Is it the gentleman's expectation to call it up on Calendar Wednesday?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I will say that as chairman of the committee I am to-day introducing a rule which will go to the Committee on Rules asking for a day to consider it under the general rules of the House unless some other arrangement can be made. The appropriation bills have the right of way, but I am endeavoring to bring it up in every possible way it can be considered except we do not desire to bring it up under suspension of the rules or any way which would preclude amendments.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, the gentleman stated that he had had this printed confidentially?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. It was necessary to have it for the benefit of the committee.

Mr. WINGO. Did the gentleman go to the Printing Committee for permission to have it printed?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I did not.

Mr. WINGO. How did the gentleman get around the law?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I do not know, we had it printed that way.

Mr. WINGO. I wanted to know, because if the gentleman would make a request to do something like that in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Printing Office would ignore it and say it was beyond the power of Congress to do that, Congress having abdicated its power by passing a general statute saying the Joint Committee on Printing should control this, and the Joint Committee on Printing having made regulations controlling such requests the entire thing was in their hands. Now whenever the House grants unanimous consent for a change of this kind in the printing of the RECORD the Printing Office ignores that, and when taken to task about it refer you to the Committee on Printing. Of course, they do not always check the Senate. They can do anything on earth with the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the way of printing and the Printing Office will not check them. I wanted to know if the gentleman had taken it up with the Committee on Printing and if it is going to permit this for a committee and yet refuse the whole House to make the same kind of a proposition when it wants to print matter in the RECORD.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I anticipated that if there was any difficulty it would be in the House and not the Committee on Printing, and if no objection be made to unanimous consent in the House there would not be in the Committee on Printing.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman did not catch my question. Is that contrary to the law as laid down by the Committee on Printing?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I have not examined it, but I anticipate no difficulty arising from this situation——

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman be able to advise me whether the Public Printer could start on the printing before——

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I did not take it up with him.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I can not say just where the rule is, but it has been the practice of the committee to have a confidential print of the bill made in the form in which the gentleman has indicated.

Mr. WINGO. I know that the chairman of a committee of the House or the Senate could get things done at the Government Printing Office where it would be refused even where the House by unanimous consent ordered it done.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I can not say about that.

Mr. BYRNS. Did I understand the gentleman to say there is a distinction made between the House in reference to printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and that the Senate is permitted to print anything that it pleases and the House can not secure printing to be done in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in accordance with its orders?

Mr. WINGO. I thought that was obvious to a seasoned Member like the gentleman from Tennessee and that he had discovered that before.

Mr. BYRNS. If there is a distinction between the treatment accorded to the House and the Senate, I protest against it.

Mr. WINGO. I will say this much: The House has ordered certain things to be done in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in connection with the House proceedings, and the Public Printer has refused to do them, giving as a reason that it is contrary to the rules of the Joint Committee on Printing. That very same thing, however, has been done three times at least by the Senate of the United States. If the House orders a thing done, as, for instance, the chairman of a committee gets a confidential advance print of a bill made, he can do it only by calling up the clerk of the Joint Committee on Printing.

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

Mr. WINGO. Yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. I will be glad if the gentleman will call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Printing to that infraction of the rule, because it has been very strong on the enforcement of that rule, which provides how the extensions of remarks and things of that kind shall be printed. On several occasions Senators have been very indignant because we insisted upon printing them just as they print them for the House, and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES] had to tell them several times where they got off at. The committee will not stand for it either here or in the Senate——

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman from Arkansas, as I recall, called attention to a matter of that kind at one time, and I must confess that after doing it I felt very much like a country boy dealing with a city auctioneer after I got through with that Joint Committee on Printing.

Mr. STEVENSON. There have been several things that we would not stand for, and I protested, and they have been stopped.

Mr. BLANTON. I would like to ask the gentleman from South Carolina, who is a member of the Committee on Printing, whether, when the House wants something done, his committee does anything to set aside the order of the House?

Mr. STEVENSON. It merely enforces the law.

Mr. BLANTON. What is the law?

Mr. STEVENSON. The gentleman asks for an answer and I will give it to him. There is a law that provides that the Joint Committee on Printing shall have the right to make rules as to how things shall be printed. For instance, we made a rule that when you insert something taken out of a book or a magazine it must be printed in 6-point type. That rule is made the law. It is made by the joint committee, not by the House committee alone. It is law, and it has been so held. When the House, by unanimous consent, orders that a certain matter is to be printed in 8-point type, that is an endeavor to amend the law by mere unanimous consent on the part of the House, and inasmuch as it would take the action of both the House and the Senate to amend the law, we pay no attention to it when a Member asks to have something printed in 8-point type, which is more expensive. We shut down on it absolutely and pay no attention to unanimous-consent requests in this House, because the House by unanimous consent can not amend the law.

Mr. BLANTON. Then it is to be understood that the creature has become greater than the creator. The gentleman's committee is merely the creature of the House, and if the creature has become greater than the creator we want it understood.

Mr. STEVENSON. The House is not the creator. The House and the Senate together are the creators, and the creature having been created with certain powers, the House can not set aside those powers and interfere with them. [Applause.]

Mr. CONNALLY of Texas. If it were not that way, the House could pass a law by unanimous consent of the House?

Mr. STEVENSON. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Or it could repeal one.

EMPLOYMENT OF CONSULTING ENGINEERS, COOLIDGE DAM

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I call up from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 6374) to authorize the employment of

consulting engineers on plans and specifications of the Coolidge Dam, with a Senate amendment, and move to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment, which I send up to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion of the gentleman from Arizona.

The Clerk read as follows:

Motion by Mr. HAYDEN: That the House concur in the amendment of the Senate to the bill H. R. 6374, with an amendment as follows: Page 2, line 3, after the word "day," insert "and necessary traveling expenses, including per diem of not to exceed $4 in lieu of subsistence," and on page 2, lines 6 and 7, strike out the words "and which compensation shall be inclusive of all traveling and other expenses incident to the employment."

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, in explanation of the amendment, permit me to say that the House, by unanimous consent, passed this bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to employ not more than three consulting engineers to examine the plans and specifications of the Coolidge dam, which is to cost several million dollars. The salary of each engineer was fixed at $75 a day, which should be inclusive of traveling and all other expenses. When the bill was under consideration in the Senate notice was taken of the fact that in the Army appropriation bill there is a provision for four consulting engineers for the Air Service at a salary of $50 a day, and for that reason the Senate reduced the compensation provided for in this bill from $75 to $50. In the Army appropriation bill, as reported to the Senate, provision is not only made for the service of four consulting engineers at $50 a day but each engineer is also allowed his necessary traveling expenses, including a per diem of not exceeding $4 in lieu of subsistence. Therefore, in order that the compensation of consulting engineers may be the same in both instances, I have moved to further amend this bill by allowing $4 a day in lieu of subsistence and necessary traveling expenses.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Arizona to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

TO COORDINATE THE ARMY AND NAVY

Mr. McSWAIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in explanation of a bill that I am introducing relating to an amendment to the law creating the council of national defense and other matters relating to national defense.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. McSWAIN. Mr. Speaker, in explanation of the bill that I have introduced I am extending my remarks in order to get the provisions of this bill before the Congress and the country at the earliest possible date.

Here is the language of this bill itself:

Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be a council of national defense to consist of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy, and the chairman of the Committees on Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, and Naval Affairs of both the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, of which the Secretary of State shall be chairman ex officio, and in his absence the Secretary of War shall act as chairman, and in the absence of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy shall act as chairman.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the said council of national defense to meet at least once in every three months, or oftener if ordered by the President, or by previous resolution of the board itself, and the council shall appoint a secretary from among the officer personnel of the Army whose duty it shall be to keep full and accurate minutes of all proceedings of the board, and the Secretary shall prepare, under the direction of the Secretary of State, the agenda for each meeting; but any member of the council may bring for the consideration of the board any matter not already upon the agenda, and decisions shall be made only on a two-thirds vote of the full membership of the council.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the council of national defense to submit to the President of the United States any matters and suggestions calculated to produce greater efficiency and economy in either the Army or the Navy or in any other of the defense activities of the Government, and the said council shall have the power to originate any such suggestions, or to consider and submit to the President any such matters as may have been submitted to it by the Army and Navy executive council hereinafter created.

SEC. 4. There shall be, and is hereby, created an Army and Navy executive council to consist of the Secretary of War as chairman, and in his absence the Secretary of the Navy as acting chairman, and the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Chief of the Air Service of the Army, the Chief of Bureau of Aeronautics of the Navy, the Chief of Chemical Warfare Service, and the Chief of the Militia Bureau, and the said executive council shall appoint from among the officer personnel of the Army a secretary whose duty it shall be to keep full and accurate minutes of all the proceedings of the said executive council and to prepare an agenda for each meeting thereof under the direction of either the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, or both; and said war council shall meet at least once every month and oftener if directed by the President or upon resolution of the said executive council itself.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the Army and Navy executive council to consider all matters that may be submitted to it by either the President or the council of national defense, or by any member of said executive council, or by the chief of any branch or bureau of either the Army or the Navy, or by The Adjutant General of the Army, or by the Army and Navy advisory council and to advise either the President or the council of national defense, as the case may be, upon any such matter submitted to and passed upon by the said war council. It shall further be the duty of the said executive council to require the Army and Navy advisory council, hereinafter created, to certify to the executive council all questions that have been pending and unsettled before it for a period of three months, and in the event of war or a national emergency to report any such question that may be pending before the said joint Army and Navy board upon such shorter time, or instantly, as the President shall direct. It shall be the power and duty of the said executive council to make decisions on all such questions as may be certified to it by the Army and Navy advisory council or as may be submitted to it by the council of national defense or by the President, or as may originate within the war council itself, upon the suggestion of any member thereof, and after such decisions shall have been made the said executive council shall have the power to direct and order either the War Department or the Navy Department to execute and carry out such decisions, unless the President shall otherwise direct. A record vote of two-thirds majority of the membership shall be necessary before issuing any order.

SEC. 6. There is hereby created a board to be known and designated as the "Army and Navy advisory council," which shall consist of an officer of the line of the Army and a member of the General Staff having the permanent rank of colonel, an officer of the Quartermaster Corps of the Army, and a reserve officer of the Army to be called to active duty and service upon the said advisory council for a period of not less than one nor more than two years, and after having served such tour of duty shall be ineligible thereafter to be recalled to active duty for such purpose, and of a line officer of the Navy with the rank of captain, an officer of the Paymaster Corps with the rank of commander or above, and an officer of the Naval Reserve called to duty for not less than one year, nor more than two years, and thereafter to be ineligible for such duty. The chairman of said advisory council shall be the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army, but without any right to vote, and in his absence the ranking officer present shall act as chairman, and the said advisory council shall meet weekly and shall appoint an officer of the Army as secretary, who shall keep full and accurate minutes of all proceedings and shall arrange an agenda for each meeting, but any member may suggest the consideration of any subject not on the agenda. Agreement by two-thirds of the voting membership of the advisory council shall be necessary to render a decision on any matter.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the Army and Navy advisory council to consider, advise, and report on all matters that may be submitted to it, either by the President or the executive council or the council of national defense or upon any matter that may originate within the advisory council, and it shall be the duty of the members of said advisory council to keep under constant observation, study, and consideration all matters relating either to the Army or the Navy with a view to originating suggestions as to ways and means of bringing about closer cooperation, better coordination, and the elimination of duplications between the Army and the Navy.

The purpose of this bill is to bring about coordination between the two principal defense organizations, to wit, the Army and the Navy. Our people are spending nearly seven hundred millions each year on the combined activities of the Army and the Navy. This is an enormous sum of money. Many students of these questions during the last 20 or 25 years have expressed the conviction that there is a grievous lack of cooperation and coordination between the Army and the Navy. They both admittedly exist solely and only for their service in national defense. They may in the discharge of their respective functions be obliged to cooperate for the protection of our Nation. In the event of such cooperation some common command would be necessary. The best time to become accustomed

to unity of command is in peace, in advance of war, so that there may be ease and harmony in submission to unity of command during war. Furthermore, many students of these two institutions have expressed the belief that there is a great deal of unnecessary duplication between the Army and the Navy. It is believed that this duplication does not increase the efficiency of our national defense, but, in fact, costs us many, many millions of dollars per year. Both institutions have transports, whereas the same transports could serve both the Army and the Navy. Ofttimes both institutions have warehouses, coaling stations, and supply depots in the same vicinity, when one of each would be sufficient for both the Army and the Navy. There is no reasonable excuse for maintaining three separate enlistment services such as are now maintained by the Army, the Navy, and the Marine Corps. There should be a single procurement agency for all those common commercial articles of subsistence such as meat, flour, and so forth, and such common supplies as uniforms, hats, shoes, gasoline, lubricating oils, and fuel oils.

At present these two defense agencies, the Army and the Navy, are competing against each other in the market and thus stimulating prices and costing the Treasury millions of dollars. Only a few years ago we found that the Army was selling many articles at about 10 per cent of the cost, when the Navy was buying these same articles in the market at their inflated values. Thus the Government was losing at "both ends of the sack." It is well nigh axiomatic that when the Government buys it must pay two prices and when it sells it obtains less than one-half price. We have an illustration right here in the District of Columbia, where owners of real estate have been charging for space upon which to build schoolhouses to educate children several times the assessed value of the property. This only illustrates how too many of the public regard the Public Treasury as legitimate prey, and how too many public officials that have the buying or selling are indifferent to the matter of cost, or the conserving of public funds.

But the principal and paramount consideration in the preparation of this bill is the matter of efficiency. Undoubtedly at present there is a certain jealousy between the Army and the Navy. This is not the stimulating, helpful, and beneficial rivalry as is sometimes expressed, but is in effect a destructive jealousy that ignores the public interest and obstructs the public service. I have inserted a diagram seeking to illustrate the relative positions and functions of the council of national defense, the Army and Navy executive council, and the Army and Navy advisory council. The Council of National Defense is purely advisory to the President. Of course, the President, as commander in chief of the Army and the Navy, is not bound to accept the advice of anyone. But the President is not an experienced military man as a general thing.

Most Presidents have been elected on political and economical grounds. Most of them are utterly ignorant of special military problems outside of that common sense which is 99 per cent of war; most Presidents contribute nothing to the efficiency of national defense. Therefore there is elected the Council of National Defense to consist of the Secretary of State, Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the chairmen of the Committees on Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, and Naval Affairs of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Congress. This will give a membership of nine, presided over by the Secretary of State, and they will hold meetings every three months, or oftener as may be necessary, as determined by them or by the President, and the said council shall consider all such questions as may be submitted by the President, or by the Army and Navy executive board through the President or the said council may originate any suggestions and pass them on to the President, and the President will accept this advice either for the purpose of making recommendations to the Congress, or for the purpose of giving orders to the Army and Navy executive council. It will be observed that the Council of National Defense consists exclusively of civilians. There is a reason for this.

When the Hon. Dwight W. Morrow was recently before the Committee on Military Affairs he expressed the very sound proposition that civilians should always determine policies, even the general policies affecting the Nation in relation to other nations and as thus reflected to the Army and the Navy. The reason is manifest. This Nation belongs to the civilians who must pay the bills and who, when war comes, do the greater part of the fighting and the suffering.

The purpose of the Congress in prescribing civilian heads for the Army and the Navy was to insure the domination of the civilian idea. However, this has not been sufficient to insure civilian control. As a matter of fact, both the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have recently admitted at public hearings that their opinions and ideas are based upon the advice of those in high command in the Army and the Navy in whom they have confidence. Thus they admit that their policies are not the result of their own independent and personal judgment, but that they accept the conclusions of the General Staff in the Army and the General Board in the Navy. Thus these civilian heads of the Army and the Navy amount to mere camouflage. They pose as the civilian masters when in fact they become the pliant and subservient special pleaders of the Army and the Navy. They do not control the excessive zeal and partisanship and jealousy of the Army and the Navy, but they find it and seek to make it effective. A very apt statement in regard to this may be found in one of the books entitled How America Went to War, in the special volume entitled The Giant Hand, by Assistant Secretary of War Crowell and Capt. Robert F. Wilson. Speaking of the advisory council created by the Council of National Defense, we find this language:

> The advisory commission, as it was charted on paper, possessed in theory no executive powers. It could only advise, and the Council of National Defense proper (the individual Cabinet officers) was free to accept the advice or reject it as it chose. And even if the members of the council did accept it, there was no assurance that the purchasing bureaus in their departments would follow it, for the control of the periodical civilian Secretaries over such intrenched bureaus as those of the War Department was less absolute than an outsider would think. But, even though the law had carefully withheld from the mobilizing organizations any authoritative voice in the Government, a new element arose to give it in fact an unexpected but real authority. This element was an aroused public opinion.

Again, in speaking of the General Munitions Board, it was created in order to coordinate the buying activities of the Army and the Navy. We find on page 23 these words:

> Its chief lack, however, was the fundamental one of authority. It possessed no rights of initiation. Its province was merely to review and coordinate such purchasing activities as were voluntarily brought to its consideration by the departmental bureaus. The bureaus naturally resented any outside restrictions upon their freedom; and since there was no compulsion upon them to seek the good offices of the General Munitions Board, they did not call upon it to any great extent, but placed far more contracts independently than they did with the assistance of the board. Industry staggered under the uncontrolled rush of competitive buying. The confusion became steadily worse. The chief value of the General Munitions Board was that its experiences pointed the way to absolute control, the one factor that could save the war enterprise. On July 28, 1917, after less than four months of existence, the General Munitions Board gave way and was succeeded by the War Industries Board.
>
> As a controlling organization it became efficient, and efficiency was a thing which the Federal departments sorely needed. The departmental heads gradually enforced the cooperation of the unexecutive War Industries Board upon the procurement bureaus.

Next in the order of position and of command is the Army and Navy executive council. The purpose of this council is indicated by its title; it is to be executive. It will be observed that the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, with a select company of official advisers from both the War and Navy Departments, are to constitute this executive council. This executive council is to have power to direct and order that its conclusions shall be put into operation by either or both the War Department and the Navy Department, unless upon application of the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy to the President the order of the executive council is revoked or modified.

At present the situation is very different. As is illustrated by numerous instances, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy often do not agree on policies or procedure. When they disagree it is theoretically possible for the President to step in and become the umpire and settle their differences, but practically it is quite difficult to do so. The reason is not far to see, both the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are his confidential advisors with coordinate authority. The President has no independent judgment of the merits of the controversies that arise and must rely on the advice of these two Cabinet members. Where they disagree to decide in favor of one and not in favor of the other is tantamount to a rebuke of the one decided against. In such crises there would be little left for the Secretary who had received an adverse decision to do but resign. The President naturally dreads such a result as the resignation of a Cabinet officer. It jars the political firmament. It gives the impression of confusion in the organization of the Government, but in the event of a virtual appeal from the executive council by either Secretary it would not be accepting the opinion of

one as against the other, but would be accepting the opinion of that majority of the executive council which includes several experienced and authoritative commanders in both military establishments.

It will be observed in the diagram attached that the arrows point in the direction in which the channels of command run. All command originates in the President and proceeds to the council of national defense and to the Secretary of War and to the Secretary of the Navy and to the executive council and through the executive council to the advisory council. Furthermore, command originates either with the President or with the executive council, proceeding either to the Secretary of War or to the Secretary of the Navy and through either of these into all the establishments and bureaus of the Army and Navy, respectively. But, it must be observed, and this is by no means unimportant, that the channels of advice and council run always in opposite direction to those of command.

Advice may originate with the General Staff and proceed to the Secretary of War and from the Secretary of War may proceed to the President, or may originate with the General Board of the Navy and proceed to the Secretary of the Navy and from the Secretary of the Navy to the President. Furthermore, advice may proceed either from the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy and proceed to the executive council. Furthermore, advice may originate with the advisory council and proceed upward to the executive council, and from the executive council proceed upward to the council of national defense, and from the council of national defense on to the President. Thus is knit into a compact and workable unit all the defense forces of the Nation.

Some explanation is due in regard to the organization of the Army and Navy advisory council and its mission and function. This council is purely advisory and is to consist exclusively of those who are in either the Army or the Navy and are presumed to have expert knowledge of their functions and needs. These experts are charged with the responsibility of constantly observing, considering, and reporting to the executive council all matters, questions, and problems relating to, or connected with, the elimination of duplication of activities or expenses and intended and calculated to produce efficiency and economy and to submit any and all suggestions that may come to them or may originate with them that may seem to them calculated to better the service and to better secure national defense. The personnel of this advisory board of the Army and Navy comes with the classification made by the Hon. Dwight W. Morrow as to the uses and functions of specialists. These men are especially qualified to advise as to the tactics or strategy whereby to supply and make effective the broad lines of policy marked out either by Congress or by the President of by the Council of National Defense upon the approval of the President.

Now comes the meat of the whole situation. Now comes the axis around which the whole system revolves. It is the Army and Navy executive council. It is composed of civilian and military experts. In this executive council meet the advice of those experts in the advisory council below and the advice of the council of national defense above, composed of civilians exclusively, and these two currents of advice are combined and as resultant produce in the executive council composed of both civilians and military men. In the executive council whatever is good and practical in the advice from above and from below is applied and put into practice. Of course, if the President expresses and directs that certain policies outlined by the council of national defense shall be applied by the executive council, and through it by either or both of the departments involved, it will be the duty of such council to order and direct the execution of such policy, and undoubtedly it will be done.

It will be observed that the present Joint Army and Navy Board is purely a voluntary establishment and has no statutory existence and may be abolished any day, and its recommendations may be ignored by either or both departments.

The purpose of the legislation proposed by this bill is to make legally effective the aims that were set out in creating the Joint Army and Navy Board as found on page 15 of the pamphlet issued by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, in an order that bears no date, but presumably was issued in the early part of 1921, because it was filed in the Library of Congress on March 1, 1921, just three days before those gentlemen retired from office:

The best assurance of effective cooperation between the Army and Navy comamnders within a given region will be found in cooperation in the preparation of defense plans in time of peace. Intelligent work of this character will result in the determination of the more probable situations likely to arise and in advance agreements upon plans of joint action for each such situation.

The principal responsible subordinates and staffs must be informed of such plans and conform their peace organization and training thereto.

Any instructions for cooperation between officers of the two services must fail of complete effectiveness unless the cooperation is brought to its logical focus in the offices of the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War.

In 1914 General Wood, then Chief of Staff, issued a pamphlet relating to the Army of the United States, and in view of the aptness and prophetic character of the language found on page 24, I extract and insert the same for the information of the Congress of the country.

As war is but a phase of international politics, so military policy is but a phase of international policy. In its broadest sense the organization of the land forces is but a part of the national war organization, which includes the organization of the sea forces and all other national resources.

A scientific solution of our military problem must include a determination and definition of national policy, and the provision of sufficient military and naval forces to support that policy against such adverse interests as may develop from time to time. As several departments of the Government are concerned in the settlement of this question, it is obvious that a sound policy must be predicated upon a comprehensive view of the whole problem with a view of coordinating and balancing its several elements.

In order to formulate a comprehensive policy for the consideration of Congress, it is believed that there should be a council of national defense similar to the one proposed in H. R. 1309. The function of this council, as defined in the bill, is to "report to the President, for the transmission to Congress, a general policy of national defense and such recommendation of measures relating thereto as it shall deem necessary and expedient.

If the statement of Gen. James G. Harbord, to the effect that the Army and Navy exist for the purpose of carrying out the foreign policies of this country, or as it should be more appropriately expressed in a negative form, that the Army and Navy exist for the defensive purpose of preventing other nations from imposing their foreign policies upon us, then the first and prime consideration in seeking to fix a national military policy, is to find out what our national policies are in general, and next to find out what are the policies of other nations. This necessarily involves the State Department. For that reason the Secretary of State is made chairman of the Council of National Defense. Now, what the policy of this Nation is, is the composite and resultant of the opinions of a clear majority of the citizens of this Nation. Nobody, nor any group, is better qualified to know what the opinions and feelings of the citizens of this Nation are than the Congress of the United States.

Since the Congress as a whole can not sit upon the council of national defense, certain representatives thereof, presumably those with long and continuous service and those sitting in official positions of responsibility, are best qualified to speak for the people. For this reason I have included the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. In like manner I have included the chairmen of the Committees on Military Affairs and on Naval Affairs of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. The combined services of these six chairmen will at any time probably aggregate 100 years. We recall that men rise to chairmanships of committes by seniority of service.

I do not agree with the wisdom or the policy of having included in the Council of National Defense, approved August 29, 1916, such Cabinet officers as the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor. Members of the Cabinet are not elected by the people, and are not responsible to the people. They are responsible only to the President and it is almost universal that the President approves of everything they say or do. Therefore, to include those Cabinet officers just mentioned, in the Council of National Defense is loading it down with members that have no special qualifications to advise the President as to what our foreign policies or military policies should be. They will take no interest in the work, they will probably not attend the meetings of the council. If they do, they will merely approve like a rubber stamp whatever the Secretary of War or Secretary of the Navy may recommend. For this reason, the council of national defense that was created under the act of 1916 failed to pass. It had no power and it had no definite mission and its personnel did not give it vigor, in fact it was a mere gesture. We remember that in 1916 public sentiment in the country was greatly divided.

One section of our people residing principally along the Atlantic seaboard were greatly excited over the necessity of arming to the teeth as a defensive measure against the aggres-

sion of Germany. Another section of our people living in the Mississippi Valley and on the Pacific coast felt little concern about what was going on in Europe. The Democratic administration was working for reelection on the ground that they kept us out of war. The establishment of the Council of National Defense was, therefore, a sort of gesture to those who thought greater activity for preparation for war should be made. At the same time it was so limited in power and so organized in personnel as to recommend it to the pacifistic sentiments of those in the middle and far West. The purpose of the organization now proposed is to create a body of men that has knowledge and that has official responsibility and will recommend definite policies to the President in order that he may give them effective life by the breath of an Executive order.

TEXT OF BILL BY R. P. HOBSON

Mr. Hobson introduced on April 4, 1911, the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed, and on April 22, 1912, reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House of the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed:

A bill (H. R. 1309) to establish a council of national defense

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby established a council of national defense, consisting of the President of the United States, who shall be ex officio president of the council; the Secretary of State, who shall preside in the absence of the President, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, the chairman of the committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the Senate, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, the Chief of the General Staff of the Army, an officer of the Navy not below the rank of captain, to be designated by the Secretary of the Navy, the president of the Army War College, and the president of the Navy War College.

SEC. 2. That the chairmen of the several committees of the Senate and House of Representatives herein named shall act as members of the council until their successors have been selected.

SEC. 3. That said council shall report to the President for transmission to Congress a general policy of national defense and such recommendation of measures relating thereto as it shall deem necessary and expedient.

SEC. 4. That said council shall meet at least once in each calendar year on such date or dates as it shall fix: *Provided*, That in time of war said council shall meet only upon the call of the President of the United States: *Provided further*, That special meetings may be called by the president of the council: *And provided further*, That the council may summon for consultation at any of its meetings any citizen of the United States, and upon request by the council the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall order any officer of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps to appear before the council for consultation.

SEC. 5. That for carrying out the purposes of this act there is hereby appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $20,000, to be available until expended, and to be expended upon vouchers signed by the president of the council: *Provided*, That all necessary expenses of the chairmen of the committees of the Senate and House of Representatives when called to attend meetings of said council when Congress is not in session, and the necessary expenses of all persons summoned shall be paid from this appropriation, upon approval by the president of the council. (Rept. No. 584. 62d Cong., 2d sess.)

