HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, *February 8, 1928*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we thank Thee for Thy holy word. Light up the old texts that we used to know; illuminate the time-worn phrases that our mothers taught us in years gone by; reveal unto us their tardy applications and let go their deep spiritual meaning. Our mothers and fathers, they lived so simply; their ways were so toilsome. May their honest virtues pass on into our lives. Our country, so dear to all hearts! Our free institutions, so wonderful in their blessings! If we fail to remember these, let our tongues cling to the roofs of our mouths. Let service, patriotic service, become sweeter in our hearts and braver in our lives. O God, persuade us that the man who day by day cherishes a sweet, uplifting love is the grandest specimen that can be produced. In the holy name of Jesus, our Savior. Amen.

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

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments the bill (H. R. 7009) entitled "An act to authorize appropriations for construction at military posts, and for other purposes," insists upon its amendments, and asks a conference with the House of Representatives on the said bill and amendments thereto, and had appointed Mr. REED of Pennsylvania, Mr. GREENE, and Mr. FLETCHER as conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate requested the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the message of the Senate announcing its agreement to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 700) entitled "An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to execute an agreement with the Middle Rio Grande conservancy district providing for conservation, irrigation, drainage, and flood control for the Pueblo Indian lands in the Rio Grande Valley, N. Mex., and for other purposes."

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred to the appropriate committees, as follows:

S. 43. An act for the relief of Frederick N. Carr;

S. 46. An act for the relief of Daniel F. Roberts; and

S. 138. An act for the relief of Thomas Johnsen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 380. An act for the relief of Charles H. Niehaus; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 754. An act for the relief of certain Porto Rico taxpayers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

S. 771. An act providing for the loan of the U. S. S. *Dispatch* to the State of Florida; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 1122. An act for the relief of S. Davidson & Sons; and

S. 1164. An act to provide relief for the victims of the airplane accident at Langin Field, Moundsville, W. Va.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1168. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the collection and editing of official papers of the Territories of the United States now in the national archives," approved March 3, 1925; to the Committee on Printing.

S. 1181. An act authorizing an appropriation to be expended under the provisions of section 7 of the act of March 1, 1911, entitled "An act to enable any State to cooperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the protection of watersheds of navigable streams, and to appoint a commission for the acquisition of lands for the purpose of conserving the navigability of navigable rivers," as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S. 1217. An act for the relief of Albert Wood; and

S. 1219. An act for the relief of William Mortesen; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1281. An act to amend section 7 (a) of the act of March 3, 1925 (43 Stat. 1119), as amended by section 2 of the act of July 3, 1926 (44 Stat. 812), so as to provide operators' permits free of cost to enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard operating Government-owned vehicles in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 1287. An act for the relief of the Near East Relief (Inc.); to the Committee on War Claims.

S. 1325. An act for the relief of John A. Fox; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1347. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to provide relief in cases of contracts connected with the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1919, as amended; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1361. An act for the relief of Isabelle R. Damron, postmaster at Clintwood, Va.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1413. An act to prohibit predictions with respect to cotton prices in any report, bulletin, or other publication issued by the Department of Agriculture or the Department of Commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S. 1455. An act to grant extensions of time under coal permits; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 1531. An act authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to sell the Weather Bureau station known as Mount Weather, in the counties of Loudoun and Clarke, in the State of Virginia; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S. 1541. An act for the relief of George A. Robertson; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1594. An act for the relief of Capt. Joseph W. Loef; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1623. An act for the relief of William Hensley; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1665. An act to authorize the board of park commissioners of the city and county of San Francisco to construct a recreation pier at the foot of Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1758. An act for the relief of Fred A. Knauf; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1759. An act to appropriate treaty funds due to the Wisconsin Pottawatomi Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

S. 1771. An act for the relief of Peter