EXTRACTS FROM HEARINGS HELD MAY 19, 1911, ON H. R. 1309

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, you know the bill that is before the committee, and we would be glad to have you express to the committee any ideas or views you have in regard to it.

Secretary MEYER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in war nothing fails like failure. Now, in order to have success we must have efficiency. To have efficiency we must have a definite policy, and to bring about a definite policy we have to have cooperation and coordination of Congress, the Army, and the Navy. To bring about this cooperation we have to have an intelligent understanding.

Now, this national council of defense bill is made up of two Cabinet officers, four Senators, four Congressmen, two Army officers, and two naval officers. It would seem that this council would tend toward and result in an intelligent understanding and assist in cooperation of Congress to a definite policy. I can not help feeling, after due consideration, that this council would result in a definite policy and would encourage cooperation and would increase efficiency as well as economy.

OPINION OF GEN. LEONARD WOOD

The CHAIRMAN. General Wood, we have before us this morning for consideration and hearing a bill to establish a council of national defense, and we would be pleased to hear any suggestion or expression of your views with reference to the bill.

General WOOD. I believe thoroughly in the bill. I consider it to be the most important measure for military efficiency that has come up for consideration since I have had anything whatever to do with my present duties in Washington, and probably one of the most important that has ever come up. My reasons for making this statement so strong are as follows: If we succeed in having this bill enacted into law it means that we shall have a committee consisting of the elements directly interested in the preparation and maintenance of national defense. It will insure the military proposition, and by "military" I mean the propositions advanced by the naval and military authorities, being considered by a committee in which both Houses of Congress and the President's Cabinet are strongly represented, and it means that matters which are approved by this committee will be presented to Congress under an indorsement guaranteeing to that body that four of its own Members and two officers of the Cabinet, all civilians, have very carefully considered the measure and believe in it and recommend its enactment.

It is well known to all of us that officers of the Army and Navy are generally looked upon as being a little overenthusiastic in military matters, and I believe that the effect of a joint committee of this sort taking up and considering questions of policy will, if it approves them, bring these matters before Congress in a much stronger way than we could possibly do it ourselves. It means, moreover, that we shall be able to establish and maintain a general military policy. The committee will change is membership gradually. We shall be able to adopt a general policy and carry it out from one administration to another without the radical changes which occur at the present time.

A committee of this sort will insure a continuity of policy and a harmonizing, I think, of the military policy of the Government; it will provide a body in which the civilian element outnumbers the military, and whatever it approves is bound, I think, to appeal very strongly to Congress. I think it will be safe, sane, and strong for the betterment of the national defense.

COMMENT BY ADMIRAL MAHAN

Admiral MAHAN. It appears to me that the three functions of the Government—the diplomatic, the Army, and the Navy—work now in what you might call water-tight compartments. They really do not have the influence one upon the other that they should have, and that a system like this proposed council would tend in that direction. Of course, the members of this committee, for instance, pay more attention to naval matters than they do now to matters that pass before the Military Committee. I presume every member of the Naval Committee, as a Member of Congress, interests himself to a certain extent in what passes before the Military Committee, and takes part in the debates, etc., but I apprehend that they do not look upon questions before that committee as having any particular connection with them as members of the Naval Committee, and so equally with regard to the Foreign Affairs Committee, which I think the present bill provides.

It seems that there is very little appreciation in the country of the relation between diplomacy and Army and Navy. How much there may be among the members of the Naval Committee or the Military Committee I do not know; but, after all, our military and naval policy depends substantially upon what we conceive our relation to be with foreign countries, as forecast of the future, and what the probabilities of the future are.

When you come to the question of economy, which I have heard other witnesses questioned about, I do not think there is the least doubt that you would get more; you might have to spend more money, but you would get more for the money you spent.

Take the question of coast fortification and its relation to the Navy, that is a question where I myself some years ago took, in my opinion, a very one-sided view. I do not see what is to correct this one-sidedness generally, unless a measure such as this. Men who are not military or naval by profession, unless they mingle with men who are able to consider it from that point of view, will not look at it adequately.

Mr. HOBSON. Admiral, in your investigations of history and the effect of the sea power upon it, have you seen any application of the correlation of the Army and Navy and diplomacy?

Admiral MAHAN. Mr. Corbett, in his book called The Seven Years' War, draws marked attention to the fact that the great success of Great Britain in that war, the most successful war ever waged by her, was due to the fact that all of the functions of the army and diplomacy were in the hands of a single man, who happened to be a man of consummate ability. I think he makes his case out pretty well. No army or naval movement was calculated with reference

to the army or navy only, but the whole depended upon the general summary and view of the political situation, which was known to the same man. Of course a one-man power in the United States is not possible. It is not possible in any representative country, except under particular conditions. It was not a legal power, but a power that drifted into his hands, his personal ability. I think that the three functions of the Government—diplomacy, Army, and Navy—should be brought into relation one with the other, and I understand that some such systematic provision lies at the foundation of what you call a council of national defense, which, to my mind, is the great merit of this bill.

STATEMENT OF GENERAL WOTHERSPOON, CHIEF OF STAFF

The CHAIRMAN. General Wotherspoon, I will ask you to express to the committee any views, ideas, or suggestions you have in reference to the bill that is now before the committee.

General WOTHERSPOON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I consider this as decidedly the most important measure that has ever come under my observation since I have been in the Army, in forty-odd years. I should say that I have been working continuously for the last six years in order to get some such body as is proposed in this bill to pass authoritatively upon a national policy with regard to national defense. I have been compelled, as president of the War College, in preparing plans to pass from a state of peace to a state of war, to search the records to see if there existed such a thing as a military policy in the United States. I found no evidence whatever of it. There is nothing that anyone can point to and say, "This is the policy the Nation will pursue in the event of war or in the preparation for war." In those studies I have seen that the expenditures for the Army are enormous without results adequate to the cost.

I have never seen a staff for one of these higher organizations trained. I consider that this bill will coordinate the efforts of the Army and the Navy and the legislative branch into some unified policy, which will make for decided economy and still more decidedly for efficiency. I have stated to this committee before and to the Military Committee that I am perfectly convinced that an army three times as efficient and probably twice as strong as we have now can be maintained for the money we are at present spending for the Army. I should regret very much to see this bill fail, because it will throw us back to where we have always been, so that when a war comes on the first step is to evolve a policy from uncoordinated elements; the next step is to organize the higher fighting units; the third step, and that we always fail in, is the equipment of those units. I do not know that the committee knows that when the war of 1861–1865 came on it was the Secretary of the Treasury that drafted the bill for the United States Army or the Federal Army. The Secretary of War was too busy at that time to establish either a policy or to prepare for an organization. Consequently, it was left to Mr. Chase.

The CHAIRMAN. How was it in the Spanish-American War?

General WOTHERSPOON. I should say that at the inception of the Spanish-American War the different elements of the Military Establishment—that is, the staff departments—were exceedingly efficient in themselves for peace purposes; but the Quartermaster General, I believe, said that he was in a very unfortunate condition, that just as he had perfected the department for a peace status, here comes a war and breaks up all his plans. There was absolutely no policy for coordination of effort and no policy for coordination of supply between the different elements of the Army. Congress gave us unlimited money. We found many of the things necessary for war were not in the market and could not be bought, and when we did buy such as we could get we could not get them together.

Mr. TRIBBLE. You mentioned the question of economy. You opened a large field for this committee to go into. Do you think these gentlemen, who are the chairmen of these committees and who are men of affairs, carrying with it no salary—do you think they will devote as much time to these great questions as ought to be devoted?

General WOTHERSPOON. I think they would not have to devote as much time to the minute considerations of economy as one would think at first sight. When a question relating to the economic administration of the Army, such, for instance, as "Will you have your organizations stationed at places where recruits are obtained and where food and supplies are of the cheapest character, and where means of transportation to the possible centers of conflict are abundant and the best, rather than station these organizations in the corners of the wilderness, where a man has to be enlisted in New York to be sent to, say, northern Montana, and where the supplies have to be sent there to keep him going, at a cost of $40 a ton more in freight than they would cost if he were stationed at some center?" Such a question will be simple and will not require lengthy discussion. If the commission would adopt some such general policy as that, hereafter all troops should be stationed at the points where recruits, supplies, and transportation were most advantageous, that would be a sufficient guide to the Secretary in preparing measures.

STATEMENT BY COMMANDER F. K. HILL

At present it seems to be a popular idea that statesmen control up to and including the time when the solution of difficulties between nations is impossible except by resort to arms; that after that they call in the naval and military forces to cut the Gordian knot which they have been unable to disentangle; and that the making of war has little connection with the cause of the war. These are very false ideas.

War, being the result of policies enforced, should be based on strategic plans to gain certain definite ends. For instance, if the United States had a policy of extension of territory by absorption of Canada, the war would be directed so as to gain military control of that territory, and if the war ended successfully for the United States, the treaty would probably cede to them such territory as was held under military control at the end of the war.

It is thus seen that the strategic objective of a war must rightly comprehend a knowledge of the policies which preceded war and contemplate the treaty which is to conclude the war.

In order to make war successfully, it is not only necessary to have properly conceived strategic plans which endeavor to carry out policies, but these policies must be based on the moral convictions of the people that not only are the results of the policies beneficial to the country but also that they are ethically correct. The moral force of the Nation must be behind the policy, and this moral force must be developed in the people, so that every ounce of the strength of the Nation will be exerted throughout the war. All wars gather strength from the intensity with which the people enter into the spirit of upholding the policy adopted. A war waged in a lukewarm spirit is worse than useless, and it would be better not to enter into war unless it is known that the fight will have the backing of the people to the bitter end.

CONCLUSIONS BY COMMANDER HILL

War is not independent of political consideration, but must be outlined and carried on with due regard to these considerations. That to properly outline the war the three branches of the Government—State, War, and Navy Departments—should act in conjunction, and that peace preparation in anticipation of war should be the joint action of Congress, the War and the Navy Departments.

Finally both the peace preparations and war will best be carried out by a national board for war, comprised of units representing both branches of Congress and the Departments of State, War, and Navy.

The following is recommended as the composition of the national board for war: Secretary of State; Secretary of War; Secretary of the Navy; chairmen of the Senate and House Military Committees; chairmen of the Senate and House Naval Committees; Chief of Staff, Army; president of Army War College; naval aid of operations; president of Naval War College; one permanent secretary, civilian under State Department.

For the information of this board it is necessary to have as its head the Secretary of State, who knows about the diplomatic relations which may precipitate war; it is necessary to have the legislative members, so that they may decide on the policies to be carried out and the expenditures required to prepare for war; and it is necessary to have the military branches, which will furnish technical information as to preparation for war and, from the discussion of the board, will understand the policies to be enforced in the prosecution of war.

THE SAME BILL IN THE SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

A bill (H. R. 29371) to establish a council of national defense

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby established a council of national defense, consisting of the Secretary of War, who shall be president of the council; the Secretary of the Navy, the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, the chairman of the National Affairs Committee of the Senate, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, the Chief of the General Staff of the Army, the aid for operations of the fleet of the Navy, the president of the Army War College, and the president of the Navy War College.

SEC. 2. That said council shall determine a general policy of national defense and shall recommend to the President, for transmission to Congress, such measures relating to the national defense as it shall deem necessary and expedient.

SEC. 3. That said council shall meet at least once in each calendar year on such date or dates as it shall fix: *Provided*, That special meetings may be called by the president of the council: *And provided further*, That any member of the Cabinet, any Senator, any Representative, and any officer of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Militia may be called for consultation at any meeting of the council.

SEC. 4. That for carrying out the purposes of this act there is hereby appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $20,000, to be available until expended and to be expended upon vouchers signed by the president of the council.

GEN. LEONARD WOOD

General WOOD. It will also give us, of course, in the President's Cabinet, two officers who have become thoroughly conversant with all the details of the general policy which it is proposed to ask legislation in support of. For instance, we have to take up very soon the ques-

tion of fortifying the Hawaiian Islands and garrisoning those islands. We ought to have some general policy; we have none at present. The War Department is building powerful fortifications, the Navy is constructing a large naval station, and we are acquiring, and have acquired, certain reservations, and we are now discussing whether or not we shall have a large or a medium-sized garrison there. The situation is one of great importance, and before we go before Congress asking for an appropriation of, perhaps, a million dollars to build a large military post, and to acquire additional lands, it is a matter which ought to be thoroughly thought out and discussed in a committee such as I speak of, in which the naval features of the question are brought up, the military aspects of the question are brought up, and the representatives of Congress will have a chance to go into the matter in great detail and become thoroughly acquainted with the military and naval needs of the situation, and either agree to support the policy or not. If they will not support it, of course there is no use bringing it up. It dies then and there. If the council adopt the policy proposed by the military members, the matter goes to Congress, and there is a guaranty to Congress that this matter has been discussed and passed upon by six of its own Representatives.

ADMIRAL RODGERS

The CHAIRMAN. Let us hear Admiral Rodgers.

Admiral RODGERS. Mr. Chairman, I think the principle embodied in this bill is most desirable and necessary for us in determining any policy of preparation for war. It not only brings together the two executive military departments, the Army and Navy Departments, but it brings into this council several of the principal representatives of both Houses of Congress to shape these policies. Councils similar to the one proposed are found in all the parliamentary countries of the world, and the advantage of them has been found to be very great. We have not had very much policy heretofore, for anything we got in the way of increase was of value; but now that we have developed so widely as we have it seems most important that there should be a policy for future development and expenditure in preparedness for war, and it seems that a council of this character is the best adapted for the purpose. Aside from certain details, which have been mentioned here this morning relating to the adjustment of certain congressional features, I think the bill is most desirable.

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Admiral RODGERS. It is an essential feature of the bill, certainly, to have a civilian congressional element. In all other countries the prime minister is a member of this council and presides over it. I am not prepared to say how the congressional part of it could be handled, but Admiral Wainwright, a moment ago, before you came in, suggested that as no recommendation could be made to Congress when Congress was not in session, questions might await the convening of Congress.

ADMIRAL WAINWRIGHT

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Admiral Wainwright, we will be glad to hear from you.

Admiral WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I am entirely in favor of the objects of the bill. I believe they will promote both efficiency and economy. With the same amount of money we should get more efficient military and naval forces; or for the same efficiency we should do it for less money. I think we must be very careful, as I think such a council would be careful, not to go into details; that is, to define a broad policy and the details would come to the appropriate committees. I think the object of the council would be entirely defeated if we were without legislative members. I think the object is to better bring before the Members of both Houses the requirements of the country, and then they would determine how much their resources were to be turned into preparation. I think, after the first formulation of the policy, there would not be a necessity of many meetings. Of course, from time to time the circumstances of the country would change, its foreign relations, etc., that might require changes in the broad policy. And, of course, each year the question of how much should be recommended to do in that year—that is, broadly, between all the services taken together—would have to be largely determined by the Members who are representing the Senate and House.

LETTER OF ADMIRAL MAHAN TO SECRETARY OF NAVY

LAWRENCE, LONG ISLAND, *February 1, 1911.*

DEAR MR. MEYER: Your letter of January 27 reached me only the morning of day before yesterday. It will not be expected that in 48 hours I can have given a ripened consideration to the measure (H. R. 29371) in itself, but my mind is somewhat prepared by previous habits of thought and by cognizance of the British committee of defense (or some such title).

The general purpose of the bill seems to me excellent. It would compel the deliberation in common of a number of men whose specialties are closely allied actually, but are not brought into formal cooperation, as the bill provides they shall hereafter be. For the information of each member of the council, and of the whole as a body, and for the subsequent formulation of measures, this method is superior to the appearance of experts before a committee, though it doubtless will not supersede that. Experts before a committee are like witnesses in a box, and confine themselves very closely to the matter in hand, whereas in discussion between equals many collateral facts and considerations transpire because of the freedom of range. Time is not thereby lost, at least to any greater extent than the half-informed questionings of those who are eliciting statements from a witness. I believe that Congress, the ultimate arbiter in matters of military provision, would be enabled to judge much better through the institution of this proposed council.

As to questions of detail, I have very little to suggest. The proposed composition of the council, by ex officio members, seems to me very judicious. In a copy of the bill which reached me from some other quarter, by the same mail as your letter, there is a suggested substitute of "a senior admiral of the Navy," instead of the aid for operations. I think this a mistake. If I rightly apprehend the functions of this aid, he should ex officio be on the council, because the distribution of the fleet in peace should correspond fundamentally with that deemed probable for war, which the council will determine.

My own prepossessions would have led me to place on the council the chairmen of the two Committees on Foreign Affairs, because the details of military provision depend very largely upon questions of international relations. It has been justly remarked (Corbett's Seven Years' War) that the strength of great Army and Navy were in one hand. In my judgment they should all be represented in the proposed council. The chairman of the Appropriations Committee can contribute little, ex officio, however competent personally, to the military knowledge of the council; but they doubtless can assimilate information which would qualify duly the necessary tendency toward close economy proper to their committees. Also, being specified in the bill as framed, to omit them now would probably foster antagonism.

It strikes me as somewhat singular that the commander in chief of Army and Navy, the President, should not be on the council. In Great Britain the Prime Minister is ex officio president of their commission. I do not know whether it would be competent for Congress to legislate the President onto a council, but it seems to me he ought to be there for several reasons; above all, because he sums up in his office the three functions—diplomacy, Army, and Navy.

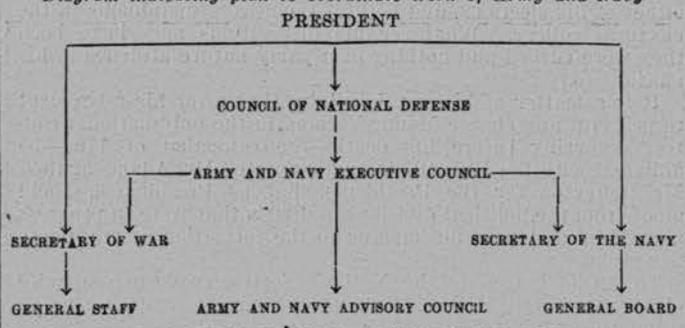
It appears to me that the provision of only one meeting annually rather belittles the importance of the measure, and that it would be better to provide for a fixed greater number during each session of Congress. Of the feasibility of this, however, I obviously am less capable of judging than the members of the Naval Committee.

Very truly yours,

A. T. MAHAN.

Hon. GEORGE VON L. MEYER,
Secretary of the Navy.

Diagram indicating plan to coordinate work of Army and Navy



DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. FUNK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of H. R. 10198, making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of such District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of H. R. 10198, with Mr. LEHLBACH in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of H. R. 10198, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 45 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT]. [Applause.]

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, popular government, the rule of the people by themselves, almost always works out its major problems through the instrumentality of party. This is decried at times by persons given to academics, but it continues true that this system holds sway in every nation having elective officials.

This has been the system in all the past; it is the system to-day; it will be the system to-morrow and in the years that are to be. Whatever may be its faults and shortcomings, its weaknesses and failings, the fact remains that the genius of man so far has devised no other plan.

In some nations where popular government prevails parties are formed about each issue as it arises; here in our own land—largely, I think, because we have written constitutions which define the limits and fix the outposts of governmental activity—political parties have arisen, springing up out of the *mingled* emotions and impulses and interests of men, two of which have had a continuing and permanent character.

Any fair statement must declare that the application of the principles of these parties has, on the part of both of them, varied from decade to decade. Different issues have been met by different processes, and at times what seemed the same issue has had differing forms of treatment, but the principles themselves have been perpetual; and throughout all our national history under the Constitution, save the major portion of Washington's administrations, we may trace with reasonable clearness the line of cleavage.

In a recent very interesting work on the Origins of the Whig Party, its author, Carroll, in the opening chapter has this very apt expression:

> The names of American political parties give a superficial impression of unity that rarely exists in fact. Individual differences of opinion, sectional interests, and conflicting personal ambitions combine to make complete harmony an ideal that can only be approximated by a free use of compromises and adjustments.

Of course the problems of government are diverse and arise in differing forms. Sometimes they are constitutional, involving the interpretation and application of organic law; sometimes they are economic; sometimes they are moral and quite naturally history teems with incidents where upon many questions parties have overlapped, and almost every national campaign witnesses outbursts of dissatisfaction with the two great existing organizations, manifesting itself in third and fourth party movements. Some of these at times have reached rather large temporary proportions, but eventually all have proven sporadic and ephemeral and our political system continues grounded to-day, as it has been almost from the begining, upon the two-party basis.

General Washington was not until after his retirement from the Presidency in any sense a party man. There were no definitely organized entities as political agencies whose forces were applied to or for him or which he sought to apply at either of his elections, and both of them were unanimous in the electoral college. Whatever his dispositions may have been they were curbed and nothing of a party nature attaches to his official life.

It is a matter of history, I believe, that after his retirement to peaceful and classic Mount Vernon, in the only national contest occurring before his death—the campaign of 1796—he affiliated with the Federalists and supported Mr. Adams against Mr. Jefferson for the Presidency, but as President he held aloof from the political divisions and rifts that were in progress about him and gave no impetus to the formation of any party movement.

That this inured to the Nation's fortune we can see quite clearly, and recognizing his virtue and wisdom it causes us no wonderment.

The new and novel experiment in government would inevitably have failed had he pursued a different course and placed himself at the head—for unavoidably this man of whom Beck says "He was always Cæsar" would have been the head—of a party organization.

That was the legislative formative period of the United States. The Constitution had been adopted, and by the third year of his first administration all the thirteen original States had accepted the terms and become affiliated with the Union, while by the close of his second the three new States of Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee had been admitted upon equal terms with the older Commonwealths, but few indeed were the provisions of that Constitution that were self-executing. It was a dormant organism which could be brought to function only by legislative and administrative action.

No President applying partisanism could have successfully met the challenge of that era or guided the new Republic out from its vicissitudes into the security in which Washington left it.

But while Washington held aloof from party movement and Vice President Adams in considerable degree emulated his example, there was no such restraint upon the two outstanding figures of his first Cabinet, and out of it there flashed, or perhaps it would be better to say there flamed with steady glow, the brilliancy and genius of Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State, and Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury.

The responsibilities of these men did not demand the restrictions which duty imposed upon Washington. Jefferson had, of necessity, as one dealing with foreign nations, to exercise a greater degree of self-control and caution than Hamilton, whose official duties were primarily domestic, but in the main neither of them suffered in their political activities very much restraint aside from that imposed by the dictates of politeness, and at times even this was rather thinly veiled.

It was an evidence of Washington's impartial political attitude that both were invited into his official family, and both remained until, with regret in each case, he accepted their resignations because he knew them well, and he was a master at judging men. They were little alike except in genius, vision, industry, and impeccable integrity. Temperamentally they were wholly at variance—Hamilton impetuous, incisive, impatient of restraint, domineering in intellect and will; Jefferson cautious, philosophic, slow to reach conclusions, apparently reluctant to make decisions, but with a subtle intellect capable of sounding the depths as well as reaching the heights of human nature and of life.

They had some interests in common, but Jefferson's were the broader in scope. Hamilton had some taste for art, sculpture, paintings, but his life's passions were politics and law. At the shrine of these he worshiped with unstinted and almost undivided devotion. He had, too, a love for and might, had opportunity offered, have displayed a genuine genius for things military—the maneuver of armed troops, the strategy and tactics of war. For this latter Jefferson had no stomach or predilection. His was a philosophy of peace, some of his critics say, of timorousness. But aside from military art, Mr. Jefferson's trained and seasoned intellect traversed the whole realm of men's activities and accomplishments and ambitions. He loved music and was a skilled violinist; agriculture interested him, and he was a constant student of plant life, of flora, and of fauna; science engaged his love, and every mechanical invention coming within his reach appealed to his attention; he cultivated refined art, and the tobacco leaf and the corn blade designed by him for the capital of the columns at Monticello and copied upon certain of those in the National Capitol Building at Washington are an evidence of his artistic taste and love of the beautiful.

Public education and religious freedom were controlling principles with him, and when he dictated what his epitaph should be he passed over all references to having occupied exalted official positions and directed that there be carved upon his tomb:

> Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia.

It is one of the singular events of history that Hamilton, born of obscure parentage in a little island of the West Indies, became the leader of a class and aristocratic movement, while Jefferson, born to the purple of luxury, became the greatest democratic philosopher of the ages and the undisputed leader of the great American democratic movement.

Such, however, was true and to these two geniuses of their day may be traced not exactly the origin, perhaps, but at least the organization into cohesive entities of those schools of thought which, under different party names, for a century and a quarter have struggled for domination in the affairs of these United States.

The late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was a devoted and intellectual disciple of Alexander Hamilton. Many of us would be unwilling to accept as accurate much of the history written by Mr. Lodge and his conclusions drawn therefrom, but he possessed a certain quality of literary ability, and no one will probably be found to dispute either his right or his power to state tersely and succinctly the fundamentals of the Hamiltonian faith.

In his Alexander Hamilton, written as one of the American Statesmen Series, the late Senator, after quoting from one of Hamilton's reports to Congress and declaring "the cardinal doctrines of Hamilton in questions of politics and government were strength and order," and after elaborating upon this to some extent, says:

> Hamilton's scheme went further, seeking to create a strong and, so far as was possible and judicious, a permanent class all over the country, without regard to existing political affiliations, but bound to the Government as a government, by the strongest of all ties, immediate and personal pecuniary interest. The wisdom of this was obvious, when the object was to sustain a great experiment; yet at the same time Hamilton's purpose was not simply by the spread of a popular

loan to unite a body of men in the support of the Government, but chiefly and mainly to bring to his side a class already in existence, that which controlled the capital of the country. The full intent of the policy was to array property on the side of the Government. That once done, the experiment, Hamilton felt, would succeed, and its powers moreover might then be much extended. He had been unable to introduce a class influence into the Constitution by limiting the suffrage for the President and Senate with a property qualification, but by his financial policy he could bind the existing class of wealthy men, comprising at that day the aristocracy bequeathed by provincial times to the new system, and thus, if at all, assure to the property of the country a powerful influence upon the Government.

The creed of Mr. Jefferson as stated by himself has never been improved upon for style, compactness, or lucidity, nor can it be. In his first inaugural address he condensed it within the briefest possible limit, saying:

About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper that you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none; the support of State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civil instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

In these two statements we have the elemental germs of all the political principles over which men in these United States have since divided. Their vitality has never diminished, and all the issues of to-day are comprehended within their terms.

The history of the parties that have embraced these principles is most interesting and their names significant. The Hamilton organization in its very beginning was designated as the Federalist Party. It was proper nomenclature; it expressed the central thought of its leader's policy—a strongly centralized national government, with a gradual but steady diminution of the power and prestige of the several States until local government should be reduced to a minimum and all governmental activities, whether social or economic, concentrated in the Federal organism. The complete realization of Mr. Hamilton's dearest dreams would have eventually destroyed every vestige of State sovereignty. "Federalist" was therefore the logical and proper name for the organization sponsoring such principles.

Jefferson gave to the organization which, with the aid of Madison, Gallatin, Maclay, and others, he had by 1800 succeeded in welding into a unified and overwhelming mass the name "Republican." This too was in accord with the proprieties. The word married the system to the methods and machinery through which it was proposed to operate; that is, in the main through agents chosen from time to time by the electorate to legislate and execute. Its basis was representative government, with frequent opportunities for popular expression.

The Federalists, however, were unwilling to permit the opposition party to name itself, and quite early they began to designate its members as "Democrats," alleging that Mr. Jefferson and his followers drew their principles and inspirations from the promoters of the French Revolution.

Mr. Lodge, whether he intends it as a contemptuous criticism or a fair historical statement, refutes this as to Jefferson, however, when he declares that the latter did not get his ideas from France but that he carried them with him to France. At any rate, the name "Democrat," which was at first applied in derision, but which later was to be adopted and worn with pride and glory for a century, did not gain immediate recognition, and the party was for a quarter of a century officially known as "Republican."

The first victories went to Hamilton. In the formulation of domestic economic policies, before parties began, he had generally the sympathy and support of President Washington. The Congress during the earlier days was sitting in New York. It was then the third city in point of commercial importance, Philadelphia and Boston being, respectively, first and second. During the second Washington administration it sat at Philadelphia. Thus the Congress throughout the formative period was surrounded closely by the influences whose natural interests made them partisans of the Hamilton policy. Those were days when communication between the people and the Nation's Capital was difficult and slow of passage. Hamilton carried his proposals for debt assumption by the Federal Government at the full face value, notwithstanding the major part of the paper was in the hands of speculators who had bought it for practically nothing; his tariff policy for the stimulation of manufactures and his measure for the establishment of a national bank.

All these provoked a struggle, but they were carried, and by the time the program had been completed Hamilton had a party already organized and trained beneath his iron hand to follow with little question the suggestion of his genius—a party to his liking, "bound to the Government by the strongest of all ties, immediate and personal pecuniary interest." He never relied upon nor, except in cases of absolute necessity, appealed for popular support. Of this he was contemptuous. More than any leading man of his time he distrusted the intelligence and ability of the populace. Jefferson, on the other hand, more strongly than any leader reposed confidence in the ability of the masses to govern themselves and render popular government secure; and so, while Hamilton was going forward to victory after victory, he, more through the pens of his great lieutenants than through his own (for he wrote but little for the public until after his retirement from Washington's Cabinet), was putting into operation the forces of popular organization and democratic expression.

Hamilton never admired John Adams nor thought him properly equipped for the Presidency. In both of the latter's presidential campaigns the former preferred Pinckney, of South Carolina, and desired his selection; but even he, master of his party though he was, lacked sufficient political finesse (he was one statesman who was not a politician) to control the forces that were playing about him, and in the first Adams triumphed, while in the second he went down to defeat before the popular onslaught which Jefferson organized and launched, and so insecure was the foundation upon which Hamilton had builded, so flimsy the structure that it fell with the defeat of Adams and never again achieved a national success.

Hamilton's own lack of political sagacity, his inability to understand men even while he controlled them by sheer force of intellectual power, was in part responsible for his party's downfall, and the bitter thrusts of Senator Lodge at this failing in his hero's character are interesting and illuminating, but this was not the only cause. There was nothing of the spiritual in the Federalist organism. It was builded upon materialism. We hear frequent sneers at idealism in government, and are constantly bombarded with declarations that it has no place in a political party. Fatal mistake! Fatal error! That party which loses its idealism, which fails to take broad human nature into account as one of the lofty elements constituting the reasons for its existence, is destined to death. [Applause.]

The Federalist Party could not sustain a single national defeat and live. Even as its founder fell at Weehawken in the duel with Burr, in July, 1804, the party which he established was crumbling to ruins, and within a few brief years it had utterly perished, so far as the name it bore was concerned, and not for many years was its descendant organized.

Jefferson and his party triumphed and the Federalist Party died.

There followed him Madison and Monroe, faithful to his policies, and supported by Congresses in which the majorities were composed of his followers.

So intrenched had the principles of democracy become as that by the expiration of Mr. Monroe's term there had arisen what is known in history as the "era of good feeling," and he was reelected by unanimous vote in the Electoral College, lack-

ing one, which was withheld from him not out of antagonism but because the elector felt that to General Washington only should go the distinction of an unanimous election to the Presidency.

This brings us to 1824 and the contest which finally culminated in the election by the House of Representatives in 1825 of John Quincy Adams, son of the second President and himself eminent as a scholar, diplomat, and statesman.

The party status of Mr. Adams is somewhat anomalous. He was most of the time in foreign lands, serving in diplomatic positions, while the parties were being formulated. In 1803 he was elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the majority of whose members were Federalists, but he was not elected by a party vote and in the Senate gave support to many of President Jefferson's policies. The support of one of these—the embargo act—led in 1808 to resolutions of criticism by the legislature, which caused him to resign. He was again returned to the Foreign Service by President Madison, and by President Monroe was made Secretary of State.

The Republican Party, which by this time was beginning to be called Democratic-Republican, was in reality the only national organization in existence, and all the candidates of 1824, including Mr. Adams, were regarded as being of it; but here and there certain congressional districts still elected Representatives who called themselves Federalists. All the remaining Federalist strength came to Mr. Adams's support, and this, plus what he drew from the Republicans, gave him the vote of 13 States in the House of Representatives and thus elected him, although he had received but 84 out of a total of 261 votes in the Electoral College.

It was in the good year of 1824 that a lank and angular horseman rode out of the 28-year-old Commonwealth of Tennessee, to which theretofore his political activities had been almost wholly confined, and stationed himself upon the field of national politics, which he was soon to dominate as never before or since has that field been dominated by mortal man.

His name was Andrew Jackson. [Applause.]

He was by no means an unknown, nor was his fame confined to any State or section or even to the wide Nation, which in 1824 had become a Union of five and twenty sovereign States.

His name was known, particularly in military circles, in all the civilized lands beyond the seas.

Madison and Monroe were placed before the people as presidential candidates by joint caucuses of the Republican Members of Congress held in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington. That was before the day of national political conventions. Gradually there grew up a popular resentment against such action. It was voiced by Henry Clay when Monroe was first nominated in 1816 in a resolution declaring it inexpedient for the caucus to make any recommendation upon the subject "to the good people of the United States." His resolution failed, however, and Monroe was recommended then, as he again was in 1820.

By 1824, however, public sentiment had so crystallized in opposition to that system as that when the caucus for that purpose was held in February of that year only about 70 out of the 216 Republican (Democrat) Members attended it. William H. Crawford, of Georgia, received the indorsement, but it had ceased to be of value, and he received but 41 of the 261 electoral votes.

Jackson, from the time that he began to take any interest in the question at all, was vigorously opposed to the caucus plan, and he showed no regard or respect for its action in 1824.

In July, 1822, the Legislature of Tennessee had nominated him for President for the elections of 1824, and in 1823 he was again elected to the Senate of the United States.

Most historians seem to agree that General Jackson evinced no great interest in his candidacy of 1824; certainly there was none of those terrific efforts which attended his subsequent campaign, but he received the plurality of the popular vote and also of the electoral college, having 99 of the 261 votes cast in the latter. His popularity had been demonstrated. He had surpassed that trio of seasoned statesmen—Adams, Crawford, and Clay—in popular appeal. It was not unnatural that a master politician such as he, though differing in type from all who had preceded him or who were his contemporaries, should have been stirred by the evident opportunity which lay before him to become the Nation's Chief Magistrate, but this might have passed, particularly in view of his enfeebled health, had it not been for an occurrence shortly after the general elections which shook the country to its uttermost bounds and made him inevitably a candidate for 1828.

No person having received a majority of the entire electoral vote, under the Constitution the decision passed to the House of Representatives, which had to choose from among the three highest, each State having one vote. Adams was elected and a few days thereafter was inaugurated, and appointed Henry Clay as Secretary of State. The charge was immediately made that this was the result of a bargain; that Clay had thrown his influence to Adams as the result of an agreement whereby the former was to become his premier, with a view, of course, to being his successor as President, as had been the case of the former Secretaries of State.

There is no time to review that controversy thus precipitated a hundred years ago. It was one of the most momentous single incidents of American political history; it lay at the basis of a new line of political and party cleavage; it led to the duel between Clay and Randolph of Roanoke. Clay denied the allegation and offered by his challenge to Randolph to defend this denial with his life. It changed history, and it was by no means the last quarrel of Jackson which was to have such an effect.

Jackson accepted the allegation as true and went to his grave in the unalterable belief of its truth. Most historians have acquitted Clay of the charge, but Jackson never did. Suspicion with him petrified into immediate obsession and his conviction was never shaken.

The first effect was to make him at once a candidate for 1828. He had carried the popular plurality; he was the people's choice; and they had been denied their choice, so he and his friends maintained, "by a corrupt and shameful bargain."

The Legislature of Tennessee, doubtless this time with his earnest approval and desire, in 1825, nominated him again for the election of 1828, then nearly four years in the future. He resigned from the Senate at once and entered with all the vigor of his vehement nature upon the four-year struggle.

That contest threw its shadow over the whole of John Quincy Adams' administration; it affected the attitude of Members of Congress upon every legislative movement of the time, for when Jackson fought he used every legitimate weapon upon which he could lay his hands and enlisted every man whom he could bend to his iron will. His whole appeal was to the people; he sought, as perhaps not even Jefferson ever sought, to ramify the popular thought with his cause and saturate it with a desire for vengeance and vindication. It was a titanic struggle, the forerunner of many to come. There belonged to him, as Thackeray says of Swift—

> As fierce a beak and talon as ever struck—as strong a wing as ever beat.

And the people responded; Heaven bless us how they did respond! Do not for one moment become obsessed with the idea that this was a mere uprising, as of a mob. Under the banner of this mighty militant there had enlisted as fine intelligence and as excellent probity as ever lent themselves to a cause—men who were themselves leaders of men, all thrilling with the impulse of their chieftain, all inspired by the flash of those penetrating eyes, whose sparks flew out from the pale, lean, classic face which was as if chiseled from granite.

I have used the words "vengeance and vindication." Let me hasten to say that these by no means comprehend all the motives that then did stir the Nation. By no means! Jackson stood for things. He had a cause and a program—the elimination of favoritism from law and the dissolving of selfish influences which, despite all, had been insidiously injecting themselves into government.

He became the embodiment of democracy; its "cloud by day and its pillar of fire by night." His lieutenants in every section of the Republic organized popular sentiment and gave it intelligent direction. They marched with pride behind a leader who knew how to lead and had the purpose and the will. The name "Republican" was dropped by his followers and proudly they called themselves "Democrats," as their predecessors in the days of Jefferson had been designated in derision and in scorn.

His triumph was complete, overwhelming; and a few days before his sixty-second birthday he was sworn in as President of the United States by the venerable Chief Justice John Marshall, the last great link connecting the long-dead Federalist organization with the eager and victorious democracy.

We may imagine the emotions with which these two great characters approached the solemn ceremonies of that day as they stood confronting each other at the east front of the Nation's Capitol and under the Nation's eye.

In his very first message to Congress he drew fire when he struck the flint of the Bank of the United States, giving the

clear intimation of his purpose to destroy that institution as it was then constituted, and thus early inviting the contest which was to be the most serious and long-drawn-out of his career and which did finally end with its destruction, root and branch.

It is almost impossible for us of to-day to realize the power which this pet institution, established as a part of Hamilton's policy, had attained in the Government, organized to be the servant, particularly of the Government and generally of individuals. It had become well nigh the master of both. Senators and Representatives in Congress had been brought beneath its influence and attached to it by "the strongest of all ties, immediate and personal pecuniary interest." In the largest degree it controlled credits throughout the country, could make or mar a business venture in the remotest hamlet of the Republic, could create panic at will, and itself frequently profit thereby.

I must not, out of deference to your patience, attempt now any detailed résumé of his administrations and their achievements. Almost all that was accomplished was the product of ceaseless struggle and embittered contest.

The history of the break with Calhoun and its effects is important enough briefly to sketch it. It was politics—great politics—in the raw. It was a mighty drama in which we see the play of human passion, sometimes at its best, sometimes at lower levels.

Toward the latter part of his first administration Jackson was placed in possession of a letter stating that while he was engaged in the Seminole military campaign Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Monroe, had, in a Cabinet meeting, urged censure upon Jackson for his conduct, alleging that he had exceeded his authority. Jackson had had some intimation years before that such a proposition had been made, but he believed it came from Crawford, Monroe's Secretary of the Treasury. He was strengthened in this belief by criticisms which Crawford, joining Clay, had made in the open Senate. The information that it was Calhoun, who up to then, notwithstanding Jackson's love for Van Buren, had been his political favorite, came as a terrific blow. It aroused all the fire and fury of his well-nigh unrestrainable nature. He sent the letter to Calhoun, without any publicity being given it, and asked a direct response.

Calhoun admitted it and attempted to explain, but no explanation could satisfy the enraged man, who felt that his honor was deeply touched. After many months the correspondence was made public, and all relations between them ceased. Jackson had added to Clay and other enemies another of the most brilliant and incisive intellects of that or any other age.

It destroyed all hope of Calhoun succeeding him in the Presidency; it brought about the rejection of Van Buren by the Senate—the Vice President casting the deciding vote against him—as minister to England, to which he had been given a recess appointment, and he had to return in semi-disgrace, only to be nominated, under Jackson's compulsion, in 1832 for Vice President and elected to preside over the body which had so recently humiliated him. It doubtless had something to do with Calhoun's resignation from the Vice Presidency in December, 1832, to enter the Senate from South Carolina, where he took upon himself the defense of nullification by a State of Federal law, a challenge which Jackson first answered with the famous toast at the noted banquet, "The Federal Union—it must be preserved," and later by lengthy proclamation and the actual assembling of armed forces of the Government.

Clay in the meantime had reentered the Senate, Webster had been there during all of Jackson's administration and before, and then occurred one of those strange incidents of history. The three of them, moved in part by impulses of personal feeling and in part by points of difference with the President, although themselves disagreed upon many matters and at times maintaining no personal relations, formed a coalition against Jackson and stood forth as the great triumvirate. There is no evidence that Webster hated Jackson. He supported him most vigorously in his fight upon nullification, but he loved the bank and was prepared to go the limit in traffic and sacrifice to assure the continuance of its life. The two others not only disagreed with Jackson upon many public questions, but they hated him personally. If they did not hate him as much as he despised them, it was simply because of a lack of capacity for hating. The will was there.

No stronger intellectual combination was ever formed against a man or a cause in the world.

That coalition which we recently witnessed in the Senate against Woodrow Wilson was brilliant indeed, but I doubt if it will loom large in history as did that against Old Hickory. Yet Wilson failed, while Jackson triumphed. It was a different day and a different cause. Jackson nipped nullification in its infancy and destroyed the bank in the days of its greatest power and arrogance. The three went down before him, and, while all of them lived far beyond his time and remained conspicuous on the stage of great affairs, Clay in particular displaying wonderful resiliency, no one of them ever attained his life's ambition—the Presidency of the Republic.

I shall make no effort to go further into the details of Jackson's administrations. Many great things have not been touched, and the intensity of his struggles has been, I fear, but faintly depicted. From the very beginning to almost the end of his second term it was continuous combat. The story has filled vast volumes of history. Within that period there scintillated an intellectual grandeur which has few, if any, counterparts in human annals.

In most all that was material he triumphed. His victories upon fundamentals were complete. He challenged the mightiest forces of selfishness and governmental greed and crushed them beneath his iron heel.

It was with complete content and entire satisfaction that he turned from the White House on March 4, 1837, after witnessing the installation of his successor, whom he himself had named, and leaving his enemies crushed behind him, made his triumphant journey to the Hermitage, and sat himself down by his window, which looked out over the garden where Rachel slept under the springtime flowers.

If one be called upon to sum up Jackson in a few words and interpret him to mankind, I think it may be done by saying that he was democracy incarnate, plus the purpose, the will, and the power to enforce its decrees. He could not have been a Jefferson any more than Jefferson could have been a Jackson, but he would have been Jackson had Jefferson never lived. Democracy was not to him an abstract art or an abstruse science. It was a virile system to be applied to the needs, the evolution, and the developments of society. He grasped by intuition what so many have not learned at all, or only learned by painful processes of study and labor; and what he believed he put into action; his faith was made to function in living law.

Great as was the party system which he had builded, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say rebuilded, and compactly as he had welded it together, with his personality removed it began to weaken. He was followed in the Presidency and leadership of his party during the pre-Civil War period by men who are entitled to the designation of great, but somehow no one of them could quite "bend the bow of Ulysses."

Within four years after his retirement he witnessed, with what mingled disgust and humiliation we can well imagine, the defeat of the great party which he had left so strong.

It is rather difficult to account for the triumph of Harrison in 1840. He was the first of two Whig Presidents, Zachary Taylor being the other, both of whom died in office, to be elected. Both had achieved military distinction and this may have tipped the scales in their favor.

The Whig Party sprang up during Jackson's day and took its name from the English organization which had been formed in opposition to the crown. It was a silly misnomer so far as America was concerned, and it would seem as if Clay and Webster, with all their talents, might have thought of a better. They were unwilling, it seems, to revive the name "Republican," so closely associated with Jefferson, as was done in 1854, when slavery was becoming the one great issue, and so they took the name of Whig because, as they said, they opposed the tyranny of Jackson as the English party opposed the tyranny of the King.

The unconscious irony is clearly to be seen when it is remembered that Jackson relied always and absolutely upon popular support not only for election but for the indorsement and sustaining of his policies.

More than any President who preceded him save Jefferson, and more than any who have followed save Lincoln, perhaps Roosevelt, and certainly Woodrow Wilson, he relied upon the people. This was no demagogy with him; it was sacred to him as an article of faith.

The Whig Party embraced the principles of Hamilton and thus became the lineal descendant of the Federalist organization, but notwithstanding their successes of 1840 and 1848 they were never able to apply their principles. Tyler, who succeeded Harrison upon his death, disappointed them upon the bank question, and no serious effort was ever thereafter made to revive this institution in the Hamiltonian form. As a matter of fact, but little of Jackson's work was undone until after the war of secession.

In 1844 his party retrieved its prestige in part, and his friend and protégé, James K. Polk, was elected President.

The old warrior saw no other presidential contest, for on the 8th of June, 1845, his spirit joined the spirit of Rachel, and his

body was laid beside her in the garden where the flowers were abloom.

Following the defeat of 1852 and with the passing of Webster and Clay the Whig Party almost immediately died. The Federalist Party had just one term of the Presidency and died after one defeat; its first successor had two terms and died after two defeats.

Following its death there was organized as the opposition party the one which exists to-day under the name of Republican. This was taken for a number of reasons. Many then survived who had followed the old party of Jefferson to victory under that name, and, above all, Jefferson had been the sworn and earnest foe of slavery, and this was the sole question about which the founders proposed to build the new movement.

The national platforms of that party in 1856 and 1860 contain reference to but little save this. Lincoln was not one of the founders of the Republican Party. He joined it after it had been thoroughly organized and was a "going concern" in 1856, and became its infinitely greatest leader, but that leadership was along the lines and within the limitations of the platform which dealt only with slavery.

We know but little of Lincoln's economic ideas. There are fugitive utterances to be found here and there, to be sure, but these are not sufficiently comprehensive to enable us to reconstruct any general system to which he adhered. His public life was comparatively brief, so far as holding office was concerned. He was in national position for a little more than six years, one term as a Representative in Congress and four years and a month as President. He was a member of the Whig Party, to be sure, and an admirer of Henry Clay; but, so far as his own utterances were concerned, we have little from which to deduce the bent of his mind upon economics.

This detracts nothing whatsoever from that immortal glory which is his. No one would deny him superb greatness of character and vision and virtue. He met, as became a great, a very superior man, the issues of his hour. He wrought—not perhaps in the way that Jefferson would have wished it done—yet, nevertheless, he wrought the abolishment of slavery, for which the former stood. He made good the immortal toast of Jackson:

> The Federal Union; it must be preserved.

But I have an idea that through the use of his well-nigh sacred name in connection with the Republican Party for the last 60 years there have been wrought more things which he himself would have repulsed with indignant scorn and lashed as with scorpions than has been done through the use of any other half dozen names in our Nation's history.

That party was founded upon an idealism of which Lincoln was the incarnation. It was inevitable that the results of the war of secession should give to it a long lease of power. The Democratic Party became associated in public thought almost exclusively with the doctrine of State rights, and the expression State rights, for a generation almost, brought to millions of persons, as the initial thought, secession, war, a land billowed with graves, and a country filled with homes wherein sat mothers who were "weeping for their children and would not be comforted." The popular psychology produced by such a situation was inevitable. In the platform of 1864 the name "Republican" was not used by the convention which nominated Lincoln and Johnson, but the body was composed principally of that party's members, and the organization, the party machinery was in their hands. It was in existence, and there needed only to be fused into it the elements for which the war success opened the way to render it for a long time practically invincible. Wise and far-seeing business interests grasped this fact and, seizing upon the party of Abraham Lincoln, they engrafted upon it, in so far as they could and dared, the old policies of federalism which have been with us from the beginning, and made it the party of Alexander Hamilton.

Such is the condition which confronts the people of America to-day. The age-old struggle between popular and class rule rages still and will go on.

I have sought to say nothing offensive; I have tried to deal with the plain, recorded facts of history.

There are two, and just two, great schools of political thought between which most of our people are normally divided. The one traces its course back through the Republican Presidents, except, perhaps, Roosevelt, and surely Lincoln, and through the Whig Presidents to Hamilton and Federalism; the other traces back through the Democratic Presidents to Jefferson and republicanism, or democracy, as you will.

Those of us who belong to the latter school concede to all who unselfishly do strive to sustain the former honesty of opinion and, of course, freedom of action, but we feel that the right is with us, and we love our traditions and cherish our heritage.

May I not say to my Democratic colleagues this in particular: Our party has survived defeat after defeat and lived. We shall live and live to win again. Defeat brings discouragement but not despair. [Applause.]

From Jefferson until to-day we Democrats have followed no leader of whom we are ashamed. Our Presidents have been "lion's cubs." [Applause.]

In the developments of society, with all their new and perplexing problems, differences have arisen at times in our ranks, and, like all parties, we have recognized and acted upon the truism that "living issues have changing aspects," but the fundamentals of our creed remain the same.

May I not quote once more the closing words of Mr. Jefferson's exposition of party principle:

> They should be the creed of our political faith—the text of civil instruction—the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

My colleagues, we should ground ourselves upon the fundamentals. If we but stand true to the ancient faith, ours is destined to be once again victory and control. Let us not be discouraged by defeat. Let us plant ourselves upon fundamentals and go forth as one who is not afraid. Let us say to the mighty democratic spirits of the past as to-day they consort together, "We are faithful to your tenets, and we are carrying on." [Applause.]

Mr. FUNK. Mr. Chairman, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR].

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, Porto Rico—rich port—that famous island, rich in traditions, is four days' journey from New York, about half way distant from Rio Janeiro, and is a veritable garden spot of the world, where the American flag flies over 2,000 native schools. Sometimes these modest seats of learning are discovered by the visitor far up the mountain side; often the schools are close by the sea, where our flag peeps out from under coconut palms, and again they dot the valleys and hillsides throughout the interior, but wherever the schools are there floats our flag. Nearly a quarter of a million children attend these public schools, and their influence upon the rising generation is evidenced by the statistical report that within a quarter of a century during the American period of occupation illiteracy has been reduced one-half.

This attractive island, as beautiful as the Hawaiian or Philippines, is about 100 miles from east to west in length and 40 miles from north to south across the mountains that lie between the Atlantic and the Caribbean, but within this small territory is found the most famous highway system of the world. It was 433 years ago when Columbus landed on the northern shore of the island during his second voyage to America, and soon thereafter the Spaniards began constructing their marvelous roads that have been one of the wonders of the Western World. Some of these ancient Spanish highways yet remain in use, and are among the best of the 1,500 miles of hard surface or asphalt roads now found in Porto Rico. Hardly larger than a single county of many Western States, Porto Rico has the mountains, the sea, and the trade winds that give it an unrivaled climate and rare picturesqueness in both winter and summer.

Public health, neglected and abnormally poor before the American occupation, is now under the control of an able corps of physicians and aids, who are cleaning up all parts of the island so that it is destined soon to become a model of health and sanitation for the rest of the world. Among its famous doctors are such men as Col. Bailey K. Ashford; Doctor Ortis, the island health officer; Doctor Rosa; and others of equally high standing, both native and foreign.

Schools, public buildings, and highways, second to none the world over, when the financial ability of the people is remembered, are now being constructed throughout the island in addition to those already existing. These, including the splendid highway system, are under the direct jurisdiction of Estavis, secretary of the interior, a native Porto Rican, who, like Doctor Ortis, was educated in an American university, together with hundreds of their associates, now among the leading business men and officials of the island. In the American schools these men observed and absorbed the energy of the Anglo-Saxon while poring over their books, so that to-day Gov. Horace Towner, chief administration official of the island, is surrounded by a corps of capable assistants, excelled, I believe, nowhere in this or any other country. If this seems high praise, it is not hurriedly voiced but is based on a study of

many days while driving around the island making investigations of conditions, often in company with these enthusiastic yet efficient and practical officials.

Pride and patriotism linked with boundless energy has helped Porto Rico rise to its present high plane, and those who go to the island expecting to find the reported crudeness or backwardness of former years among the people will be agreeably surprised with their remarkable progress during the quarter of a century of American supervision and aid.

Their commerce has kept pace with other lines of advancement, with a growth of external trade from $16,000,000 in 1900 to $177,000,000 in 1924, which indicates the rapid commercial progress of the island. In 1900 the United States sold to Porto Ricans nearly $7,000,000 of our products, and 24 years afterwards the sales of like products reached $80,500,000. Figures mean little to the average person, but after a brief study of conditions I believe it will be found that practically every interest in the island from its budget and needed public expenditures to its taxation system, educational, health, and other branches of activity have all kept close pace with the wonderful commercial progress to which I have alluded.

Hospitality is found everywhere among the people, for their politeness, courtesy, and kindliness is proverbial. Those who are self-satisfied with our own home conditions will also find much to learn in the religious atmosphere of this island where beautiful churches and many thousands of devout communicants are constantly in evidence.

When we drove along the highways on one Sunday countless groups of well-dressed children and adults were on their way to the many churches in near-by villages. The villages were usually 6 or 8 miles apart and the people would be met about half way distant going to one or the other of the nearest churches, sometimes in groups of a score or more and literally thousands were seen that day trudging along the highway bound for their nearest church service. With such a people, religious, industrious, and striving for an education, there can be no doubt as to their future.

Briefly, I wish to speak of Governor Towner's administration, because we had opportunity to observe conditions in San Juan, the capital city, and in many other cities and villages and country districts throughout the island. A dozen years ago it was my privilege to serve with Governor Towner, then a member of the Insular Affairs Committee of the House. When President Harding found that a former governor had aroused antagonism on the part of practically everybody on the island, until the exasperated natives, together with the Americans, were humiliated by notorious misrule, then the President's choice fell on Judge Towner, and a commission was given him to bring order out of the confusion which then existed.

Governor Towner undertook a job which would have been uninviting and discouraging to most men. Few could have succeeded in the task, because the petty tyranny of his predecessor that savored of narrow military habits and regulations had embittered people of all alien races until the aroused Porto Ricans were ready to seize upon any and every excuse to oppose and obstruct the new administration. Patient, yet firm and just in his course, the new governor, able lawyer, scholar, and experienced statesman as we have known him in Congress to be, he began his work in the island by surrounding himself with a strong corps of unusually brilliant, energetic Porto Ricans.

These he imbued with a spirit of loyalty and devotion to their own people which was reflected in their genuine loyalty to the new governor. Conditions were carefully studied and a constructive program undertaken that has been faithfully carried out. Curative laws, betterment of living conditions, and a spirit of mutual helpfulness among all classes of people, together with encouragement to Americans, Spaniards, and Porto Ricans alike in the promotion of their business activities were all efficiently undertaken for the advancement of the people.

This was the policy and program outlined by Governor Towner. Quietly and thoroughly he began untangling countless snarls that had been left as a heritage by his predecessor, until eventually there was brought about helpful cooperation on all sides that, compared to prior conditions, was as marked as it was novel in character when we visited the island last spring.

Possibly no higher praise could come to anyone than the opinion frequently heard in different parts of Porto Rico that if an election was to be held under proposals then discussed Governor Towner would be overwhelmingly elected by the people for governor if he would become a candidate for the office.

I mention this to show the difference brought about in two short years of island control. Characteristically modest, with an ambition only to give the Porto Ricans good government, which they now have, I doubt if he has or ever would have any desire to meddle in the local politics of the island. He has brought order out of chaos, as he was directed to do, and for that accomplishment Governor Towner deserves the everlasting gratitude of the American people in this country, as well as of all the people of every color and race now living on the island.

I do not say that all persons or all political parties in Porto Rico are contented or entirely happy. That condition prevails in no government on earth. Disagreements among factions and with government officials may occur, possibly with some cause for complaint, brought about by past conditions, but the future, permanent form of government is a subject too broad and the possibilities too complex to discuss here in a few words.

The future of the Porto Ricans, it is believed, rests largely with their own conduct of government and no attempt to cover that phase of the situation is offered. This much can be said, that peace and prosperity among the people of the island were never before so well assured, and to Governor Towner, in large part, must be given credit for burying factional differences among the Porto Ricans, promoting amicable relations toward Americans, and launching the island on an era of unexampled prosperity. Doubtless much remains to be done, but with united support and mutual confidence in each other, all things are possible in the advancement of this remarkable people.

I have stressed strongly the wonderfully changed conditions, which will come as a surprise to those familiar with other administrations of the island, because it has the contrast of a smoothly running useful engine working for all the people compared with the noisy rattletrap that previously had kept the island in turmoil and this country in a state of uncertainty and embarrassment as to its Porto Rican protégés. Few men in many years could have brought about the good understanding which now exists between the old Spanish families, the Porto Ricans of all walks of life, and the American colony on the island.

In this achievement the governor has had the invaluable aid of his equally capable helpmate, Mrs. Towner, so well known to the people of Washington.

I am not here to sound perfunctory praises of any one nor would those who are quietly bringing about good government in the island have me do so, but with an understanding of conditions prior to Governor Towner's appointment it is just recognition to say of the marked improvement in every avenue from business and legislation to public works, education, and cordial relations with all people that the spirit of cooperation and the marked advancement has been made possible because of the right man in the right place.

One other brief word of recognition is due to another man living in Porto Rico who is a world-wide benefactor. This man has a dream, and if his dream comes true it will be brought about through the active support of the American Congress. His plan is one of the most practical and helpful aids to humanity ever conceived by man. Col. Bailey K. Ashford, American doctor of medicine, well known in this and other countries, has a laboratory in Porto Rico that would delight the heart of any physician. It was Doctor Ashford who discovered the hookworm and the cure, and also the proper treatment of other diseases, especially those of tropical origin, all of which have received study in that laboratory until the director in charge is recognized and appreciated by a large audience of medical men and of philanthropists throughout the world. Let me not forget to mention a native Porto Rican girl, his assistant, whose knowledge of medicine he said was of an exceptionally high order. The natives are capable of meeting the highest tests when afforded opportunity.

Doctor Ashford has a dream of a great Pan American university to be established in Porto Rico, and it is a practical dream with wonderful possibilities. He has lectured before many learned bodies, and also written for various publications about the advantages of such a university if located at Porto Rico, the ancient seat of the oldest colony in the Western Hemisphere. With a dense population of nearly a million and a half people on a small island under American supervision, where 42 per cent of the budget is expended on education, where public health is placed first among its activities, in a place of growing culture and educational advancement, he has voiced the practicability and desirability of his plan for this proposed higher university of learning.

Lying between the United States and the Canal Zone and South America, the island is centrally located in the western world, where distance is being constantly annihilated by new inventions, so that in the near future it may soon be reached from our shores in a day's travel.

With high mountain chains, healthful surroundings, and equable temperature the year round, ranging from 78° in January to 82° in August, this historic spot and emerald island of remarkable beauty has a great future before it. It is the outpost between the Castilians who have settled in the southern countries and the Anglo-Saxons of the north, and it is here that Doctor Ashford hopes to secure the cooperation of all the universities of the western world in establishing a university extension beyond anything yet known.

His enthusiasm for this great university proposal is equal to that with which he undertook the field of research when studying the hookworm and its cure. Here he plans for a university that will specialize in many fields, and among the courses eventually to be included will be international law, political economy that affects particularly North and South America, international sanitation, medicine, and health enlightenment of every character.

Doctor Ashford believes that some of the great philanthropists who have aided his work in developing the present extension of his school of medicine in Porto Rico would give aid to this practical and humanitarian dream so as to make it a reality, and further that the American Government in time may be prevailed upon to give its active support to an American institution under the American flag that will be of incalculable benefit eventually to the world of to-day and the world of the future.

With such men as Ashford, Rosa, Ortis, Gonzales, Martines, Estavis, Barcelo, and of our own able colleague, FELIX CORDOVA DAVILA, Delegate from Porto Rico, together with scores of others equally noted, the island is on the threshold of a prosperity and progress beyond estimate. Much has been done and much remains to be done in improving conditions in a field that has for its ultimate purpose the building up of a once sickly, ignorant, unambitious rural people into a strong, healthy, progressive people moving forward and upward under the American flag. Our own country and the people of the world have in Porto Rico an object lesson of the influence of western progress under a wise civil administration and of a constitutional government that seeks to extend the blessings we enjoy to all those who have come under the influence of that Government.

Let me give you, my friends, a further word of advice. Do not take my judgment nor that of other Members who by personal observation and study have made discoveries like myself of the advancement going on in Porto Rico, but I advise you to go to this beautiful island where Columbus cast his anchor in 1493 and visit its quaint, historical, interesting places, far beyond those found in any other part of the West Indies, if not in the entire western world, and then learn the effect of Americanization. To-day Porto Rico extends the hand of welcome and hospitality to all the people of both the Old and New World.

Its representative, Delegate DAVILA, is one of the thousands of eminent Porto Ricans whose friendly hand-clasp as you leave our shores is repeated and long remembered in the warm-hearted reception accorded the visitor upon arrival at the quaint old city of San Juan.

In conclusion may I say I have been permitted to visit the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, and various other islands of the seas and of many lands in the Old World and New. The attractiveness and hospitality of their people is unfailing in my experience, but I know of no place more inviting or more beautiful than Porto Rico. We know how our former colleague, now the Governor General, entered on his official duties on the island at a time when there was great confusion. He brought order out of chaos, and there are Members on both sides of the House who, I am sure, will join with me in expressing their praise for what Governor Towner has accomplished in his new field of work and for the island of Porto Rico. [Applause.]

Mr. FUNK. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SWING].

Mr. SWING. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, some time ago I introduced a bill for the protection and development of the lower Colorado River Basin. This bill, in regular order, was referred to the Department of the Interior and was reported upon favorably with some suggested amendments. The House Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation is now holding hearings and considering the bill, and I trust, in due time, will report it to the House for your consideration and action.

I am therefore undertaking at this time to bring to you such facts as I can and to give you such information as I have regarding this project. I shall discuss it, first, from the point of the local needs and necessities, and then later develop the Federal aspects and national interests. Only a small part of the total number of bills brought here affect the welfare directly of all parts of the country. Most of them are of primary interest only to some one section of the country. We have to depend upon the people in various parts of the United States to bring to the attention of Congress those matters which they think are vitally necessary to their welfare and progress. Thus the people in the region of the Great Lakes have brought to the attention of Congress the necessity for a deep-water channel to the Atlantic Ocean.

The people of the Mississippi Valley have presented to us the benefits that would flow from a deep-water channel from that region to the Gulf. To-day I speak for the people who live in the lower Colorado River Basin, and I hope I will be able to develop the fact as I go along that this is more than a mere local project.

I have lived for some 18 or 19 years in the Imperial Valley. It is unique in many respects, one of which is that it lies almost wholly below the level of the sea. Another is, although it has practically no rainfall, yet it is one of the most fertile and productive areas in this country, irrigated as it is by a great main canal which brings water over 60 miles from the Colorado River.

Their principal problem is river control, for the protection of life and property from an annual flood menace. The people who live in this valley, 60,000 American citizens, went into the valley as pioneers, drawn from all the States in the Union. Generally speaking, they took with them little money in their pockets but plenty of courage in their hearts, and with willing hands and determined minds they set out to make something worth while out of what appeared to be a desert waste. They fought a good fight and conquered the desert, they builded their cities well, they created a magnificent community, and yet to-day these people are face to face with the menacing threat of destruction by flood.

These people live, as it were, in the hollow of a saucer, while above them, flowing around half the circumference of the saucer, is this great river, looking down into the valley and every now and then threatening to jump down in and destroy the entire community. The lowest point in Imperial Valley is 250 feet below sea level, and the maps show that from a point on the river an equal distance from the Gulf to the south and the center of the valley to the northwest the fall of the land to the Gulf is about 1 foot to the mile, as compared with a fall of 3 feet to the mile to the northwest. So you see the old law of gravitation has the downhill drag on the river and is constantly threatening to pull it into this fertile valley and destroy it.

The people there have done the best they can in handling the problem, but it is beyond the power of a local community to solve, even if it had the means and the money, because the river is an interstate and an international river, and the problem requires interstate and international consideration and treatment.

This river carries every year in solution in its waters over 113,000 acre-feet of solid material. This silt during the low flow of the river deposits itself along the bed of the river, chokes up the channel, builds up the bed, thereby lessening the height of the banks and increasing the menace of overflow when high water comes.

I am speaking primarily of the Imperial Valley, where I live and with which I am intimately acquainted, but the same situation is true, only to a less degree, of all the communities on the river below the canyon section of the river, beginning at Needles and including Palo Verde Valley, Yuma Valley, and all of the lower basin communities. While not below sea level, they are all liable to overflow during the flood season of the river, and all of them have at one time or another felt its devastating force.

The levee system is inadequate to take care of the problem. We have given it a very thorough trial; it has proven inefficient. Here is the reason: The river, as I stated, is constantly building itself up with the deposits which it brings down from the upper regions. If we build to-day a levee of 2½ feet or 3 feet above high-water mark, a year or two from now the bed has crept up and encroached upon the safety margin and left us without flood protection. Then, again, there is a height beyond which, from an engineering point of view, it is not safe to go with earthen levees, because they can not resist beyond that point the pressure of a great river.

And there is a point beyond which you can not go financially, because as your levee goes higher and higher to add 1 cubic yard of earth to its height you must go back down to the bottom of the angle of support of your levee and put 20 or 30 cubic yards upon the bank or slope in order to make the one stay on top, and each year as you go higher your angle of slope becomes longer and the expense becomes greater. We have

now about reached the point beyond which engineers say it is not safe to go, and beyond which these people have not the financial means to go.

Another problem is the violent fluctuation of this river, getting down as low as 2,000 second-feet in low flow and then springing up as high as 200,000 second-feet in flood season. In flood season the levees become soaked with water, then when the water goes down the levees dry out and the earth cracks, and should there then be a freshet the water would likely find its way through a crevasse, and presently the surrounding country would be flooded.

The nature of the soil lends to the instability and insecurity of the country. This whole lower region from Yuma on down is simply the silt deposits of that river. It came in water, it will go in water. It dissolves like sugar in water and melts away.

This whole valley was once under the sea as part of the Gulf of California, but this river built its delta in such a way as to cut the Gulf of California in two, creating an inland sea, and when its water evaporated it left this valley. We are told that in the centuries long past the river alternated its course, flowing for a time into the Imperial Valley and then into the Gulf. Each time it entered the valley it brought immense deposits of silt, and that has made the soil there immensely deep and immensely fertile. The temptation now seems to be for the river to go in there again.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, this is one of the most important subjects we are going to have for consideration in the future. There is a small attendance and I know the gentleman has given a great deal of thought to this matter. Unless my friend objects, I will make a point of no quorum.

Mr. SWING. I thank the gentleman for his kind consideration, but I will not ask for it.

The immediate danger has been somewhat alleviated by the finding of a low basin to the south into which the river, at great expense, has been diverted and through which it is now flowing to the gulf.

Knowing the amount of silt the river carries every year, as much as was taken out of the Panama Canal during the 10 years of its construction, it is a mere mathematical calculation to figure out when the river will have filled up this new basin and then be back again tearing and cutting at the levees in an effort to break into Imperial Valley. Engineers estimate that from 7 to 12 years is the maximum relief that can be secured in this way. It will take seven years, at the least calculation, to build the proposed flood-control dam, so time has become a highly important factor.

In 1905 and 1906 the entire river found its way into the Imperial Valley and created the Salton Sea, which continues to-day as a warning of what will happen unless Congress in its wisdom intervenes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Will the gentleman state what is the length of the Colorado River?

Mr. SWING. Seventeen hundred and fifty miles long.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Where does it rise?

Mr. SWING. In Wyoming and Colorado. When the snow has covered the high plateaus in the winter this stream is usually at its lowest, but when summer comes and the heat melts the snow the flood waters rush down this river, filling its banks to overflowing, and in a few weeks a tremendous volume of water has run to waste into the ocean and constituted itself a menace to life and property while it ran to waste.

Flood control has for a long time been considered a proper function of our Government, and it has taken care of those communities which were unable to protect themselves against these forces of nature.

On the Mississippi our Government has spent over a hundred and fifty million dollars of Federal money, not a dollar of which will ever be returned to the Treasury of the United States, except in the increased happiness and prosperity of the people who live there, and that is, of course, ample reason for the expenditure. We will probably continue to spend additional millions on that river as the problem there seems to be an unending one. The Colorado River, fortunately, presents an easier solution. There nature has prepared a means whereby the flood problem can be permanently solved without the loss to the United States Treasury of a single dollar.

God in his wisdom saw fit to create a canyon section between the snow-clad mountain tops of the north and these low-lying valleys to the south, and placed there deep, narrow gorges, prepared sites, as it were, in which man could build dams to hold back the flood waters, or all of the waters of the river should occasion require that.

Congress has repeatedly authorized appropriations directing the Interior Department to pursue the study of the problems of this river and to report to Congress how best to solve the problems and how best to develop this river. Beginning in 1920 we appropriated $20,000; in 1922, $100,000; in 1923, $100,000; in 1924, $25,000; and along with this the local communities, feeling that their very existence was dependent upon finding a solution, took out of their own pockets thousands of dollars—the Imperial Valley $100,000, other communities $85,000 more—which was turned over to the Government to aid in carrying out this investigation.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SWING. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman set out a moment ago the amount of money being appropriated for the Mississippi River development, for the building of levees, and the protection of property. Does the gentleman know that under the flood control act no money is expended by the Mississippi River Commission for the things that he has been describing until one-half of the amount of the cost is contributed and put into the treasury of the Mississippi River Commission by the people who own the property?

Mr. SWING. That is true.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman propose to have such a policy pursued in connection with the matter that he is now discussing?

Mr. SWING. I propose to have the entire amount repaid to the Treasury of the United States, with interest, so that the Government will not lose a single dollar. The problems are slightly different and I think will have to be handled in a somewhat different way, but on the Colorado the Government will get every dollar back.

Mr. MADDEN. That comes in a little later. The flood control act provided that before the Federal money is expended the political subdivisions in which the money is to be expended must pay into the Treasury one-half of the cost. Is it proposed that this territory shall do that, or not?

Mr. SWING. It is not proposed to do this work under the flood control act because the Colorado has never been placed under that act. The Interior Department has made its own recommendations, which I am trying to follow. The local communities, however, have offered in the hearings to put up power royalties in advance, which would probably amount to half the cost of the dam, if the Government wants to accept it on that basis.

Mr. MADDEN. Of course the Interior Department does not legislate, it does not make laws.

Mr. SWING. I am merely submitting the plan it recommended, and the gentleman can let the merits of it appeal to him as he sees fit. I am merely presenting the situation, as I see it, to the best of my ability.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SWING. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Has the gentleman any estimate of the probable cost of that?

Mr. SWING. Yes; I shall come to that in a moment. The estimate is very complete. As a result of these appropriations and as a result of the mandate of Congress to investigate and report, the Government engineers made a most thorough investigation and study of the river problems and worked out a carefully prepared plan by which the lower Colorado River Basin can be protected and its development stimulated by the building of a dam at or near Black Canyon. That dam will solve the flood-control problem, because it will hold back any amount of water of which we have any record for any one year, and by the building of the dam we will automatically create power possibilities sufficient in amount to guarantee the repayment to the United States Treasury the entire cost of the project, together with interest on the money invested. That plan has been reviewed and approved by a board of the Government's best reclamation engineers at Denver.

It was then brought to Washington and rereviewed by the best engineers in the Government service here drawn from the Geological Survey, the War Department, the Federal Power Commission, as well as from the Reclamation Service, and all the principal features of the project were approved and indorsed.

In addition to flood control, and in addition to providing means of repayment to the United States Government through the leasing or sale of power, the dam will provide the additional facilities for storing water for domestic and agricultural uses. At the present time the total low flow of the river has been overappropriated. Last year in the Imperial Valley, with 420,000 acres in cultivation, we found that for 72 consecutive

days, even with the entire flow below Yuma diverted into our main canal, there was sufficient only to provide for half the actual needs of the American farmers. There will be ample water for all, once the flow of the river is stabilized and equated, as it will be when this dam is built.

The coast cities are confronted with the necessity of augmenting their local water supply for domestic use. The Colorado River offers them their only hope. There is ample water there if it is only stored, but none in its present unregulated condition. These cities are also looking to the Federal Government to assist them in the solution of their grave problem.

The Secretary of the Interior last year in reporting upon my bill made some very enlightening statements with reference to this Colorado River matter. He said:

The time has arrived when the Government should decide whether it will proceed to convert this natural menace into a national asset.

In no better way, in so few words, can the complete proposal be so well summarized.

The scope of this subject in many directions, its urgency in some, and its opportunities for development, together demand the determination of a definite government policy. * * * Flood control has long by common consent been regarded as an obligation of the Government to guard the life and property of its people against recurring forces of nature beyond their ability to resist. Flood control, considered alone, promises no direct return of the expenditure of the Government.

He then proposes this threefold plan whereby he can sell the power and the water and from the proceeds return to the United States Treasury every dollar it has expended, together with interest thereon.

Mr. CHALMERS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SWING. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHALMERS. I am fearful the time may be expired without the gentleman giving an idea of the cost. I wish the gentleman from California would touch upon that feature before his time expires.

Mr. SWING. I will give you Secretary Work's latest figures:

Colorado River development, Boulder Canyon Reservoir, all-American canal

CAPITAL INVESTMENT	
Estimated cost for:	
26,000,000 acre-foot reservoir	$41,500,000
1,000,000 horsepower power development	31,500,000
The all-American canal	31,000,000
Interest during construction on above, five years, at 4 per cent	21,000,000
Total	125,000,000
ANNUAL OPERATION	
Estimated gross revenues from:	
Sale 3,600,000,000 kilowatt-hours' power, at three-tenths cent	$10,800,000
Storage and delivery of water for irrigation and domestic purposes	1,500,000
Total	12,300,000
Estimated fixed annual charges for:	
Operation and maintenance, storage and power	700,000
Operation and maintenance, all-American canal	500,000
Interest on $125,000,000, at 4 per cent	5,000,000
	6,200,000

Estimated annual surplus, $6,100,000, or thought to be sufficient to repay the entire cost in 25 years.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield there? Will they be able to use the water which is impounded separately through the river and bring it on down through Imperial Valley; would it be replaced all along?

Mr. SWING. They will use the river channel to convey the water from the dam to a diversion point called the Laguna Dam, where it would be taken out for Imperial Valley. But permit me to return to the report I was reading. The Secretary goes on to say:

The Colorado River is now a local menace. It may be converted into a public utility of first importance, particularly to southwestern United States. Its possibilities rank with those of the Panama Canal.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FUNK. I yield the gentleman five minutes additional.

Mr. SWING (reading):

I am concerned for the future of people menaced by temporarily controlled floods and entertain a lively sense of the magnitude, the necessity, and the importance of conserving to the United States as a whole the use of this potential natural force for the great waiting territory to be directly benefited.

Mr. McDUFFIE. Is that the President's language?

Mr. SWING. Secretary Work's; I will insert the President's statement:

I would recommend that Congress promptly initiate such commensurate measures as it may determine the Government's financial status will warrant and probable commercial returns justify from a point of view 50 or 100 years hence rather than now. The whole subject is of national moment, should be surveyed in a broad way, and is well worthy the serious consideration and action of Congress.

President Coolidge has also unqualifiedly indorsed the project. His views are stated in a communication sent to Charles C. Tague, of Los Angeles, dated October 7, 1924. I will read it:

I have received your inquiry as to my views upon the development of the Colorado River. You will recollect that I had the pleasure to state a year ago that the time had come for the Federal Government to undertake the construction of the great works upon the Colorado and I recommended the matter to Congress.

The administration has, through the Secretary of Commerce, been unceasing in its endeavor to settle the legal conflicts which have hitherto barred its consummation by opposition in Congress.

The major purposes of the works to be constructed there involve two fundamental questions which must always remain in public control—that is, flood control and the provision of immense water storage necessary to hold the seasonal and annual flow so as to provide for the large reclamation possibilities in both California and Arizona.

These considerations seem to me to dominate all others and to point logically to the Federal Government as the agency to undertake the construction of a great dam at Boulder Canyon or some other suitable locality obviously to be determined by the best engineering talent that can be secured in the Nation.

I should indeed look with great pride on the consummation of this one of our greatest national improvements within my administration.

Now, coming down to the definite project, we have already seen in the statements of Secretary Work and President Coolidge that the Federal Government has an important interest in it. There is, however, another vital reason, not mentioned by either of them, why the Federal Government must build, own, and operate this dam, and that is found in the relations of our Government with Mexico. It is known now, growing out of negotiations begun with reference to the Rio Grande, that Mexico intends to claim water from the Colorado for the amount of land which is already in cultivation in Lower California, Mexico, approximating 200,000 acres. But already the low flow of the river has been appropriated by American citizens for use on American lands under the laws of the various States and of the United States. Our Government has in every treaty it has negotiated on this subject recognized the right of the other nation to the amount of water it had beneficially used. It did with Mexico on the Rio Grande and with Canada on the Milk River and St. Marys River; and so it is obvious that when the Colorado River comes up for settlement we will grant Mexico some water. But where is our Government to get that water? It can not take it away from citizens who are now using it. There is only one way: It will have to store some of the water that is to-day running to waste, and to do that it must build and own a dam and reservoir.

Mr. COLTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SWING. Yes.

Mr. COLTON. But suppose you store a larger amount than to satisfy the claims of Mexico, would you not by equalizing the flow make it possible for people in Mexico and California to acquire the right to a use of a large amount of water?

Mr. SWING. That situation is cared for by an all-American canal on our side of the international line to the Imperial Valley and through the control of the dam and the all-American canal our Government can so control and so manipulate the river that Mexico can get no beneficial use from it except such as our Government sees fit and proper to grant to her. If this should be necessary, it could be used to bring about a reasonable agreement with Mexico. We could, if we thought proper, cut off all the water at the dam except the amount needed by American communities. We could waste water down the river channel at the season of the year when it could not be put to any beneficial use in Mexico. So the complete control of the situation will always be in the hands of our Government, and it can thereby work out a just and equitable agreement with Mexico.

As I said before, Los Angeles and some 10 or 15 cities on the coast have found that their domestic supply of water was inadequate and they have formed themselves into a league or district to build an aqueduct to the Colorado River to augment their present supply. The city of Los Angeles has already appropriated money to begin the work, and the other cities are cooperating with it. Under the present plan these cities will contract with the Government for water stored in the Boulder Dam at a price which, together with the price to be paid by

the Imperial Valley and other communities for agricultural water and the price to be paid for power, will return every dollar to the United States Treasury. No work can start until these contracts covering the total cost are in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior. Virtually the whole Southwest is back of the obligation to repay this money.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. SWING. I ask the gentleman to yield me five additional minutes, and I will not ask for any more time.

Mr. FUNK. I yield the gentleman five minutes.

Mr. MADDEN. Does that require legislation by the State of California to enable them to obligate?

Mr. SWING. It will not.

Mr. MADDEN. They have power to do it now?

Mr. SWING. The cities and districts have.

As a matter of fact the city of Los Angeles has already voted $2,000,000 to be expended on preliminary work on the aqueduct.

Now, the Secretary of the Interior in his report proposes this plan for financing the project, and I submit it to you for your consideration. He proposes to follow in this great undertaking the plan of financing by a bond issue found in the legislation authorizing the construction of the Panama Canal. Considering the magnitude of this work, it appears to me that in justice to the fiscal program of the administration this plan is probably the best way to work it out.

It will enable the putting over of this great project for the Southwest, solve the menacing flood problem on the lower Colorado River, enable our Government to fulfill any treaty obligation to Mexico, supply the coast cities I have named with needed domestic water, enable the reclamation of much present arid lands in our own country—all without any present drain on the public revenues and without any loss to the United States Treasury.

Mr. GARNER of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SWING. Yes.

Mr. GARNER of Texas. Does the gentleman know of any plan in contemplation for negotiating a treaty with Mexico?

Mr. SWING. I understand there is a plan looking to the solution of the problem with Mexico, involving the division of the waters of the Colorado and Rio Grande Rivers.

Mr. GARNER of Texas. These are activities of the State Department, are they not?

Mr. SWING. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Are there not some States that are involved in this that have not yet come into it?

Mr. SWING. Yes. There has been a Colorado River compact authorized by act of Congress and the act of seven States interested in that basin. That has been ratified by six of the States but not ratified by one of the States. The six States have reached a tentative agreement whereby this project can go ahead.

Mr. MADDEN. Are there not two States that have not ratified it completely? California has not ratified it.

Mr. SWING. California has ratified it on condition that this dam be authorized by Congress.

Mr. MADDEN. Their ratification depends on whether they are going to get what they want?

Mr. SWING. No. It depends on whether they get water in exchange for that for which they have already an undisputed title. If they surrender their present water rights to the upper States under the compact, then they must have water from another source, they say, from Boulder Dam, and that is what this project would give them. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MANSFIELD].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I believe I voice the sentiment of all the members of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors when I express the view that it is their hope that we may be able in a short time to report a river and harbor bill to the House in time for consideration before adjournment. And believing the time to be allotted for discussion will in most part be granted to those who oppose river and harbor appropriations, I am availing myself of this opportunity to now submit a few observations.

Transportation is a question of the most vital concern to the people of the United States. No one will dispute that. Our country is so large and the points of production of manufacture and of consumption are so widely distributed that we stand in need of the most comprehensive, the most complete, and the most effective system of transportation that can reasonably be provided. For a century or more our inland transportation has consisted mainly of our railways, our waterways, and our highways. These methods had their incipiency simultaneously in the beginning of the last century. The rivalry between them at times has been very pronounced. All of them have survived, and hence we may say all of them are fit. Steamboats and lines of steamboats have been purchased from time to time by railroads and then taken out of competition. Canals with their equipment have taken a similar course. In one instance a whole system of canals, consisting of nearly 600 miles, with a full complement of floating craft, was purchased by two of the leading railway systems of this country and junked within a few years thereafter.

Mr. McDUFFIE. Will the gentleman tell us right there what canals those were that were bought by the railroads?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Those canals were in Pennsylvania and were bought by the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Sunbury & Erie Railroad for $11,375,000 just a few years before the great Civil War. There were 589 miles of those canals and they were built by the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SEGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SEGER. And the Morris Canal, running from Phillipsburg to Jersey City, which carried coal from the mines to tidewater, was bought by the Lehigh Valley Railroad Co. and scrapped.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the gentleman for the suggestion. Hon. Clyde B. Aitchison, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in a speech delivered last October before the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners on the subject "A Century of Transportation Problems," makes reference to the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, which extends up the Potomac from this city. Of it he said:

> The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal was one of the great engineering works of its day. Construction of it was begun the same day as upon its great rival, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. After overcoming the difficulties at Great Falls, at Little Falls, and at Harpers Ferry, at the expenditure of $7,000,000, the company became bankrupt. The canal was in fact not finished until 1850. Even before it was finished the competition of the railroads was so strong as to make the discontinuance of Federal and State aid inevitable, and prevented the canal from ever connecting with the mines west of Cumberland, its chief objective.

There we have an instance where the influence of the railways was so great that it actually prevented the Federal Government and the State government from appropriating the money necessary to complete the waterway transportation project and prevented it from ever entering the field of production for which it was organized and set on foot. We have had many instances of that kind on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Cutthroat rates have also been employed by the railroads, and freight to and from many points has been carried at far less than cost. While river transportation has been greatly hampered and crippled and localized, still it has never been completely killed, and is now reasserting itself to an extent that would have been thought impossible two decades ago.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. What assurance have we that history will not repeat itself with reference to canals and this shipping by water in the future?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I think if the gentleman will wait a little while my remarks will answer that. I will suggest, however, that the railways are not now making the organized fight that has been made in the past. That is the main thing.

In our transportation scheme we are fortunate in having several thousand miles of coast line on the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts, and in having those waters connected by the Panama Canal. On these coasts we have about 125 ports where ships can enter, many of them capable of accommodating vessels of the deepest draft. These ports afford ample means for our foreign commerce as well as for the coastwise trade. The commerce of these ports last year was 329,563,713 tons, valued at $18,694,404,287.

We are also fortunate in having the system of the Great Lakes on the north. These waterways, since their improvement by the Federal Government, have afforded the most adequate and economic system of transportation in the whole world. Commerce is now being handled there more systematically and at less cost than has been found possible by any other means of transportation in this or any other country. The total commerce of the Great Lakes last year was 203,534,234 tons, valued at $3,572,521,195.

Those of our citizens who live in the great interior regions of our country are a little less fortunate in the way of transportation facilities than those nearer the oceans and Great Lakes. We must give to those of the interior, wherever possible, the means of reaching the high seas, so that their products may find sale in the world markets. Those more remote from river transportation must, of necessity, depend in most part upon the railways and highways, at least in the initial stage.

We have, it is true, a great system of railways, consisting of a little more than 250,000 miles of main-line tracks. These we must retain and accord to them fair treatment. Congress has already recognized their importance to the country by giving them a virtual guaranty of profits. These railways handle more than two and one-third billion tons of freight a year.

In the oil trade pipe lines are now performing a tremendous service and constitute a very important part in the great scheme of transportation, but I have not been able to secure any reliable data as to their operations. Transportation by air is yet the problem of the future.

We also have what is fast becoming a great system of public highways, consisting at present of a little more than 2,900,000 miles of public roads, nearly 400,000 of which have been paved or hard-surfaced to a certain extent and are now in a greater or less degree of efficiency. These highways are carrying probably three-fifths as much freight as the railroads are carrying and more than two and one-half times as many passengers.

We also have 25,000 miles of rivers and canals partially improved, though generally in disconnected segments. Notwithstanding their disconnected and unfinished condition, these rivers and canals for the year ended June 30 last bore 194,721,917 tons of commerce of a value of $3,746,799,431.

The Chief of Engineers in his annual report gives us the information that after the elimination of duplications of traffic as between ports, rivers, canals, and connecting channels the net water-borne commerce of the United States during the calendar year 1924 amounted to 453,700,000 tons, valued at $22,115,000,000. The value of this commerce handled over our improved waterways in a single year exceeds by more than $2,000,000,000 the value of all the railroads of the United States. This enormous volume in a single year has justified the expenditures of a century.

Our commerce for 1925 as a whole—that upon the railways, waterways, and highways, but not including the pipe lines—can reasonably be estimated at four and one-half billion tons. That is a conservative estimate. As an illustration of its enormity, it would constitute 180,000,000 carloads, at 50,000 pounds to the car, making 3,600,000 trains at 50 cars to the train. Considering the cars at a length of 41 feet, the American average, then parking space would require 466 lines of railroad track extending from New York to San Francisco, and 40,738 miles of additional trackage to hold the locomotive engines necessary to pull these cars.

To move our present commerce, enormous as it is, by no means represents the problem before us. The real question is, How are we going to take care of double that volume within the next few years? The traffic experts all tell us that our commerce doubles every 12 to 14 years. Highway traffic has been increasing in greater proportion. Waterway traffic will necessarily be limited to the facilities provided by Congress. Notwithstanding, no new waterways have recently been placed in operation, substantial gains in water-borne commerce are shown, the increase for last year being over 11,600,000 tons, as shown by the report of the Chief of Engineers. I was informed by the Interstate Commerce Commission a few weeks ago that the increase on Class I railroads for 11 months of last year was 124,680,000 tons. The figures for December were not available at that time.

Secretary Hoover, when before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors a few weeks ago, gave us the information that within a quarter of a century our rail traffic had grown from 114,000,000,000 ton-miles to 338,000,000,000 ton-miles, an increase of nearly 300 per cent. Speaking of the ability of the railroads to take care of this ever-increasing volume, the Secretary said:

> Our present mileage equipment of railroads obviously would be wholly inadequate to meet the task. We are faced in peak loads even now with difficulties at the great gateways and at the terminals; so we would be faced naturally with an enormous expansion of railroad transportation to take care of the future.

He further said:

> It would require an enormous expansion of railway terminals, which is becoming a most acute problem, because they could only be expanded at an enormously increased cost, due to the great increase in land values in the cities. The waterways, because they possess already continuous terminal along the water fronts of many cities, have the terminal question largely solved.

Secretary Hoover urges the early completion of the Ohio-Mississippi River system, including the intracoastal canal of Louisiana and Texas, at a minimum depth of 9 feet, and connecting this system with the Great Lakes. This would afford more than 9,000 miles of connected waterway through the great central region of the United States, with outlets to the high seas already existing through the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, and Passes of the Mississippi.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I am very much interested in the gentleman's speech, and I know his familiarity with the subject he is discussing. I would like to inquire what, in his opinion, would be the effect, if any, upon the reduction of freight rates if this canal is completed, with reference to shipments from somewhere in the upper Mississippi region down into the gentleman's district in Texas where he lives—whether it would have the effect of lowering the rates; and if so, to what extent?

Mr. MANSFIELD. There is no question but what there will be a very substantial reduction in rates. The exact reduction that could be made is a problem, of course, that will have to be worked out hereafter; but I will say that nowhere have water rates been as high as rail rates.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And I will yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DEMPSEY] to answer that question more fully.

Mr. DEMPSEY. President Loree, of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad, is deemed to be perhaps the ablest traffic expert in the United States. By a system of carefully prepared tables he demonstrated recently that rates upon the Great Lakes were only one-tenth of railroad rates, and that rates upon the ocean were only one-fifth of railroad rates. By a deeper waterway to the sea I think we would continue lake transportation until we met the ocean, and would continue at one-sixth of railroad rates. On the Mississippi the figures given by the Secretary of Commerce were something like this: They could carry 1,000 bushels of wheat 1,000 miles on the Great Lakes for $30 and on the Mississippi and its tributaries for 9,000 miles at, I think, about $60 or possibly $70. On the railroads the same transportation would cost from $150 to $200. I think that is the estimate, and that will give you a general idea of the proportion of rates. [Applause.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the gentleman from New York for his answer to the question. The gentleman is one of our best authorities upon questions of that kind, and that is the reason I yielded to him.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Will the gentleman from Texas yield for an explanation of just one or two items?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. A Cadillac car can be shipped from Detroit to Buenos Aires through this Mississippi route saving $100 over any other route from the United States.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. How much would be saved on the shipment of a Ford?

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. On a Ford you would probably save $40. This gives you an idea of what the saving would be.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I thank the gentleman for the information.

Mr. KETCHAM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KETCHAM. A few moments ago the gentleman made a very interesting statement with reference to a change of policy on the part of the railroads with reference to waterway improvements. Is the gentleman able to give any information as to the reason that attitude has changed in recent years?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I will answer that, I will say to the gentleman, a little further on in my remarks. If I fail to give a complete answer, I will ask the gentleman to please ask the question again at that time.

Mr. KETCHAM. I will be very glad to have that matter covered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes. This work upon the great Mississippi River system, I might say, is over half completed. More than half of the expense has been paid already by the Federal Government, but the work that has been done is in great part in disconnected segments, consequently the traffic handled upon this great river system is more or less of a local nature, and no through traffic has been able to be carried. In this connection I want to say that if the railways of this country were forced in like manner to carry local freight only, as the river

system has been forced to do, I do not believe there is a line of railway in the United States that could survive.

Mr. ROMJUE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROMJUE. I want to ask the gentleman from New York, who made a distinction a moment ago about rates on the Lakes and on the Mississippi River, the basis for the difference in rates.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It is simply because of the difference in the transportation unit. What makes possible the very cheap transportation on the Great Lakes is a combination of several factors. First, they have a very large transportation unit carrying from 14,500 to 15,000 tons. Second, that transportation unit is built at a very low cost, because of the method of construction. It is built low, and it does not have to be built with the strength of an ocean-going vessel, because it does not have to meet the same stress of the sea. Next, on account of the fact it can get coal at different places on its voyage, it does not have to have large fuel space, and, therefore, it can give practically all of its space to cargo. Next, and perhaps as important as all the rest combined, is the fact we have on the Great Lakes the swiftest and cheapest loading and unloading facilities the world has ever known. They can either load or unload one of these vessels in something like 16 to 19 minutes, which, of course, is a marvelous record. It is due to a combination of these things.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I will state in that connection, and to supplement the remarks of the gentleman from New York, that by actual test at the port of Two Harbors on Lake Superior a vessel was actually loaded with 12,508 tons of ore in 16½ minutes, and when it arrived at Conneaut, Ohio, where they transfer to train to Pittsburgh, it was transferred from the ship to the ore trains in three hours and five minutes. No facilities of that kind exist anywhere else in the world, I think.

In the great war of secession that shook the fabric of this Government to its foundation more than 50 years ago, the right to navigate the Mississippi River was the issue over which many of the most sanguinary engagements took place. Over that contention, the flower of American manhood, both North and South, spilt their blood and laid down their lives at Fort Donelson, at Shiloh, at Corinth, at Pittsburg Landing, at Vicksburg, and at New Orleans. It was one of the motives that helped to inspire a prompt response to the call to arms. It was one of the issues on which both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas made their impassioned appeals to the country. In a speech before the Illinois Legislature on April 25, 1861, 11 days after the fall of Fort Sumter, Mr. Douglas, in his appeal, said:

> While all the States of this Union, and every citizen of every State, has a priceless legacy dependent upon the success of our efforts to maintain this Government, we in the great valley of the Mississippi have peculiar interests and inducements to the struggle. What is the attempt now being made? Seven States of this Union choose to declare that they will no longer obey the behest of the United States; that they will withdraw from the Government established by our fathers; that they will dissolve, without our consent, the bonds that have united us together. But, not content with that, they proceed to invade and obstruct our dearest and most inalienable rights, secured to us by the Constitution. One of their first acts is to establish a battery of cannon upon the banks of the Mississippi, on the dividing line between the States of Mississippi and Tennessee, and require every steamer that passes down the river to come to under a gun, to receive a customhouse officer on board to prescribe where the boat may land, and upon what terms it may put out a barrel of flour or a cask of bacon, to cut off our freedom of trade upon the river and on the borders of those States.
>
> We are called on to sanction this policy. Before consenting to their right to commit such acts I implore you to consider that the same principle which will allow the Cotton States to exclude us from the ports of the Gulf would authorize the New England States and New York and Pennsylvania to exclude us from the Atlantic, and the Pacific States to exclude us from the ports of that ocean. Whenever you sanction this doctrine of secession you authorize the States bordering on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to withdraw from us, form alliances among themselves, and exclude us from the markets of the world and from communication with all the rest of Christendom. * * *

Concerning the great interior basin of the Mississippi system, and the effect that would be produced upon the trade of that river by the success of the Southern Confederacy, Mr. Lincoln in his message to Congress on December 1, 1862, said:

> But there is another difficulty. The great interior region bounded east by the Alleghenies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dakota, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, already has above 10,000,000 people, and will have 50,000,000 within 50 years if not prevented by any political folly or mistake. It contains more than one-third of the country owned by the United States—certainly more than 1,000,000 square miles. Once half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more than 75,000,000 people. A glance at the map shows that territorially speaking it is the great body of the Republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it, the magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific being the deepest and also the richest in undeveloped resources. In the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has as yet been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented. And yet this region has no seacoast—touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco; but separate our common country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is thereby cut off from some one or more of these outlets, not perhaps by a physical barrier but by embarrassing and onerous trade regulations.
>
> * * * These outlets—east, west, and south—are indispensable to the well-being of the people inhabiting and to inhabit this vast interior region. Which of the three may be the best is no proper question. All are better than either, and all of right belong to that people and to their successors forever. True to themselves, they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will vow rather that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications to and through them to the great outside world. They, too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary.

Upon the question of connecting the Mississippi system with the Great Lakes at Chicago, thus giving a trade outlet to the northeastern seaboard, Mr. Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress on December 8, 1863, spoke as follows:

> The attention of Congress during the last session was engaged to some extent with a proposition for enlarging the water communication between the Mississippi River and the northeastern seaboard, which proposition, however, failed for the time. Since then, upon a call of the greatest respectability, a convention has been held at Chicago upon the same subject, a summary of whose views is contained in a memorial addressed to the President and Congress, and which I now have the honor to lay before you. That this interest is one which ere long will force its own way I do not entertain a doubt, while it is submitted entirely to your wisdom as to what can be done now. Augmented interest is given to this subject by the actual commencement of work upon the Pacific Railroad under auspices so favorable to rapid progress and completion. The enlarged navigation becomes a palpable need to the great road.

Mr. Chairman, for several decades prior to the great World War the commerce on the Mississippi and Ohio, on account of the opposition of some of the great railway lines, had become reduced to a minimum. The ascendancy of northern arms in the War of Secession prevented barriers to commerce on the Mississippi that might have resulted from international boundary lines, but the railroads thereafter succeeded in establishing trade barriers, a thing which southern arms and southern valor, under leadership the most valiant, was unable to accomplish.

The descendants of those who wore the blue and the descendants of those who wore the gray should now join together in restoring to all the people this great channel of trade, this the greatest of all rivers, the Father of Waters. Extending from the northernmost boundary of the Union to the southernmost boundary of the one-time Confederacy, its improvement for commerce will reunite the country by a band of friendly trade relations that will forever make it impossible for our people to again become divided on such sectional lines. [Applause.]

We are no longer met with that organized opposition of the railroads that a few years ago carried everything before it. Railroad opposition is now only fragmentary. The responsible heads of many of the railroads now realize the importance of water transportation not only to the country but to the railroads as well. They have found that they get their share of the increased business resulting from the general prosperity that springs up from these great aids to commerce. Since the Panama Canal carries her 27,000,000 tons, the transcontinental lines have increased their earnings. Since the Monongahela

transports from twenty to twenty-four million tons, the two paralleling railroads, one upon either bank of the river, are burdened with traffic as never before.

Heretofore, transportation on the Mississippi River and its tributaries has been localized. The river has not been in position to compete with the railroads for the long hauls. When it is connected up into one continuous channel, circumstances will be reversed. The railroads, by comparison, will then become the short lines. A barge load of barbed wire, for farm fencing, can then go from Pittsburgh to Corpus Christi in one continuous haul. Such a shipment by rail would pass over at least four different lines. No single railroad would be in position to destroy the river traffic by putting on cutthroat rates, as such rates would apply to only a short section of the waterway. Ninety per cent of this river traffic will be in long hauls. It will consist mainly of iron and steel products, automobiles, farm machinery, sugar, sulphur, oil, wheat, corn, salt, coal, and lumber.

Furthermore, very much of this traffic will not even be handled by common carriers at all. In case of steel-mill products, for instance, the Carnegie Steel and the Jones & Laughlin Cos. already have their own steamboats and barges in operation on the Monongahela and upper Ohio. One of these companies has assured the Chief of Engineers that when the dams are completed between Louisville and Cairo it will send a 12,000-ton cargo to the West and South each week in the year. The managers of these great steel companies are able and conservative business men. The fact that they have already invested many millions of dollars in transportation facilities to be used on these rivers is the best evidence of their faith in the proposition.

The policy of improving the rivers and harbors of the United States, as we are told in the annual report of General Taylor, Chief of Engineers, was inaugurated by Congress about the year 1824. The work has generally been executed under the direction of the Corps of Engineers. The total expenditures to the present time are approximately $1,300,000,000, the major portion of which has been for securing and maintaining the necessary depths in our larger seaports.

These vast expenditures have been made during a long period of years, under the direction of the chief and efficient Corps of Engineers, and with one single exception not a breath of scandal has ever resulted. This is a record to which every citizen of this country should point with pride. The single instance of reprehensible conduct on the part of an engineer was promptly discovered by other members of the Engineering Corps and by them exposed, even before any injury resulted to the Government or to anyone else, except to the culpable party himself. Benedict Arnold did not detract from the honor of Washington, Putnam, or Wayne. Judas Iscariot did not diminish the glory of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

But we are told that some of the money spent for waterway improvements has been wasted on unmeritorious projects, and therefore the inference is that $22,000,000,000 of commerce should be swept from the waterways and destroyed. They say that Congress has made mistakes and that the engineers have made mistakes. Possibly so. Mr. Ingersoll said that Moses made mistakes, and he delivered a famous lecture entitled "The Mistakes of Moses." Still we have no historical record to show that Moses ever changed his course on account of this criticism of Mr. Ingersoll. The Book of the Law which Moses handed down to us is yet, after the lapse of the ages, still regarded as the foundation stone of civil law in all civilized countries.

Moses was also a great expert on water transportation. He transported the children of Israel safely across the Red Sea, while in an effort to stop him we are told that Pharaoh and all his host were lost. Sometimes I fear that even Mr. Ingersoll may have shared a similar fate. Now, I want to say to my good friends here who oppose expenditures for waterway transportation that I hope they may yet see the error of their way in time to escape such doom. [Applause.]

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY].

IN THE VALLEY OF SHADOWS

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Chairman, I know that my colleagues on both sides of this Chamber are in full sympathy with the objective matter with which I shall engage their courteous attention at this time. Concerning the surgical aid, medical care, mental relief, or physical comfort which this Government shall provide for those men who in the full promise of their youth were by war's cruel blast consigned to a living death, I know there is not a man in this House who would deny them anything helpful to their welfare or comfort.

Therefore as there will be nothing controversial in my remarks and as I wish to submit some interesting figures, may I ask you to consider that I am even less skilled in mathematics than I am in discourse. In view of the dual handicap under which I labor may I ask that you do not request me to yield any of my time.

Gentlemen, there are to-day some 27,000 men to whom the god of war denied even the peace of death. For them the gentle coming of spring holds no hope. Season may succeed season, the fields may be green with promise for everyone else, something better may always be waiting over yonder hill for other men, but these heroes are doomed to a life of hospital regularity and monotony. Not for them the restful bed in Flanders Fields; only the dreary days, one exactly like another, in a hospital ward.

Who knows to what heights any one of these 27,000 men might have climbed; what gift to science, to art, to industry, or to government may have been within these shattered bodies? "Excelsior"—that brave motto of youth—is forever off the shields of such as these.

Tuberculosis claims 8,845, or 32 per cent, of our disabled soldiers now in hospitals; and the Veterans' Bureau, in estimating that 7,500 of these tubercular cases will cease to require hospitalization within the next 10 years, bravely and hopefully includes in this 7,500 reduction, in addition to deaths, those in whom it is hoped the dread disease may be arrested or cured. As between the probability of death or cure within 10 years, sad experience leaves but one conclusion. Gentlemen, in the name of these who are about to die, I ask your further consideration.

Then there are 12,643 cases of mental and nervous diseases, 46 per cent of the total in hospitals throughout the country. All of us have had experience at first hand with veteran claimants. Observing the reluctance which those veterans who have come before me personally have to entering a hospital—and many of them are in extreme ill health—I can understand that those who are within the hospitals for so long a period must be in a serious plight, indeed.

The Veterans' Bureau, after all these years of observation and treatment in its hospitals for psychiatric cases, states that the persistence of a large hospital load is due to the low death rate and negligible social readjustment among the neuropsychiatric patients. Here, then, we have a more pathetic situation, with 12,643 men whose mental condition sets them forever apart from their fellows. What worlds they live in we know not. Whether the horrors of battle are still real to them, what specters plague their nights and days, we can only guess. These are the men for whom war decreed a life of banishment from all the world as we know it. I ask you, in kindness and justice, to consider their lonely isolation.

There are still 5,448 surgical and general cases in hospital. This is 22 per cent of the total under treatment. This is the one group where cures do most largely result. Of course, not all are cured, and those who are pay the price. The loss of an arm, a leg, an eye, both perhaps, but then the hospital can do no more, so the man returns to his home. Returns to his family and friends not as he left them, but still alive and with a permanent reminder of war's horrors. Many surgical and general cases are hopeless; that is, life may be, and is, prolonged in the shattered body so long as the patient remains in hospital régime. With what grim determination men cling to life!

I shall not dwell longer on this sad phase of the subject. I repeat that every Member of this House is sympathetic to any measure that seeks to improve the conditions of these men who paid war's most terrible price, a fate perhaps harder than death.

I should like to say at this time that I am impressed with the tremendous task that caring for these men and administering some 150 hospitals—I think that is about the number—involves. I have been examining certain reports and figures of the Veterans' Bureau in an attempt to estimate the probable cost involved in the bill to which I shall refer later. Incidentally I shall offer the estimate of the Director of the Veterans' Bureau for your information, although I believe it is far too high. I am impressed with the careful administration of hospitalization shown by the promptness with which the Veterans' Bureau was able to offer me information that enabled me to visualize the situation of these hospital cases.

On January 9, 1926, there were 27,244 veterans under treatment in hospitals supervised by the Veterans' Bureau. Of these 6,626 were short-term or temporary patients. It is with the practically permanent 20,244 patients that I am now immediately concerned. After 10 years it is estimated that 16,000 will be the permanent load. The deduction due to deaths, cures, recoveries, and so forth, has been checked against the figures of the United States Census Bureau for

greater accuracy. Tubercular cases will probably account for 68 per cent of the reduction, or 7,500 out of 11,000, in 10 years, or about 7 per cent decrease annually in tubercular patients.

The Veterans' Bureau estimates that an average patient travels 313 miles from his home to enter a hospital. This average seems high, as General Hines admits, but he points out that many patients in the West and Southwest travel 1,000 to 1,500 miles to reach a hospital. The territory to which he refers is evidently area D, in part including Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota; area C, in part including Texas and Oklahoma and all of area E, which embraces Montana, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, California, Arizona, Washington, Idaho, Oregon, and Nevada.

These undoubtedly are the regions of great distances. Still I feel that 313 miles is a high average for the entire country when we consider that farther east the distance drops perceptibly as the congestion of population increases.

On January 9 the Dallas (Tex.) office had 1 case in the general surgical group in a contract hospital. Oklahoma City had 19 tubercular cases in contract hospitals, 21 mental cases similarly located, and also 3 general surgical cases, a total of 43 patients. Since all are in contract hospitals I assume these are reasonably close to home.

Omaha, Nebr., had no hospital cases on record up to January 9. Fargo, N. Dak., had 2 mental cases, 7 tubercular, and 2 general surgical in contract hospitals. Sioux Falls, S. Dak., had 16 tubercular at the Hot Springs Soldiers' Home and 5 general surgical cases in contract hospitals. Contract hospitals I might mention are usually State or civic hospitals.

Now in all of area E, the West and Northwest, of far reaches and long distances, let us analyze the distribution of patients on January 9, 1926. Helena, Mont., had 82 tubercular, 3 mental, and 113 surgical and general, all in Government hospital at Fort Harrison, Mont. Denver, Colo., had 270 tubercular, no mental cases, and 4 general cases in Government hospital at Fort Lyon, Colo., and 489 tubercular, 42 mental, and 166 general cases at the Army hospital at Fitzsimons, Colo. Albuquerque, N. Mex., had 3 tubercular cases in contract hospital, and 383 tubercular cases and 7 general cases at Fort Bayard, N. Mex., and also had 68 tubercular, 17 mental, and 38 surgical and general cases all at the Army hospital at Beaumont, Tex. Salt Lake City had 3 general cases at contract hospital. Casper, Wyo., had none of any kind. San Francisco had 1 mental case and 6 general cases in contract hospitals, and had 598 mental cases at Veterans' Bureau Hospital at Palo Alto, Calif., and 223 tubercular cases at Veterans' Bureau Hospital at Livermore, Calif., and also 13 tubercular, 20 mental, and 346 surgical and general cases at the Army hospital at Letterman, Calif., and 1 tubercular, 1 mental, and 36 general cases at the naval hospital on Mare Island.

Los Angeles had 8 tubercular cases.

Phoenix, Ariz., had 3 tubercular cases in contract hospitals; 375 tubercular, 6 mental, and 7 general cases at Whipple Hospital; and 299 tubercular at Tucson Veterans' Hospital. Seattle, Wash., had 43 mental cases and 1 general case in contract hospitals; 1 tubercular, 33 mental, and 197 general cases at Tacoma Veterans' Hospital; 181 tubercular at Walla Walla; and 324 mental cases at American Lake Veterans' Hospital. The Navy hospital at Puget Sound had 25 general cases.

Portland, Oreg., had 2 tubercular cases, 1 mental, and 103 general cases in veterans' hospital at Portland. Reno, Nev., had none at all. Boise, Idaho, had 47 tubercular, 35 mental, and 88 general cases in that city.

I have given these figures for the Western States, because I agree with the Veterans' Bureau that the maximum distance traveled in going to a hospital will be within those States. It will be observed, however, that many of these regional-office commitments are small in number, and in some cases there are none.

The basis for these figures will be found in the weekly chart of hospital facilities by coordination areas for United States Veterans' Bureau patients. I do not think it necessary to analyze each area in detail at this time, but an exact figure of the distance traveled and cost of commutation could be obtained from this source.

I would like to point to the figures for New York City just to provide a comparison. Obviously, New York State, like most of our Eastern States, does not comprise the vast area of States like Texas, for instance. Hence the distances traveled are not so great in the East. In considering the probable costs created under this bill for providing travel commutation we must consider that where a distance of perhaps less than 50 miles is covered the full allowance of 12 trips annually may be used, but where any distance like 1,000 or 1,500 miles is contemplated it would be impractical to figure on 12 trips in a year merely because free transportation was available. Incidental cost of travel, food, lodging, and other items would be considerable on a long trip, and the time consumed would prevent too frequent trips. Even for the average trip of 313 miles, as estimated by the Veterans' Bureau for the whole United States, would be too high to permit 12 visits annually in any reasonable practical application. This should be considered in examining their estimate, which is the maximum, and which even as such I consider too high.

Regional offices at Boston, Mass.; Manchester, N. H.; Providence, R. I.; Burlington, Vt.; Hartford, Conn.; New York City; Buffalo, N. Y.; Newark, N. J.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Washington, D. C.; Baltimore, Ohio; Richmond, Va.; and Charleston, W. Va.; total, 7,596 cases where conditions of shorter travel distance obtain, in my opinion.

Now, New York City had on January 9, 1926, 533 tubercular patients, 633 mental cases, and 13 general cases in contract hospitals. Also there were in the Veterans' Hospital No. 81 in the Bronx, an autonomous division of our city, 748 mental cases; and in Tupper Lake Hospital, up State, there were 273 tubercular cases and 1 general case. There were 348 tubercular cases at Castle Point, on the Hudson, and there were 5 tubercular cases, 21 mental cases, and 210 general cases in the naval hospital in Brooklyn. Here are a total of 2,784 cases, or about 10 per cent of the total for the entire United States, where travel in most cases is less than 10 miles, and in any case not more than 100 miles perhaps. A great many cases therefore do not receive commutation of travel under the 10-mile limitation provision of the bill.

In estimating the probable costs incurred under this bill if it should be enacted, and I know that is the important question you will have before you, it may be of value to know that of all the men in hospitals as previously recounted for the entire Nation, 8,765 have dependents and 11,163 have no dependents. You might reasonably assume that the major portion of claims for commutation of transportation will come from the smaller group, who have dependents. However, a soldier having no dependents may the more desire a visit from some friend. Dependents mean wives, children, and parents. I repeat, I indorse no present estimate. I submit all the information I have and my opinions in the hope that some of my colleagues who are more gifted in handling figures will devote their thought to these things.

Now we provide these men with the best doctors we can induce to enter the service; we provide most modern equipment. Congress has been lavish with money to build hospitals and has ever been anxious to meet any request for funds to improve the condition of the disabled veteran. We have just appropriated $462,965,000 for the Veterans' Bureau, plus $105,000,000 to cover deficiencies, making a total of $567,995,000. This included $9,000,000 for hospital construction.

In discussing this appropriation for the Veterans' Bureau before the House on February 18, the following exchange took place.

I quote from the RECORD of February 18:

Mr. LAGUARDIA. What scientific discovery has been made in the treatment of tuberculosis?

Mr. COLTON. Rest and proper food, quiet, and things of that sort that the average patient will not follow unless he is supervised.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I wish there was a cure for tuberculosis. I lost the dearest one in the world to me through that disease. I have been through it all. I know about it. I know that quiet, proper food, and rest constitute the proper treatment for tuberculosis; but above all things, contentment; but if you take a boy and put him in a veterans' hospital, if he is dissatisfied and is unhappy, the climate and treatment will do him no good. You can not get away from that.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Has not the idea that you must go to high altitudes and so on to cure tuberculosis been largely exploded?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Oh, yes; we have them treated at the seashore now. It is an individual matter. Each case depends on the attitude, temperament, and degree of advancement of the disease.

Mr. LINTHICUM. As the gentleman has just stated, is it not more a matter of placing them near home, where home folks can visit them and where they can get some attention from their friends by way of visits and so on, and in this way do they not recuperate and improve faster?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. There is nothing more important than peace of mind, contentment, nourishment, and rest. The boys should not be sent to distant hospitals unless they particularly desire to go there.

Mr. LINTHICUM. That is what I find in my State. The tendency now is to send them some place where their friends and relatives can visit them and where they can have some little home life and yet receive the proper attention.

Mr. Chairman, I concur fully with these expressions of my distinguished colleagues, and it is to provide a way wherein the contentment and peace of mind resulting from such visits

and contacts with the home shall be made always available that I take your time and attention.

I have introduced a bill which removes the possible barrier of cost of travel between home and hospital. I have so drawn the bill as to eliminate trifling claims for distances of less than 10 miles. I hope the gentlemen who show such close appreciation of the value of contentment in the treatment of tuberculosis will examine that bill. It is House bill 6537.

With further reference to the quoted remarks of my colleagues may I say that the Veterans' Bureau, in General Order 59-C, indicates that the regional offices attempt to admit a patient to that hospital nearest his home. Under the system of segregation sometimes necessary this may often mean a considerable distance nevertheless. The general order to which I refer also states that—

> Preference in hospitalization is always given to United States veterans' hospitals. When a choice of hospitalization in other than veterans' hospitals is presented, the claimant will be sent to the nearest.

This latter method of utilizing contract hospitals is not employed when it can be avoided. Further, the general order states that—

> Where a transfer from contract to Government hospital is proposed, the consequence of the patient refusing such transfer will be that further expense of hospitalization will not be borne by the Government.

This is the ruling of the Comptroller General.

So you see, gentlemen, a patient must go where he is sent if his preference can not be followed. This may mean going many miles from home. In some parts of the West, I am officially informed, he may travel from 1,000 to 1,500 miles. Of course, such cases are less numerous, because of the less densely populated areas of the West as compared to the East.

Perhaps some consolidation of hospitalization by enlarging some and eliminating others would effect economy in operating expenditures, but examination of the present distribution of hospitals in various areas seems very efficient and carefully planned.

Now, of course, to provide travel allowance for certain persons visiting veterans in hospitals will mean an expense to the Government. The Veterans' Bureau estimates a minimum and a maximum figure, but I think it is high, although I can not dispute it at this time. No estimate means much to me at this stage. I submit figures merely to encourage a close calculation or survey, a more accurate accounting. However, it is a proper expenditure regardless of cost, which I believe would be about $2,000,000 maximum the first year, with a decrease every year to the minimum in 10 years. This is less than one-half of 1 per cent of the total sum appropriated for veterans this year.

And when so careful an observer of expenditures, so watchful a guardian of all measures coming before the House, as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] can be quoted favorably in the exchange of remarks on February 18, to which I have previously referred, I dare ask all you gentlemen to give this bill your serious consideration.

Speaking of the possibility of abolishing some hospitals, as suggested by the gentleman from New York, I quote the gentleman from Texas as follows:

> Mr. BLANTON. It may be that it will save some money, but I am more concerned about saving the tubercular boys.

That, gentlemen, is my attitude in this matter. Let us be careful of expenditures, but let us be more careful of our disabled men in hospitals. I thank my colleagues, if they will permit me, for the 8,845 tubercular boys to whom we must answer.

I have dwelt so long on these tubercular cases because their illness is peculiarly benefited by visits from the home folks. The faculties are not impaired by tuberculosis. The gradual progress of the disease or the improvement of the patient is always understood by him. Retrospection and melancholy are his chief foes. We can not offer these men any new medicine or this House would appropriate any amount for that purpose. We can provide them with the homely old remedy of cheerful visits, and this is all I ask for them.

The 12,643 mental cases under treatment I have already mentioned. Small enough consolation can we offer the wives and mothers of such as these. Little light can we admit to the darkness of impaired reason; but such simple pleasure, such brief respite, as may be found in a visit from the folks back home, this we should provide them freely. It may be that we can by such measures restore some of these men to society. If we can help even the least of these, we can not count the cost. Economy is a splendid thing. Money is, after all, the measure of toil of our people and we should not add unnecessarily to their burden. Is not economy of men's lives more important? Who will begrudge the cost of any hope or comfort to these men? Their comforts are so few, their hope so insecure. The mind of a man is all he has. The war took many; perhaps we can restore a few. Shall we not try in full measure?

In conclusion, there is the surgical and general group. Men undergoing long treatment for every manner of disease or infirmity—blind men, maimed men, the crippled, and the sick. This is the smallest group, 5,448 men on January 9 last. Many are short-term patients, but commutation of transportation as provided in the bill to which I am directing your attention is not available for patients in hospital less than 30 days. Obviously those in for 60 or 90 days will be less likely to seek commutation than those permanently hospitalized. To those who are permanent patients—hopeless cases and those slow to recuperate—a visit from home would be a tonic. To touch those whom they can not see, to hear the voice of those they may not touch, this would be joy.

My friends, the shattered visage of a soldier blasted by shrapnel, the shriveled body of the boy struck down by exploding shells, these may be hard to look upon now. Once these were cradled in some mother's arms. Some father, gazing on these boyish limbs, once saw his recreated self. That is all past now. Only the memory remains; but this shattered face, this hollow cheek, this twisted body house an imagination. To many these wounds are not obvious. To the wife or mother, the father, brother, or friend love and the spirit of sacrifice cloak all the ghastly scars.

"He laughs at scars who never felt a wound." But there is no laughter over this matter. Will you not provide the most trifling means of insuring these social contacts so necessary to effective treatment? The traveler may do with little food, he may forego lodgings, but he must have transportation. This bill merely provides transportation where requested, and it will not be requested where it is not required. It can be used only for the purpose of visiting a soldier patient in a Government-supervised hospital. It is to be issued only to certain prescribed relatives and friends. It is not available for journeys of less than 10 miles—that is, a 20-mile round trip—and it can not be issued for more than 12 trips annually, an average of 1 a month, so that a demand for the maximum of 12 trips is hardly possible in cases of long journeys.

Gentlemen, ours is a land of hope and opportunity. The toll of war has destroyed the opportunities of many beyond our power to restore or replace. We dare not deprive even one of our boys of hope, and to our sick, our maimed, our disabled veterans we must carry every message that holds out any hope of even partial recovery. To those who now dwell in the valley of shadows let us be as generous, as kind, as faithful as we would be to those who have gone down into the valley of death. Could they return they would plead the cause of their comrades who still linger with us.

Situation in Government hospitals

[Not including contract hospitals]

[NOTE.—4,049 men, or 14 per cent, are in State or civic hospitals, "contract hospitals"]

	Beds available	Beds occupied	Beds unoccupied
United States Veterans' Bureau hospitals	20,640	16,705	3,935
United States Public Health Service hospitals	258	212	46
United States Army hospitals	2,791	2,013	778
United States Navy hospitals	2,537	1,295	1,242
Soldiers' Homes hospitals	3,123	2,008	1,115
St. Elizabeths Hospital	962	962	None.

Distribution of hospital cases by areas and classification

[Not including Panama, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Philippines]

	Tuberculosis	Psychiatric cases	General and surgical
Area A	660	899	309
Area B	1,462	4,235	1,031
Area C	2,187	1,891	1,254
Area D	1,733	4,019	1,540
Area E	2,803	1,599	1,314
Total all United States	[1] 8,845	[2] 12,643	[3] 5,448

[1] 32 per cent. [2] 46 per cent. [3] 22 per cent.

Appropriation for medical and hospital services, 1926 and 1927	$35,000,000
Hospital employees, 1927	14,545
Total salaries, 1927	18,698,076

Total number of patients on January 9, 1926, 27,244 (including 308 in Hawaii, Philippines, Porto Rico, and Panama, and 26,936 in United States).

Average indicates one employee for every one and four-fifths patients.

Average salary indicated for hospital employees is $1,286 per year.

UNITED STATES VETERANS' BUREAU,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
Washington, January 30, 1926.

Hon. GEORGE W. LINDSAY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. LINDSAY: Reference is made to your letters of January 20 and January 21, 1926, requesting statistical data to be used in introducing a bill (H. R. 6537) to provide commutation of transportation on common carriers for certain persons traveling thereon for the sole purpose of visiting war veterans in hospitals, sanatoriums, or similar institutions. You are advised that this information is furnished below in the order of the questions, beginning with those in the letter of January 20, 1926.

1. There are 20,618 World War veterans at the present time under hospitalization by the United States Veterans' Bureau, exclusive of those who will probably be under treatment for a temporary or a short term.

2. The present hospital load, which is 27,000, will be considerably reduced in 10 years. It is estimated that there will then remain as permanent or indefinite patients approximately 16,000. The factors used in the estimate are the death rates and the recoveries and cures minus the relapses, or in the case of the tuberculous, the arrested, apparently arrested, minus the reactivations. These factors were checked against those of the Census Bureau to determine their reliability. The persistence of a large hospital load is due to the low death rate and negligible number of social readjustments among the neuropsychiatric patients. The tuberculous patients would probably cause 7,500 of the 11,000 decrease in the 10 years.

3. There is attached hereto a photostatic report known as "hospital facilities" by coordination areas for United States Veterans' Bureau patients which is compiled each week by the bureau for administrative purposes. This report indicates the designation and location of hospitals which furnish treatment to beneficiaries of the United States Veterans' Bureau.

4. It is the policy of the Veterans' Bureau to hospitalize a veteran as near his present abode as proper Government facilities permit. To this end General Order 59-C, a copy of which is attached, was promulgated. This general order covers the procedure in hospital admissions, transfers, and discharges. It will be noted that hospital admissions, except in the case of emergency, are made by the regional offices. On page 8 of the general order will be found a list of the hospitals allocated to the regional offices. It is estimated that a patient travels on an average of 313 miles in entering a hospital. It is appreciated that this average mileage seems high, but it must be borne in mind that many patients in the West and Southwest travel from 1,000 to 1,500 miles to a hospital.

5. It is estimated that to give all the dependents of disabled World War veterans commutation of transportation 12 times a year would cost approximately $5,242,818 per year as a maximum and $2,305,960 as a minimum. The difference in these two figures is that in the second figure no allowance is made for transportation where the beneficiaries have no dependents, whereas in the larger figure 12 trips for one person for each said beneficiary is allowed. This estimate is based on the average distance traveled by 20,000 of the 27,000 hospitalized patients of the bureau to hospitals, the average being 313 miles per patient. Where there were less than five patients from a State that State was disregarded. Those patients who traveled less than 10 miles from regional office to hospital were added to those whose home (State) was 10 miles or more distance from the hospital and the total mileage divided by the total patients. A study of the bureau's effort to hospitalize patients near their home State may be seen by reference to page 114, Table No. 34, of the annual report of the Director United States Veterans' Bureau, which table is constructed so to show the correlation between the location of the hospital and State to residence of the patient. It is revealed at a glance whether or not patients are hospitalized in institutions in their home State. The diagonal alignment of figures from left to right indicates the existence of such correlations for most of the hospitals. Those persons considered as dependents of the patients are the parent or parents, the wife and children. The total estimated dependents for patients in the hospital is 8,765. There are 11,163 patients in hospitals who have no dependents; that is, increased compensation is not being paid on account of dependents. The total number of dependents times 3½ cents per mile mileage, times the average distance, 313 miles, times two for the return journey, results in the estimated costs indicated above.

With reference to your letter of January 21, 1926.

1. There are 51 Veterans' Bureau hospitals, the locations of which are shown on the attached photostatic report of hospital facilities.

2. The number of disabled veterans in each hospital will be found in the attached "hospital facilities" report under the column captioned "Total beds occupied."

3. The United States Veterans' Bureau has as claimants 48,713 totally disabled veterans. Of this number, 15,657 are in the hospital.

4. It is regretted that there are no figures available as to the number of veterans who are visited by their families, nor which of these families can afford such visits.

5. Reference is made to the information furnished under question 4 of the letter of January 20, 1926.

I trust that this information will meet your needs.

Very truly yours,

FRANK T. HINES, *Director.*

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
January 4, 1926.

Mr. LINDSAY introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation and ordered to be printed.

A bill (H. R. 6537) to provide commutation and transportation on common carriers for certain persons traveling thereon for the sole purpose of visiting war veterans in hospitals, sanitariums, or similar institutions

Be it enacted, etc., That the term "veteran" as used in this act shall mean any honorably discharged officer or enlisted man who served in the military forces of the United States of America during the World War.

SEC. 2. Any veteran regularly admitted to any hospital, sanitarium, or similar institution for observation, diagnosis, treatment, or care of physical, mental, or other disability, illness, or infirmity, who shall have entered such place and actually remained there for observation, diagnosis, treatment, or care for a period of 30 days or more, may make application to the United States Veterans' Bureau for commutation of transportation for certain persons who are to visit him, within the limits and under the express conditions hereinafter specified; or such application may be made by the persons desiring the commutation of transportation or by their legal guardian in the case of minors, or by the duly appointed committee of the veteran's person and property.

SEC. 3. Such commutation of transportation shall be granted only to such persons as are related to the veteran by blood or marriage and preference shall be in the order of consanguinity, except that where specific and peculiar circumstances may warrant the United States Veterans' Bureau may in its discretion approve additional commutation of transportation for any one other person designated by the veteran.

SEC. 4. Such commutation of transportation shall be granted only on common carriers to and from the hospital or other institution wherein the veteran is located and the actual bona fide established residence of the person visiting him; and shall not be granted when such distance is less than 10 miles; and such commutation of transportation shall not be granted to any one person more than twelve times within any one year regardless of the frequency with which the quota of 12 may be granted.

SEC. 5. When the United States Veterans' Bureau shall have approved any application for commutation of transportation, an order for such transportation shall be issued to the person by whom it is to be used and thereon will be indicated the route, termini, and date of travel and such other matter as may be necessary.

SEC. 6. Any railroad or other common carrier within the United States shall and hereby is authorized to accept the above-described order of the United States Veterans' Bureau and to provide the regular transportation called for therein; and to forward or present such orders, properly authenticated, to the Secretary of the Treasury for payment of the amounts indicated thereon.

SEC. 7. The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to pay the amounts indicated on the transportation orders of the United States Veterans' Bureau as described above, from any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 8. Nothing in this act shall be construed to be in conflict with any previous act.

SEC. 9. The above-described orders for commutation of transportation shall be used only by the person for whom issued and any person offering or accepting, purchasing or selling, giving away, or otherwise improperly utilizing such orders of transportation received therefor shall be guilty of fraud and conversion against the Government of the United States, and shall be sentenced as provided for in the United States Judicial Code.

Mr. FUNK. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM].

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Chairman, I hold in my hand a copy of a letter which I believe to be authentic and which I wish to read. It is dated Atlanta, March 8, 1926, and is as follows:

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ATLANTA,
March 8, 1926.

Hon. W. D. UPSHAW,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. UPSHAW: I am in receipt of your telegram of March 3 requesting that I wire you general statement concerning "improved conditions in business morality and sobriety in Atlanta and Georgia since barrooms were banished." Your telegram came during my absence from Atlanta, and as you expressed a wish to have the information by noon on March 3, I thought it useless to telegraph you, so am writing instead.

When I came to Atlanta 11 years ago to be with the Federal reserve bank, I found here many saloons that sold beer exclusively. This appeared to me to be a very good solution of the prohibition question, and I was very much surprised that within a short time afterwards the State legislated these beer saloons out of existence. They were well conducted and no drunkenness or excessive drinking resulted from these saloons.

Regarding business morality and sobriety in Atlanta during these years, I have seen very little improvement in that respect. I may say that from what I can learn drinking is almost universal—not only in Atlanta, but in every town in Georgia and throughout the South. My observation is that it is not confined strictly to the rich and well-to-do, but nearly every family has whisky in their home. It may not be high-priced Scotch whisky, but it is a very strong quality of native "corn" that is produced in great volume throughout this section of the country.

I have seen statements published in the Atlanta papers from the records of the police court showing that arrests for drunkenness had increased enormously within the past few years. The persons arrested, I dare say, were not of the wealthy class. I merely mention this to prove that drinking is not confined to the rich.

Therefore, it seems to me that the eighteenth amendment has been a very unwise thing, as it has not improved the morals of the country or caused very little diminution in drinking. Anyone can see from the daily press that murders, suicides, and other crimes are more prevalent now than ever before, and the court dockets are overcrowded with violators of criminal law. The Federal prison which is located adjacent to Atlanta is full to overflowing. Ever since I have been a voter I have heard prohibition orators proclaim if they could pass a prohibition law it would save the expense of fewer courts, fewer policemen, and the jails would be practically empty. Such has not proven to be the case.

Besides the facts which I have stated the eighteenth amendment has developed the ubiquitous bootlegger, which did not prevail before, when only the States had prohibition.

I believe that one of the worst features of the eighteenth amendment is that it has created a nation of lawbreakers from those in high stations to low stations, and many of the Congressmen who vote for prohibition, from accounts that I read in the press, are breakers of the prohibition law themselves. The jurors who sit in the courts are, I understand, violators, and what a travesty it is for men to try others for breaking the laws that they themselves violate. The whole situation is intolerable, and it seems to me our legislators should recognize this fact and make a change that would save us from the enormous expense that our Government is experiencing, and also from a law that is undermining the respect that all citizens should have for the law of the land.

Very respectfully yours,

M. B. WELLBORN.

I have here also some statistics contained in the report of the chief of police of Atlanta, Ga., for the year ending December 31, 1924.

State prohibition went into effect in Georgia on January 1, 1908. Since 1903 the arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct in Atlanta, according to the report, have been as follows:

Arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct in Atlanta since 1903

	Drunkenness	Disorderly conduct
1903	2,734	9,559
1904	4,876	9,404
1905	4,246	9,182
1906	5,230	11,260
1907	6,508	12,456
1908	3,741	10,075
1909	2,650	8,890
1910	2,882	9,681
1911	2,636	8,802
1912	3,021	9,089
1913	3,138	9,286
1914	2,995	9,723
1915	3,514	9,003
1916	3,329	8,736
1917	2,268	7,179
1918	2,196	8,415
1919	3,136	11,578
1920	4,199	13,150
1921	4,491	13,133
1922	6,555	15,185
1923	7,003	(1)
1924	7,973	(1)

[1] No figures are given for disorderly conduct for 1923 and 1924.

The population of Atlanta, including immediate suburbs, in 1903 was 139,980, and in 1924, 285,000. Therefore the ratio of the number of arrests for drunkenness to the population was 1 to 51.2 in 1903 and 1 to 35.7 in 1925.

Mr. BOYLAN. Can the gentleman give the House any information as to the relative power of this diabolical corn whisky as compared with the Scotch whisky in use in other homes? [Laughter.]

Mr. TINKHAM. I can not answer that question; I am not an expert on alcohol.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I want to say that those figures the gentleman gave were kindly loaned to me the other day, and I looked up the percentage of natives, and it was over 95 per cent natives.

Mr. McKEOWN. I would like to ask the gentleman if the numerous arrests by the policemen in the later days may not have been because they were sober and could enforce the law better? [Laughter.]

Mr. TINKHAM. I have no knowledge of local conditions.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The 7,000 drunks were not sober.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. I would like to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts a question.

Mr. TINKHAM. I yield.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Is the House to understand that that was at Atlanta, Ga.?

Mr. TINKHAM. It was.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Does not the gentleman think that Georgia ought to come back into the Union?

Mr. TINKHAM. I admit that Georgia should be more sober. [Laughter.]

Mr. FUNK. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LINTHICUM].

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, following up the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TINKHAM], I shall take the best part of my time in reading an article which appears in the Baltimore Sun this morning headed, "Priest lays liquor law to 'interests'":

PRIEST LAYS LIQUOR LAW TO "INTERESTS"—REV. J. J. AYD BLAMES STANDARD OIL AND UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

The eighteenth amendment was added to the Constitution of the United States chiefly at the instigation of the United States Steel Corporation and the Standard Oil Co., the Rev. Joseph J. Ayd, professor of sociology at the Georgetown University, said yesterday at a luncheon given by the Casey Club at the Hotel Emerson.

Just before prohibition became an active issue in national politics, the United States Steel Corporation and the Standard Oil Co. were in serious danger of investigation by the Federal Government, Father Ayd said, adding that for a long time the brewing and liquor interests had maintained a lobby at Washington, which was so powerful that it had to be bargained with by the two companies named.

TRACES PROHIBITION

In order to eliminate this source of inconvenience and possible danger to themselves, but even more to divert public attention from the proposed investigations, they decided to wipe out the liquor business, Father Ayd asserted.

"At first, they had no idea of amending the Constitution," he continued, "but when Wayne B. Wheeler made clear that such action was needed to make possible the liquor laws they desired, the amendment was put through with the speed and efficiency characteristic of its backers. No bill favored merely by the churches, whether Methodist, Catholic, or other, by such a motley crew of low-grade morons as the Anti-Saloon League, or by just the plain people would have obtained such prompt consideration from our legislative organizations.

CALLS INFLUENCES EVIDENT

"It is evident that some tremendous influences were behind them.

"Prohibition is neither moral nor religious. Morality and religion do not enter into it. The drinking of liquor is an indifferent act. Christ would never have chosen wine into which to transform His blood had the drinking of wine been wrong.

"By enacting their will into law they have not only changed the Constitution, but they have transformed our Federal courts into magistrate's courts. The atmosphere of our Federal courts was formerly agreeable to persons of dignity and refinement. Now it savors of the barroom."

Mr. Chairman, I hold no brief for the Reverend Mr. Ayd, nor do I know upon what facts he bases his allegation. I read this, however, for the purpose of showing that the people of this country feel that something has been put over on them. The boys who went to Europe to fight our battles against foreign aggression and for the perpetuation of democratic principles and government, feel that while they were fighting for their country the drastic eighteenth amendment, upon which was based the Volstead Act, was put over them in their absence.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINTHICUM. I have only a few minutes, so will be unable to yield, as much as I should like to do so.

Mr. Chairman, the strong objection of the people of my State to the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act is that they feel it is an encroachment upon the rights of the States and the liberties of the people as reserved to them under the Constitution. It never had been contemplated by the forefathers that an amendment would be placed in the Constitution, and upon that amendment would be fostered a law limiting them in their personal rights and liberties, a sumptuary law, which largely interferes with their domestic happiness and contentment. For this reason the people of my State are opposed to the child labor amendment, which is along the same line and upon which a law as drastic as the Volstead Act could easily be enacted. We feel that those in favor of prohibition have overstepped the lines of discretion, that the law and the amendment has been shown by various documents and statements and innumerable statistics to be broken down. No one will deny that there is more drunkenness in the country to-day than there ever has been in its history. The statistics read by the gentleman from Massachusetts show that even in Atlanta, the home of the great proponent of prohibition, Mr. UPSHAW, arrests for drunkenness and disorder have increased.

The Congress has passed bills creating a large number of new Federal judges, all because the Volstead Act has caused such vast number of arrests that the Federal courts are to-day largely engaged in trying liquor-violation cases. Not long ago I read an article saying that Fort Leavenworth prison was so overcrowded that the superintendent had to place cots in the corridors, and cells which were previously intended for only one prisoner now hold two and three.

Vast numbers of bootleggers infest the country, making large profits, and violating the law often with the connivance of men appointed to see to its enforcement. Our once boasted Revenue Cutter Service, which some years ago was amalgamated with the Life Saving Service, and is now known as the Coast Guard, is being largely utilized in the enforcement of the Volstead Act on the sea, and reduced to the humility of a patrol service to prevent the admission of liquor into the country. While we usually look upon the "rum runners" as those boats desiring to bring liquor into the country, the truth is the "rum runners" are now largely engaged in distilling liquors in barns, garages, and cellars throughout the land. The Government is releasing for medicinal purposes millions of gallons of alcohol, while the bootleggers are utilizing it by removing as much of the poison as possible, the balance of which is being consumed by the drinkers of the land, and a large number of deaths are occurring throughout the country as a result of the poison which is left in Government alcohol released by the Government, and stills, more numerous than the old saloons, abound everywhere.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LINTHICUM. I can not yield, as I have only a few minutes, as I told my friend from Georgia.

Mr. Chairman, it is therefore evident on every hand that the Volstead Act has broken down, that its object has utterly failed, so that not alone should those who are against the Volstead Act but also those who are in favor of honest prohibition devise some method which will bring us back to sane legislation and temperate habits. I have always contended, and still contend, that if it be necessary we should regulate the sale of intoxicants as they do in Quebec, Canada. We should resort to education, because you can not make good citizens by legislative enactment, but by teaching them those things which bring about the desired results. I remember in my city at one of the big midday luncheon clubs, long before the Volstead Act went into effect, the bar became so unpopular that it was finally relegated to the basement. Education did it, and education without this Volstead Act would soon discontinue the bootlegger, the hip-pocket flask, and the moonshiner, with their direful results.

I opposed the eighteenth amendment when it was first introduced. I have voted against it at all times; I am against the Volstead Act, and voted against it; and predicted that the situation which now exists would surely follow their adoption and enactment. I sincerely hope we shall soon retrace our steps, get back to State rights, and to those guaranties under the Constitution of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. [Applause.]

Mr. FUNK. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. LEHLBACH, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 10198) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of such District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

BIG SANDY RIVER BRIDGE, KENTUCKY-WEST VIRGINIA—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. FUNK. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of my colleague, Mr. DENISON, of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I present a conference report upon the bill (H. R. 5043) granting the consent of Congress to the Midland & Atlantic Bridge Corporation, a corporation, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Big Sandy River between the city of Catlettsburg, Ky., and a point opposite in the city of Kenova, in the State of West Virginia, for printing under the rule.

MUSCLE SHOALS

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Concurrent Resolution No. 4 from the Speaker's table, with Senate amendments thereto, and as the resolution is very short, I ask unanimous consent to have the resolution with the Senate amendments read for the information of the House.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the Clerk will report the resolution and the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 4

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That a joint committee, to be known as the Joint Committee on Muscle Shoals, is hereby established to be composed of three members to be appointed by the President of the Senate from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and three members to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives from the Committee on Military Affairs.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct negotiations for a lease of the nitrate and power properties of the United States at Muscle Shoals, Ala., including the quarry properties at Waco, Ala., for the production of nitrates primarily and incidentally for power purposes, in order to serve national defense, agriculture, and industrial purposes, and upon terms which so far as possible shall provide benefits to the Government and to agriculture equal to or greater than those set forth in H. R. 519, Sixty-eighth Congress, first session, except that the lease shall be for a period not to exceed 50 years.

Said committee shall have leave to report its findings and recommendations, together with a bill or joint resolution for the purpose of carrying them into effect, which bill or joint resolution shall, in the House, have the status that is provided for measures enumerated in clause 56 of Rule XI: *Provided*, That the committee shall report to Congress not later than April 1, 1926.

Senate amendments:

Page 1, line 8, after the word "lease," insert "or leases."

Page 1, line 10, after the word "purposes," insert "such power to be equitably distributed between the communities and States to which it may be properly transported."

Page 1, line 14, after the word "lease," insert "or leases."

Page 1, line 20, strike out the figure "(1)" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "26."

Mr. BLANTON (interrupting the reading of the Senate amendments). Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman think that he ought to call this up at this time, when the House is about ready to adjourn?

Mr. SNELL. The gentleman thought so, or he would not have called it up.

Mr. BLANTON. I know, but there are a few of us in the House who are on record against this proposition, and we want a record vote upon it, if we can get it.

Mr. SNELL. If the gentleman can get enough Members here, he can get a record vote on these amendments.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman from Texas whether he means a record vote upon the resolution?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman, of course, can not get that. We will vote only upon the amendments, and it is proposed to agree to one material amendment with an amendment. The gentleman can not get a vote upon the resolution. There was a record vote upon the resolution when it was passed.

Mr. BLANTON. I know, but if these amendments are adopted, that settles the proposition. The $100,000,000 Muscle Shoals project will be turned over to some big corporation for 50 years.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I do not want to yield for a speech at this time. I will yield the gentleman time later, if he wants it.

Mr. BLANTON. I would like to have it.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the Senate amendments.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I shall take only a moment or two in making a short statement about the situation. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] and myself and several others, who have been much interested in this proposition, have been spending most of our time for the last two or three days to see if we could make some amicable arrangement with all parties concerned whereby we could facilitate the legislation that was intended when we passed the original resolution. These amendments adopted by the Senate do not materially change the original resolution or grant any added powers to the commission that we propose to establish, and whatever is done must come back and be passed upon by both Houses.

Now, the first amendment offered by the Senate is in line 9, after the word "lease," where is added "or leases." This amendment at first caused us a little doubt, because we wanted as far as possible to carry out the intent and purposes of the House as has been shown every time this proposition has been considered. We have desired to dedicate this property primarily to the manufacture of nitrates, and we were afraid if we allowed "or leases" to stand without any modification, then there might be a possibility of dividing this up into two leases, one a power lease and one a nitrate lease, and through various circumstances and conditions that might happen after a time, the result would be that they would not be manufacturing any nitrates at Muscle Shoals but developing entirely a power proposition. Now, we thought by adding the following amendment it would take care of this and fully protect and safeguard the interests of the House and the country in carrying out the original intention, and we therefore propose at the proper time to offer the following modifying amendment. After leases add in parenthesis:

But no lease or leases shall be recommended which do not guarantee and safeguard the production of nitrates and other fertilizer ingredients, mixed or unmixed, primarily as hereinafter provided.

And it seems to us, and we have taken this up with various Members of the other body, that this will protect and safeguard the original intention of the House and by accepting the amendment with this proviso there is no way of lessening the strength or in any way changing the meaning of the original resolution. Now, the second amendment——

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SNELL. I will.

Mr. WINGO. Before the gentleman leaves that—I can not get a copy of the resolution, much less what the Senate has done. What does the gentleman's proposition do with the Senate amendment to which he has referred?

Mr. SNELL. To move to accept the Senate amendment with the following amendment to the Senate amendment:

But no lease or leases shall be recommended which do not guarantee and safeguard the production of nitrates and other fertilizer ingredients, mixed or unmixed, primarily as hereinafter provided.

Mr. WINGO. Has this proposal been passed on by any committee of the House?

Mr. SNELL. No, sir; as it is not necessary; but I have consulted many members of our committee and especially the minority members.

Mr. WINGO. Why are we asked to come here and on the spur of the moment vote on an important matter when we can not even get a copy of the original resolution as it passed the Senate?

Mr. SNELL. I will say that many of the people most vitally interested, and that does not necessarily mean myself, have spent the last three days on it and have tried to work out some proposition whereby——

Mr. WINGO. I deny that——

Mr. SNELL. Perhaps the gentleman does deny it, but I do not accept the denial.

Mr. WINGO. I think I am more interested in Muscle Shoals than the gentleman's constituents are.

Mr. SNELL. I do not know that that subject is under discussion.

Mr. WINGO. I think it is.

Mr. SNELL. That the gentleman is more interested than I am?

Mr. WINGO. We both are interested in this question, but I want to know what we are voting on.

Mr. BEGG. If the gentleman will yield, I would like to make a suggestion. There is no way provided whereby this could be referred to a committee. The gentleman from New York is chairman of the committee, and the gentleman from Tennessee is the ranking minority member of the committee that reported the resolution out. Who otherwise than those two men could logically suggest to the House for its consideration any modification of the Senate amendment?

Mr. WINGO. My friend from Ohio overlooked what I said.

Mr. BEGG. I think not.

Mr. WINGO. I was speaking about that phase of the gentleman's statement in reference to consulting those who had a vital interest.

Mr. BEGG. Of his committee——

Mr. WINGO. No; each Member, especially those from an agricultural State, has a vital interest in the proposition. My own idea was that certainly Members who are really interested in it ought not to be cut off by star-chamber proceedings and snap judgment, without notice, at this time in the afternoon.

Mr. SNELL. There has been no intention on my part to cut anybody off. The people concerned have been trying to facilitate this legislation and do something to put this plant to work. That is the only desire I have, and I think that is the only desire of other gentlemen who have been consulted with reference to this proposition in the last few days. We will not cut anybody out, and all the time that is necessary will be allowed for the discussion of these amendments. We are simply aiming to carry out the will of Congress in regard to this proposition and reach some constructive conclusion before Congress adjourns.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that this resolution does affect the Treasury of the United States in that, first, it affects $100,000,000 of the property of the United States, and it will call for an expenditure of further funds out of the Treasury. The resolution shows on its face that it will do that. It authorizes a committee appointed by Congress to negotiate leases, one lease or several leases, concerning a $100,000,000 plant belonging to the United States Government. It is such a resolution as would have to be considered, in my judgment, if a point of order were made, in the Committee of the Whole. It is not such a resolution as a mere amendment by the Senate that can be called up as a matter of right. It can only be called up by unanimous consent.

Mr. BEGG. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me the point of order comes too late.

Mr. BLANTON. A point of order is in order at any time on the improper consideration of a bill.

Mr. SNELL. We are bringing it up for a vote on these various amendments, and we have done simply what we have a right to do and what is the orderly procedure under the rules and with a desire to facilitate this resolution.

Mr. BLANTON. Only such resolutions and bills as do not affect the Treasury of the United States can be called from the Speaker's table as a matter of right.

Mr. SNELL. There was called up from the Speaker's table a resolution only yesterday by the Ways and Means Committee that in some ways was similar to this.

Mr. BLANTON. That is not my understanding of the rules. But I am not as good a parliamentarian as is the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rules. I would like the Speaker to rule.

Mr. BEGG. I would like to call attention to this proposition——

Mr. WINGO. In order to keep the RECORD straight, Mr. Speaker, I have withdrawn the point of order which the Chair ignored. A few minutes ago I made the point of order that there was no quorum present, but with the assurance of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] that this will be fully explained before a vote is had, I withdraw the point of order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would state that it is not necessary, in his opinion, to consider it in Committee of the Whole. The Senate amendments add nothing by way of expenditure to the resolution.

Mr. SNELL. The second amendment of the Senate, Mr. Speaker, provides that the power generated shall be equitably distributed among the communities and States to which it can properly be transported. The men who are most particularly interested in this proposition have never considered for a moment that in the very early stages of this proposition you could use all the power that is developed at Muscle Shoals in the manufacture of nitrates, and that necessarily, for a certain number of years at least, some of that power must be distributed through the surrounding communities; and as I look at that amendment it does not in any way affect the original proposition, and I believe that that is the practical and economical thing to do in connection with this power, and I do not think it detracts in any way from the original proposition as it passed the House.

The next amendment simply changes the reading, so that it complies with the language on line 9 as to leases.

The next amendment postpones the report from April 1 to April 26. I think that is necessary, because so long a time has elapsed since the original motion was passed by the House.

The other amendments have to do with minor matters that we propose to submit to the House.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Does not the gentleman think that we should have a quorum present? This Muscle Shoals proposition is important.

Mr. SNELL. Nothing can be finally done until this committee reports back to the House. Nothing definite as regards leases is now before the House. This simply establishes a committee that can receive bids, and I thought that was what the House wanted to do.

Mr. BLANTON. I want to find out what you want to do with this resolution and the amendments.

Mr. SNELL. We want to adopt the resolution with certain amendments, which will be offered at the proper time, and hope the Senate will accept them.

Mr. BLANTON. I would like to have a moment unless the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] desires to speak now.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a word. I agree with the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LINTHICUM] in the thought that this matter should be thoroughly understood before a vote is had on it; and when it is thoroughly understood, I can not conceive that there would be any real objection to the adoption of this resolution and permitting it to go further.

The Senate inserted four amendments, but one of them is a mere date change, extending the time from April 1 to April 26. Everybody agrees that on account of the long delay in the consideration of the resolution by the Senate this committee would have to have more time than was given to it by the original resolution. The amendment which gave some of us most concern was where they inserted after the word "lease" the words "or leases," so that the resolution was made to read:

> The committee is authorized and directed to conduct negotiations for a lease or leases.

Now, of course, that may not be a well-founded cause of apprehension, but the point that caused apprehension was that it might enable bids to be made upon separate parts, and the Water Power Trust might get in with such a showing upon a bid for power alone as to embarrass, if not defeat, the fertilizer end of this proposition, which I trust gentlemen will bear in mind was one of the things set up in the organic act, the national defense act of 1916, as the purpose for which this plant was being constructed.

Now, gentlemen, the line of cleavage in this matter, reduced to its finality, seems to be between those who favor Government operation of the plant and those who, before going to that end, feel that if a proper lease, safeguarding the Government's interests and providing for carrying out the purposes of the original act, can be obtained, it will be best to do it in that way. That is the line of cleavage.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I will.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Can the gentleman conceive of any terms in a lease that can safeguard the Government's interest and safeguard the interests of a private undertaking and investment?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes; I can conceive of such terms, but if my friend from New York will pardon me, I do not want to go into terms, for this reason: Bear in mind that this is not the conclusion of this matter; it is merely the beginning. When this proposition is passed upon by this committee, it must be brought back to the House; then comes the crucial time for its consideration. All we are asking is to get this on its way.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. HILL of Maryland. I am glad the gentleman has made that statement, because there has been an apparent misunderstanding in the papers. It is entirely clear that this comes back to the House and that the committee does nothing except recommend.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Oh, absolutely. They will bring in a bill upon a project which they are willing to recommend, and then it must be considered just like the bill upon the Ford offer was considered when it came from the Committee on Military Affairs, of which the gentleman from Maryland is a member. The report of the special committee will be privileged and must be considered in the House.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. The purpose of the resolution is to create a committee to submit recommendations as to leases?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. To negotiate a lease or leases.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. And then the House passes upon the lease or leases?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

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

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Now, in view of the fact that the words "or leases," standing alone, created some confusion in the minds of some of the Members, and the immediate reaction of the Members of the House to it was that it might open the way for defeating the very purposes of the original organic act——

Mr. BLANTON. Before the gentleman leaves the other proposition, may I ask a question on that? The gentleman has been here 20 years and he is familiar with what happens under such situations. In the history of Congress, and during the gentleman's service here, has he ever known Congress to appoint a special commission to do something and have that commission come back and make a report that the Congress did not adopt the commission's report? So it is not just the beginning. In my judgment it is the end of the proposition. [Applause.]

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Well, I think the gentleman is in error about that. Let me say to the gentleman from Texas that there is no case parallel to this; we have never had occasion to deal with a business proposition and endeavor to make a lease or leases as to any other proposition that I know of.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. What is the effect of the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas, Mr. CARAWAY?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That was the first of his amendments and I am going to try to reach the second. The first amendment was proposed by the gentleman from Arkansas. So in order to safeguard the fertilizer proposition, after an informal conference with as many gentlemen as I could talk it over with—I know gentlemen will appreciate the fact that I could not go to every Member of the House who is interested in this proposition. That which we want to do is to expedite the formation of this committee and get it started. All of these fights can come, and will undoubtedly come, later. This is merely a preliminary step. So doing the very best I could, I spent the entire day yesterday, spending very few moments on the floor of the House, in visiting the Senate Chamber and conferring with gentlemen there who are interested, including, I may say, without any violation, I suppose, of the rules, and certainly without any violation of confidence, the author of the amendment, and it was finally determined to recommend that the House concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment, putting it in parenthesis in order to prevent awkwardness, because otherwise it will read very awkwardly. In order to meet the parliamentary situation we had to tie this proposed amendment up with the Senate amendment.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Does this resolution carry a certain time for which a lease can be made?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes; 50 years; that it shall not be for a longer term than 50 years; and it differs in that respect from the Ford offer. Now, we have suggested this language:

But no lease or leases shall be recommended which do not guarantee and safeguard the production of nitrates and other fertilizer ingredients, mixed or unmixed, primarily as hereinafter provided.

That is to protect the fertilizer end of it.

Mr. BURTON. It should be "hereinbefore provided."

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. No; it should be "hereinafter." That was a typographical error in putting in the word "hereinbefore."

Bear in mind that the angle of approach which the House has always made to this matter has been the fertilizer end of it, not the power end. Now, so much for that amendment.

With the next amendment which was inserted by the Senate the resolution reads:

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct negotiations for a lease or leases of the nitrate and power properties of the United States at Muscle Shoals, Ala., including the quarry properties at Waco, Ala., for the production of nitrates primarily and incidentally for power purposes—

Now, here comes the Senate amendment—

such power to be equitably distributed among the communities and States to which it may be properly transported.

That is the end of the Senate amendment, and then it continues—

in order to serve national defense, agricultural and industrial purposes—

And so forth.

This amendment we leave untouched. In the opinion of those of us who have studied and analyzed the language it does no more than what was in our thoughts at the time we were framing the original resolution. In other words, we assumed that surplus power would necessarily come within the purview of this committee, and in whatever they reported to the House they would have to make some provision for the surplus power.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has again expired.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman know the maximum distance over which power may properly be transported?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I am not an expert on it, but I understand it can be economically distributed 250 miles.

Mr. BLANTON. The report of the power commission, as I gather it, is from 200 to 250 miles.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That has been my understanding.

Mr. BLANTON. And that would be quite a limitation itself.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Of course, if you could not distribute it beyond that——

Mr. BLANTON. So the amendment after all means very little.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I regard it as very unimportant.

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I yield.

Mr. WINGO. Does the amendment use the word "transport" or "transmit"? There is quite a difference from the standpoint of distributing power.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The Senate amendment uses the word "transported," and we are not touching the Senate amendment.

Mr. WINGO. I think from the gentleman's study of it, the gentleman will recognize there is a very clear distinction between the transportation and transmittal of power.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That is the Senate language.

Mr. WINGO. What is the word used in the Senate amendment?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Transported.

Mr. WINGO. You can transmit it a great deal farther than you can transport it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. They have used the word "transported," and we do not regard that as affecting the situation sufficiently to touch that amendment with any effort to amend.

The third amendment inserts the words "or leases," as would be proper; and then the fourth amendment is simply a provision that all the bids that may be received by this committee shall, for the information of the Congress, be reported to the House and Senate when they report their bill recommending the bid they are willing to accept.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I yield.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman says he does not want to discuss terms, but we are limited in this bill to terms when the resolution says that we must get just as favorable terms as those which were embraced in H. R. 518, which was passed in the Sixty-eighth Congress.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman does not want to bind us to those terms?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That was in the resolution as it passed the House, I will say to the gentleman, and there was no way we could touch that here.

Mr. BLANTON. But that was one thing that many of the Members of the House objected to at the time.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. We could not touch that even if we desired, because that was agreed to by both bodies.

Unless there are further questions, that is the general explanation I desired to make, and that is all there is to the resolution.

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WINGO. I do not want anything I said a moment ago to leave the impression in the gentleman's mind, that I am criticizing his action in handling the matter.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I am sure the gentleman had no such intention.

Mr. WINGO. I appreciate, of course, the difficulty the gentleman has had, and my criticism was directed to other things.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I was sure the gentleman, not knowing the facts, would not engage in criticism, and I hope I have done nothing that would subject me to criticism. My whole thought has been to try to bring about a settlement of this matter and have this committee get to work so that we can see what can be done. It is really our hope, following conferences we have had, that if the House agrees to this amendment, it can be agreed to in the other body, before they adjourn this afternoon.

Mr. BEGG. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. BEGG. Is it not a fact that it was absolutely necessary to pass some kind of resolution authorizing some department of Government to receive bids if we are going to proceed in that way?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Unquestionably, and the Congress, I think, has wisely held the matter in its own hands instead of creating an outside committee and clothing such committee with complete authority to act.

Mr. BEGG. And is not that every last thing that is in this resolution?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That is all.

Mr. BEGG. Certainly; it is a simple proposition.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes. [Applause.]

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA]. [Applause.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, without doubt this is the most important piece of legislation this Congress will have to pass upon. It is not passing an unimportant resolution, as was indicated on the floor, but it is defining the policy of what Congress will do with Muscle Shoals. Nothing can be of greater importance. It is the last word on the subject. Your next vote will simply be to ratify what this commission brings in. The House will be asked to accept a contract. If one provision is changed, we will be told that the contract will not be accepted.

You are called upon to-day to give away the most priceless possession of the American people, and you are called upon to vote on the matter when there is not a printed resolution before the House. The parliamentary situation does not afford us an opportunity to reject the proposition. It may seem as a simple, unimportant matter, but I predict that the sponsors of this proposition and the Members of this House will live to rue the day.

I have consistently opposed the giving away of Muscle Shoals to any private corporation. This is the last step in a carefully prepared program to affect that purpose. I can see the kind of a lease that will be brought in. The resolution provides for a lease of 50 years. The resolution requires the commission to bring in an offer for a 50-year lease, providing for the transmission of power, the manufacture of fertilizer, the making of nitrates, but let me say that there is not a man in the whole world, there is not a commission that can study a proposition of this magnitude and write a lease and understand it within the time limited by the resolution. No bona fide offer could originate and be made within that time. It is difficult to

resist the conclusion that the lease, somewhere by someone, somehow, is written already.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. And 50 years will cover the lifetime of every Member of this Congress and most of their children and grandchildren.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes; and our successors will read with scorn 10 or 15 years from now what we are doing to-day. There is not another power project like Muscle Shoals in the whole world. It is the most priceless gift of the American people that you are undertaking to give away.

Mr. BEGG. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. BEGG. I can not quite understand the term that the gentleman uses—"giving it away." If I was to give a lease on my house for 1 or 50 years the gentleman would not interpret that as giving it away?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. No.

Mr. BEGG. Let us understand the gentleman's definition of the term?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I mean exactly that "giving away"—the purpose of Muscle Shoals is not to make money but to manufacture fertilizer at a low cost and give the benefit of this great project to the people of this country. We want to give the agricultural industry some help and here is an opportunity, but you turn around and give this great project and plant costing $160,000,000 to some private corporation. You can not find any corporation in business for love, for philanthropy, or for patriotism. The lessee of Muscle Shoals will want to make money—and they will make it on the farmers and the consumers. The lessee corporation will make money and the farmers will pay.

Mr. BEGG. How are you going to manufacture fertilizer unless you let somebody do it?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The Department of Agriculture knows more about the manufacture of fertilizer than any private company in the country.

Mr. BEGG. Did the Government make a success of its operation of ships?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. As much of a success as any private company in these times. You have a partial Government operation now at Muscle Shoals, but not managed for the benefit of the people. It is not real Government operation when you sell power at one-fifth of 1 cent to a distributing company which sells it to the Alabama consumers at 8 cents a kilowatt hour. I want to use this gigantic plant for the benefit of the people. Let the Department of Agriculture operate it for nitrates and sell it at cost, with a sufficient percentage to cover overhead, and sell the surplus power to municipalities for distribution at cost to people in that locality. If you turn it over to a private company, you only make profits for the stockholders. I repeat any offer made to the Government for this property will be for the benefit of the corporation and not for the benefit of the Government or the people. It is humanly impossible to obtain terms from any corporation that will safeguard the interests of the Government, that will produce cheap fertilizer and make profits for the company. The three simply do not go together.

I understand the aversion to Government operation entertained by the majority in this House. But the magnitude of this project, its possibilities for the manufacture of fertilizer, the need of relief for the farmers, the capacity for generating electrical power, the necessity of this plant for the manufacture of nitrates in case of war, all taken together make it absolutely indispensable for the Government which has spent $160,000,000 for its construction to keep and operate it for the benefit of the people. That is the only way to safeguard the interests of the Government. Every time an attempt has been made to lease this property, keeping in mind the interest of the Government and the potential benefits it contains for the people, it has been found impossible to do so. To now appoint a commission and to expect a satisfactory lease to be presented to us by April 26 and then lease this property for 50 years is not only poor legislation but a wicked and willful giving away of God's gift to the people of America for their use and enjoyment to a private corporation for profit making.

On March 26, 1925, the President appointed "the Muscle Shoals inquiry." There is not a Government-ownership man on that inquiry. Every one of them is opposed to Government ownership. Yet after studying the matter from March 26, 1925, to November 14, 1925, this is what was reported by Commissioners John C. McKenzie, former Member of this House; Nathaniel B. Dial, a former Senator; and Mr. R. F. Bower. On page 5 of this report is the "Concluding statement." Let me read it:

> It is the mature judgment of the undersigned members of the inquiry that the Muscle Shoals property is primarily a part of our national defense, and we are convinced that this view is generally shared by the people of the United States. It is obvious that when these plants are needed for the production of munitions in time of war they will be needed quickly. The Government should, therefore, hold the title to the plants and prevent their being so changed as to make impracticable their immediate conversion for the manufacture of munitions, and arrangements should be made that will assure the maintenance of a trained operating force. These needs can best be served, in our judgment, by operating the plants. Fortunately the plants are of such a character that they can render an important peace-time service to agriculture, and this vast expenditure of the Government need not remain idle or unproductive.
>
> We therefore unhesitatingly recommend legislation be enacted by Congress to lease this property on such terms as have been herein enumerated, and in event of failure to obtain a lease the President should have authority to cause these plants to be immediately operated as a Government enterprise.
>
> It is with great reluctance that we turn toward Government operation, being well advised of all of the infirmities inherent in such an undertaking. The great investment of the Government at Muscle Shoals, however, the importance of its continued maintenance as a part of our national defense, the crying need of agriculture for more and cheaper fertilizer, and the favorable opportunity for meeting that need, all compel us to disregard our prejudices, for we are convinced that to longer permit this great investment to stand idle when it can be of such great service to our people would be little less than a public calamity.

When the appointment of this inquiry was authorized by a resolution passed in the closing days of the Sixty-eighth Congress it was stated then that the committee would be able to study the proposition, receive offers, and come to Congress with a new offer which would safeguard the interest of the Government, and I use those words advisedly, for they were the very words used at the time, and that Muscle Shoals could be given to a private corporation to operate. The inquiry was appointed, made the investigation, apparently failed to find the ways and means to safeguard these vital interests of the Government and at the same time profits for a corporation, and have frankly and courageously so stated. Now, we are seeking to have a congressional committee do in a few days the very thing that the President's committee, after nearly eight months' labor, said could not be done.

I have fought every attempt to give the operation of Muscle Shoals to a private corporation. I predict that the farmers will not get cheap fertilizer. I predict that there will be great dissatisfaction in that locality and surrounding country at the rates of power and the method of distribution. I see great advantage for the lessee corporation, and I see no hope for the people.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO].

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I think my friend from Ohio is very much mistaken in his conclusion that this is a simple proposition. There may be good reasons why the proposed lease is not brought in and submitted to us instead of this resolution.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. Certainly.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does the gentleman understand that there is any tangible proposition—I understood some testimony was given before the Senate committee that it was the intention of some concern to bid, but I am in the same situation as is the gentleman; I do not know what the fact is.

Mr. WINGO. I am not making any charge of bad faith against my friend or anyone else.

Mr. SNELL. I thought the gentleman was saying by inference that there was a lease.

Mr. WINGO. Nobody accuses the gentleman from New York of bad faith; he is as transparent as I am, and nearly as simple. [Laughter.] But there are some things that better be left unsaid and some things that might be said. I think I will leave them unsaid at this moment. I will, however, say this much, events in my own State for the last few years in water-power operations and my investigation covering two days in the city of New York led me to view with some apprehension the future of the water power in the United States. I do not suppose that they are any more selfish than I or any other man would be in private business for profit. They are showing considerable astuteness not only in my State but in other

States following the custom of corralling all political influence and power that can make them worth while. I suppose all corporations do that; but looking at it from the standpoint of the people, who should profit from our great water powers, it gives me grave concern. When the proposition comes in here with a resolution you will be told whenever you seek to offer an amendment to it that you have got to vote it up or down. I voted for the Ford proposition with a great deal of reluctance after this House refused to put a proper legal recapture clause on the proposition upon the private assurance that if I just let it go through they could get that agreed to in the Senate. It was urged then, and it will be urged when this lease is brought in here for our ratification in May, that you have got to either vote it up or down, that if you want to have the farmers get the benefit of it and start the development of fertilizer industry down there or you must not take the responsibility of killing the only thing that is offered. That is going to be our situation. You say, what have you to propose? Gentlemen, that is the exasperating situation. We stand here with this thing being mulled along for years and years and you and I know, under present control of affairs, where it ultimately is going to land. The greatest independent water power in the United States will go the way of all the other independent water-power sites and projects in the United States, and after that this Congress will be as helpless as a newborn babe would be in attempting to stem the torrent of Niagara in an open skiff. [Applause.]

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ALMON].

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, as is well known to the Members of the House, the development of Muscle Shoals was brought about by the Executive order of the President in conformity with the authority conferred on him by section 124 of the national defense act of 1916. The nitrate plants of Muscle Shoals and the water-power dam were constructed for two fundamental purposes for national defense—for the manufacture of explosives in time of war, and for the manufacture of fertilizer in time of peace. The national defense act so reads. The nitrate plants and the water-power dam together constitute one development. The dam was built to create power to operate the nitrate plants, to make explosives in time of war, and fertilizer in time of peace. If there is more power developed by building the dam than would be needed for that purpose, of course, it ought to be distributed and used for the benefit of the most people possible. I am in favor of this plant being utilized for the purpose for which it was intended. This House went on record in the last Congress overwhelmingly in favor of private operation, in favor of the acceptance of the offer of Henry Ford.

The President of the United States at the beginning of this Congress delivered a very emphatic message upon the subject. He declared himself as against Government operation of Muscle Shoals. He declared himself in favor of private operation of Muscle Shoals, and he recommended in the strongest terms the appointment of the joint congressional committee to negotiate a lease for a term of years, and in the passage of this resolution we simply carried out the theory of private operation that we voted in favor of in the last Congress, and the appointment of a joint congressional committee to negotiate a lease, subject to the approval of Congress, and that lease is to be, if possible, as good for the Government and for agriculture as the Ford offer. I see no reason why any one should oppose this resolution unless he is in favor of Government operation of Muscle Shoals. I prefer private operation if a proper lease can be secured, and that is the purpose of this resolution.

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

Mr. ALMON. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Has not the gentleman omitted one step? Were we not called upon in the last few days of the last Congress to create a commission?

Mr. ALMON. Yes. We passed a House resolution requesting the President to appoint a commission to make a study of Muscle Shoals during the vacation and recommend to him what should be done with it.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Has not that commission reported?

Mr. ALMON. Yes; and a majority of that commission reported in favor of private operation and a lease such as is sought to be secured by this resolution.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Did they not indicate their doubts whether it would be possible to find a private operator who would operate to safeguard the interests of the Government?

Mr. ALMON. No. The purpose of this resolution is to appoint a committee composed of three from the Committee on Military Affairs of the House, and three from the Committee on Agriculture of the Senate, which committees have been considering this subject for several years, to negotiate and recommend to the Congress a 50-year lease for the private operation of this plant for the manufacture of fertilizer and to get as good an offer as possible. We give directions to the committee to get a lease as near like the Ford offer as is possible. It is nothing but rot to talk about this resolution providing for the giving away of this plant. I have seen such statements made in the newspapers. No one proposes to give Muscle Shoals to anyone. I am one of the last ones who would want to give Muscle Shoals away, because the people I represent are in the Muscle Shoals district.

They do not want Muscle Shoals given away. They want it utilized for the purpose for which Congress said it should be, the manufacture of fertilizer, and that is what I want. I think that under the existing circumstances the best thing to do at this time is to concur in the Senate amendments with the amendments which have been read and explained by Mr. SNELL and Mr. GARRETT, of the Rules Committee.

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

Mr. ALMON. Yes.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I want to ask the gentleman as to the meaning of the words to be inserted after the word "nitrates." It is proposed now to add the words "and other fertilizer ingredients." Will not the insertion of those additional words defeat the object of the original Ford offer regarding a minimum production of nitrates?

Mr. ALMON. Oh, no; I think that that is a good amendment. I believe, and it has been proven by experts, that with cheap water power at Muscle Shoals, taking the nitrogen from the air, and with the raw material in close proximity and in inexhaustible quantities, that under good management fertilizer can be made for at least one-third less than existing prices. The dam is completed and water power going to waste. The nitrate plants have been standing idle for seven years. The country, and especially the farmers, are expecting action at this session of Congress. Let us not disappoint them again. [Applause.]

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]. [Applause.]

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the question before us is a very simple one. It is the resolution that was passed by the House, was sent to the Senate and the Senate amended it, and it was feared that the Senate amendments destroyed the purpose of the resolution as it passed the House. The sentiment of the House was that the Muscle Shoals properties should be used exclusively, as far as possible, for the manufacture of nitrates in time of war and fertilizer in time of peace, and when the Senate amendments and resolution came back three or four men here, who had been more or less active in the promotion of this legislation because of their interest in the prosperity of agriculture, believed that to adopt the Senate amendments would leave a question of doubt as to whether it was a water-power proposition or a fertilizer proposition, and so these men suggested an amendment to the Senate amendment which clarifies the situation, and definitely beyond any doubt whatever, if you adopt the proposal now contained in the resolution it will commit the operation of Muscle Shoals to the manufacture of nitrates and fertilizer. That is all there is to it. [Applause.]

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman promised me some time.

Mr. SNELL. The gentleman did not speak to me about it and I thought he did not want it.

Mr. BLANTON. I have been sitting patiently waiting.

Mr. SNELL. How much time?

Mr. BLANTON. Five minutes.

Mr. SNELL. I yield the gentleman five minutes.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, the time is appreciated even though it was reluctantly given. [Laughter.] We are the trustees for the people of America concerning this $100,000,000 worth of property. They expect us to safeguard their interests. When you let this resolution get away from us this evening, this is your last chance to stop the giving away of Muscle Shoals. It is truthfully stated that when it comes back here next time there will be a lease that has been negotiated and signed and sanctioned by a concurrent resolution of Congress——

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BLANTON. Just a moment, please. I want to use my five minutes; it was awfully hard to get.

Mr. SNELL. The gentleman wants to be fair.

Mr. BLANTON. What is it that is not fair?

Mr. SNELL. The gentleman knows it is absolutely impossible to have a lease signed under this resolution; everybody else knows it.

Mr. BLANTON. That is the gentleman's idea. What is a negotiated lease? We are creating a committee and authoriz-

ing it to negotiate a lease. Why could not it be signed to indicate just what lease has been negotiated?

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. BLANTON. Are not the terms agreed upon? I want to tell you now if I were a member of this committee and were to negotiate a lease with some one, I would want to see their John Hancock on it when I brought it back to Congress.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. Just a moment. You know what makes me suspicious about the resolution? The resolution recites that the terms must be as favorable as H. R. 518, in the Sixty-eighth Congress. You remember what that bill provided? It provided that the American people's Government must maintain at their own expense and operate and keep in repair those dams, gates, and locks for 100 years. That is the reason I have fought against this lease at all times. I remember what was in that bill; I have read and studied it carefully at night. It said that for 100 years we must maintain and operate the dams, gates, and locks and keep them in repair for a nominal lease for 100 years, and now it is reduced to 50 years.

These dams could be washed away numerous times in 100 years, or in 50 years, and we would have to replace them with the American taxpayers' money out of the Treasury, and I do not want to give away $100,000,000 Muscle Shoals under such a lease. This resolution says it must be done under as favorable terms as House bill 518, and I am not willing to vote for it. Fifty years is a long period of time. All of us will have passed away during that time. There will be few of our children left. And many of our grandchildren will have lost interest in things earthly by that time. We owe it to our posterity not to allow this valuable property to slip through our hands.

Ah, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT]—we all have confidence in him—no one questions his good faith, but there is a whole lot that goes on here in Congress sometimes that our leader does not have time to find out about, and that even the majority leader does not have time to find out about, and that even the chairman of the Committee on Rules has so much to do sometimes that he can not find out about.

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

Mr. BLANTON. In a moment. I predict this, that just as sure as you pass this resolution, even with the Senate amendments, you are going to have one of the biggest scandals we have ever had in this Government over this $100,000,000 property. Are we so innocent that we do not know that under this resolution the Alabama Power Co. is going to gobble up this valuable property?.

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

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

Mr. BLANTON. I would gladly. I wish I had more time. but I have not.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I call for a vote on the first amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

First amendment of the Senate: Page 1, line 8, after the word "lease" insert the words "or leases."

The SPEAKER. To that amendment the gentleman from New York moves the following amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SNELL moves to agree to the amendment with the following amendment: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment insert the following: "or leases (but no lease or leases shall be recommended which do not guarantee and safeguard the production of nitrates and other fertilizer ingredients mixed or unmixed primarily as hereinafter provided)."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question recurs on the motion of the gentleman from New York to amend the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question now recurs on the Senate amendment as amended.

The Senate amendment as amended was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next Senate amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Second Senate amendment: Page 1, line 10, after the word "purposes," insert "such powers to be equitably distributed between the communities and States to which it may be properly transported."

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I move to agree to the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next one.

The Clerk read as follows:

Third Senate amendment: Page 1, line 14, after the word "lease," insert "or leases."

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I move to agree to the Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves to agree to the Senate amendment. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The Senate amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next Senate amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Fourth Senate amendment: Page 1, line 20, strike out the figure "1" and insert the figures "26."

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I move the following amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion of the gentleman from New York.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SNELL moves to agree to the Senate amendment with the following amendment: Page 1, line 19, strike out the period, insert a semicolon, and the following: *"And provided further,* That the committee in making its report shall file for the information of the Senate and House of Representatives a true copy of all proposals submitted to it in the conduct of such negotiations."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York to the Senate amendment.

The amendment of Mr. SNELL was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question recurs on agreeing to the Senate amendment as amended.

The Senate amendment as amended was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 2479. An act to declare a portion of the battle field of Westport, in the State of Missouri, a national military park, and to authorize the Secretary of War to acquire title to same on behalf of the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5043) granting the consent of Congress to the Midland & Atlantic Bridge Corporation, a corporation, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Big Sandy River between the city of Catlettsburg, Ky., and a point opposite in the city of Kenova, in the State of West Virginia.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

Senate bill of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:

S. 2479. An act to declare a portion of the battle field of Westport, in the State of Missouri, a national military park and to authorize the Secretary of War to acquire title to same on behalf of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. CAMPBELL, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported the committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 6710. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Georgia and the counties of Long and Wayne, in said State, to construct a bridge across the Altamaha River, in the State of Georgia, at a point near Ludowici, Ga.; and

S. 1129. An act authorizing the use for permanent construction at military posts of the proceeds from the sale of surplus War Department real property and authorizing the sale of certain military reservations, and for other purposes.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE HARRY I. THAYER OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sorrow that I announce to the House the death of my colleague, HARRY I. THAYER, of the eighth Massachusetts district.

Mr. THAYER was elected a Member of this Congress. Those of you who have met him and who knew him realize the loss that we have sustained, not only in that of a friend but in the loss of a public servant. I send to the Clerk's desk a resolution which I ask to have read.

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

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 168

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. HARRY I. THAYER, a Representative from the State of Massachusetts;

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral;

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of this resolution, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House transmit this resolution to the Senate and a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair announces the following gentlemen as members of the committee on the part of the House to attend the funeral: Mr. TREADWAY, Mr. GALLIVAN, Mr. TINKHAM, Mr. LUCE, Mr. UNDERHILL, Mr. ANDREW, Mr. FROTHINGHAM, Mr. GIFFORD, Mr. CONNERY, Mr. FOSS, Mr. STOBBS, Mr. DOUGLASS, Mr. MARTIN, Mrs. ROGERS, Mr. BOWLES, Mr. LOWREY, of Mississippi, Mr. IRWIN, of Illinois, and Mr. LEAVITT, of Montana.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect for our deceased colleague, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, March 12, 1926, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. TILSON submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for March 12, 1926, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

(10 a. m.)

Agriculture relief legislation.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(10.30 a. m.)

Creating a commission to procure a design for a distinctive flag for the District of Columbia (H. R. 6557).

To amend an act entitled "An act to create a juvenile court in and for the District of Columbia (H. R. 6715, H. R. 7612).

To amend the Code of Law for the District of Columbia in relation to descent and distribution (H. R. 7975).

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10.30 a. m.)

Bills to amend the interstate commerce act.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

(10 a. m.)

To divest goods, wares, and merchandise manufactured, produced, or mined by convicts or prisoners of their interstate character in certain cases (H. R. 8653).

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING

(10 a. m.)

Providing for a mine rescue station and equipment at Pineville, Ky. (H. R. 5953).

Providing for a mine rescue station and equipment at Madisonville, Ky. (H. R. 3879).

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

(10 a. m.)

Providing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States (H. J. Res. 15).

COMMITTEE ON THE TERRITORIES

(10.30 a. m.)

To authorize the Secretary of War to expend not to exceed $125,000 for the protection of Government property adjacent to Lowell Creek, Alaska (H. J. Res. 100).

To prescribe certain of the qualifications of voters in the Territory of Alaska (H. R. 9211).

Authorizing the construction of a Government dock or wharf at Juneau, Alaska (H. J. Res. 139).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

392. Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a statement of expenditures in the Coast and Geodetic Survey for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. SINNOTT: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 5243. A bill to promote the mining of potash on the public domain; with amendment (Rept. No. 508). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SINNOTT: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 7372. A bill to amend section 27 of the general leasing act approved February 25, 1920 (41 Stat. L. p. 437); with amendment (Rept. No. 509). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. LEAVITT: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 8313. A bill to allot living children on the Crow Reservation, Mont.; without amendment (Rept. No. 510). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. LEAVITT: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 9099. A bill authorizing the use of the funds of any tribe of Indians for payments of insurance premiums for protection of the property of the tribe against fire, theft, tornado, and hail; without amendment (Rept. No. 511). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. HILL of Washington: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 9351. A bill extending the period of time for homestead entries on the south half of the diminished Colville Indian Reservation; with amendment (Rept. No. 512). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. HASTINGS: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. J. Res. 134. Joint resolution authorizing the Cherokee Indians, the Seminole Indians, the Creek Indians, and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians to prosecute claims, jointly or severally, in one or more petitions, as each of said Indian nations or tribes may elect; with amendment (Rept. No. 513). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. MONTGOMERY: Committee on Indian Affairs. S. 1834. An act providing for remodeling, repairing, and improving the Pawnee Indian school plant, Pawnee, Okla., and providing an appropriation therefor; without amendment (Rept. No. 514). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota: Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation. H. R. 10240. A bill to amend the World War veterans' act, 1924; without amendment (Rept. No. 515). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. PORTER: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. R. 10200. A bill for the acquisition of buildings and grounds in foreign countries for the use of the Government of the United States of America; without amendment (Rept. No. 520). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. REECE: Committee on Military Affairs. S. 2274. An act providing for the promotion of a professor at the United States Military Academy; without amendment (Rept. No. 521). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. ELLIOTT: Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. H. R. 5353. A bill to amend the act of Congress approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stat. L. p. 876); without amendment (Rept. No. 522). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. McFADDEN: Committee on Banking and Currency. H. R. 9958. A bill to amend section 5219 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; without amendment (Rept. No. 526). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. McFADDEN: Committee on Banking and Currency. H. R. 10128. A bill to change the title of Deputy Assistant Treasurer of the United States to Assistant Treasurer of the United States; without amendment (Rept. No. 527). Referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. LEAVITT: Committee on Indian Affairs. S. 850. An act for the relief of Robert A. Pickett; without amendment (Rept. No. 516). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SPEAKS: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 5486. A bill for the relief of Levi Wright; with amendment (Rept. No. 517). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 6418. A bill to correct the military record of Lester A. Rockwell; without amendment (Rept. No. 518). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. GLYNN: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 7010. A bill authorizing the President to issue an appropriate commission and honorable discharge to Joseph B. Maccabe; without amendment (Rept. No. 523). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MAGEE of Pennsylvania: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 3253. A bill for the relief of Lieut. Commander Garnet Hulings, United States Navy; without amendment (Rept. No. 524). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COYLE: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 9319. A bill to authorize certain officers of the United States Navy to accept from the Republic of Chile the Order of Merit, first class, and the Order of Merit, second class; without amendment (Rept. No. 525). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, the Committee on Military Affairs was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 759) for the relief of Robert G. Smith, and the same was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota: A bill (H. R. 10240) to amend the World War veterans' act, 1924; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. BLOOM: A bill (H. R. 10241) to amend section 3 of the immigration act of 1924; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. CONNERY (by request): A bill (H. R. 10242) to amend the act entitled "An act to provide revenue, to regulate commerce in foreign countries, and to encourage the industries in the United States, and for other purposes," approved September 21, 1922; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DICKSTEIN: A bill (H. R. 10243) to amend the naturalization laws relating to certificates of arrival; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. FULLER: A bill (H. R. 10244) to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the Fox River in the State of Illinois on State road No. 18 connecting the villages of Yorkville and Bristol in said county; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. OLIVER of New York: A bill (H. R. 10245) to amend the national prohibition act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SWOOPE: A bill (H. R. 10246) to authorize the commissioners of McKean County, Pa., or their successors in office, to construct a bridge across the Allegheny River at a certain location where a highway known as State Highway Route No. 211 crosses said river at a location within the limits of the Borough of Eldred or not distant more than one-half mile north of said Borough of Eldred, McKean County, Pa.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEAGALL: A bill (H. R. 10247) to amend section 6 of the act of May 29, 1884, creating the Bureau of Animal Industry, by striking out the proviso in section 6 of said act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McSWAIN: A bill (H. R. 10248) to further provide for the national defense by coordinating the Army and the Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BLAND: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 198) authorizing certain funds appropriated for the reservation and monument at Wakefield, Va., to be made available for certain repairs to existing highways and lanes on said reservation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. OLIVER of New York: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 199) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOYLAN: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 14) proposing the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition of Mexico until such time as the policies and conduct of the said Government in relation to educational and religious institutions of all creeds and nationalities justify a resumption of relations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SOMERS of New York: Resolution (H. Res. 164) authorizing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to have printed, and to furnish to any Member, upon request, a sufficient number of ballots, together with franked envelopes therefor, to permit such Member to afford each registered voter of his or her congressional district an opportunity to vote upon the question of the modification of the national prohibition act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. BEERS: Resolution (H. Res. 165) to print 500 additional copies of the Digest and Manual of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. McDUFFIE: Resolution (H. Res. 166) providing for the printing of 2,000 copies of the soil survey of Monroe County, Ala.; to the Committee on Printing.

Also, resolution (H. Res. 167) providing for the printing of 2,000 copies of the soil survey of Mobile County, Ala.; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota: Resolution (H. Res. 169) providing for the consideration of H. R. 10240, "To amend the World War veterans' act, 1924"; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XVII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ARNOLD: A bill (H. R. 10249) granting a pension to Frances C. Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. AYRES: A bill (H. R. 10250) granting a pension to Mary A. Handel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHALMERS: A bill (H. R. 10251) for the relief of Charlotte Robenalt; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DAVEY: A bill (H. R. 10252) granting an increase of pension to Charlotte Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EDWARDS: A bill (H. R. 10253) for the survey of Thunderbolt Harbor, Ga.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. ELLIS: A bill (H. R. 10254) granting an increase of pension to Georgia Beard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOUSTON: A bill (H. R. 10255) granting an increase of pension to Sarah C. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10256) granting an increase of pension to Lucy E. Horton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KOPP: A bill (H. R. 10257) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Shuster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: A bill (H. R. 10258) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MacGREGOR: A bill (H. R. 10259) granting an increase of pension to Daisy W. Lyman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MENGES: A bill (H. R. 10260) granting an increase of pension to Susan Horting; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10261) granting an increase of pension to Sarah M. Basey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10262) granting an increase of pension to Maria Jane Hollinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOORE of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 10263) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Thomas C. Tinsley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10264) to authorize a preliminary survey of Mud River in Kentucky with a view to the control of its floods; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. PARKER: A bill (H. R. 10265) granting a pension to Alice Aylmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10266) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Sullivan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10267) granting an increase of pension to Isabelle Ellsworth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10268) granting an increase of pension to Annie Brazier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10269) granting an increase of pension to Jane E. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAMSEYER: A bill (H. R. 10270) granting an increase of pension to Henrietta Lawler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SEARS of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 10271) granting a pension to Alonzo W. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 10272) granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Ickes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOOD: A bill (H. R. 10273) granting a pension to Amanda Loshier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1163. By Mr. CARSS: Petition of eight lodges of the International Order of Good Templars, of Duluth, Minn., Superior, Wis., and from other places, in union meeting assembled at Duluth, Minn., on the 6th day of February, A. D. 1926, indorsing enforcement of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1164. Also, petition of Finnish Temperance Society, of Hibbing, Minn., opposing modification of the present prohibition law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1165. By Mr. FULLER: Petition of Mr. Frank H. Hall, of Rockford, Ill., urging support of House bill 9498; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1166. Also, petition of the Illinois Motor Transportation Association, urging support of House resolution 8266; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1167. By Mr. HUDSPETH: Petition protesting compulsory Sunday observance, by citizens of El Paso, Tex.; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1168. Also, petition of El Paso County Retail Druggists Association, indorsing House bill 11, known as the price maintenance bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1169. By Mr. KIESS: Petition of Pine Street Methodist Sunday School; Bible classes of the United Brethren in Christ Church; Fosselman Bible Class, St. John Evangelical Church; East End Baptist Bible School; St. Matthews Lutheran Sunday School; Grace Evangelical Church Sunday School; Bethany Presbyterian Church and Sunday School; and other citizens, all of Williamsport, Pa., favoring the passage of legislation to close theaters and places of amusement in the District of Columbia on Sunday; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1170. By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of Joseph N. Benners, Baltimore, Md., favoring repeal of Pullman surcharge as per House bill 4497; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1171. Also, petition of Women's Civic League, Baltimore, Md., favoring two new national parks in the eastern part of the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

1172. By Mr. LITTLE: Petition in form of telegrams sent by 10 citizens of Olathe, Kans., urging favorable action on Federal building bill for Olathe, introduced by Mr. LITTLE; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

1173. Also, petition in the form of telegrams sent by citizens of Humboldt, Kans., urging favorable action on Federal building bill for Humboldt, introduced by Mr. LITTLE; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

1174. Also. petition signed by 224 residents of Anderson County, Kans., petitioning Congress to investigate and build for the city of Garnett a Federal post-office building; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

1175. Also, petition signed by 170 citizens of Miami County, Kans., indorsing and urging the passage of a bill introduced by Mr. LITTLE for the erection of a Federal building at Osawatomie, Kans.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

1176. By Mr. MADDEN: Petition of sundry citizens supporting House bill 4548, regarding disabled emergency Army officers of the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1177. By Mr. MANLOVE: Petition of 48 citizens of Nevada, Vernon County, Mo., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1178. By Mr. MAPES: Petition of the Polish-speaking organizations in Grand Rapids, Mich., submitted by Mr. Louis Neumann, secretary Grand Rapids Chapter, Polish Welfare Council of America, Grand Rapids, Mich., recommending against the bill (H. R. 102) providing for the registration of aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

1179. Also, petition of E. G. Benton, Sand Lake, Mich., and seven other residents of that vicinity, recommending against the passage of House bills 7179 and 7822, or any other national religious legislation which may be pending in Congress; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1180. By Mr. MEAD: Petition of National Guard Association of the State of New York, to provide funds for National Guard for proper care of animals, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1181. By Mr. O'CONNELL of New York: Petition of Disabled American Veterans of the World War, Allingtown Hospital Chapter No. 8, West Haven, Conn., favoring the $50 pension for arrested tuberculars; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1182. Also, petition of the New York Patent Law Association, favoring the passage of the Graham bill (H. R. 7907) increasing the salaries of Federal judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1183. By Mr. RAINEY: Petition of sundry citizens of Eldred, Ill., opposing House bills 7179 and 7822, compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1184. Also, petition of the Southern Illinois Sportsmen's League, favoring State sovereignty and a dual form of Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1185. By Mr. TILSON: Petition of Candace Ferguson and others, New Haven, Conn., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1186. By Mr. VAILE: Petition of sundry citizens of the city of Denver, Colo., opposing House bills 7179 and 7822, compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

SENATE

FRIDAY, *March 12, 1926*

(Legislative day of Thursday, March 11, 1926)

The Senate reassembled at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. HARRY I. THAYER, late a Representative from the State of Massachusetts, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate numbered 2 and 3 to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 4) providing for a joint committee to conduct negotiations for leasing Muscle Shoals, and that the House had concurred in Senate amendments numbered 1 and 4 to said concurrent resolution, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Ashurst	Ernst	King	Sheppard
Bayard	Fernald	La Follette	Shortridge
Bingham	Ferris	Lenroot	Simmons
Blease	Fess	McKellar	Smoot
Bratton	Fletcher	McLean	Stanfield
Brookhart	Frazier	McNary	Stephens
Broussard	George	Mayfield	Swanson
Bruce	Goff	Neely	Trammell
Butler	Gooding	Norris	Tyson
Cameron	Greene	Nye	Wadsworth
Capper	Hale	Oddie	Walsh
Caraway	Harreld	Overman	Warren
Copeland	Harris	Pepper	Watson
Couzens	Harrison	Phipps	Wheeler
Cummins	Heflin	Pine	Williams
Dale	Howell	Pittman	Willis
Deneen	Johnson	Ransdell	
Dill	Jones, Wash.	Reed, Mo.	
Edge	Kendrick	Robinson, Ark.	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-three Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE TARIFF COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. In accordance with the provisions of Senate Resolution 162, agreed to yesterday, providing that a special committee to be composed of five Senators, three of whom shall be members of the majority and include one who is a progressive Republican and two of whom shall be members of the minority, shall be appointed by the Vice President, the resolution authorizing and directing an investigation of the manner in which the flexible provision of the tariff act of 1922 has been and is being administered, the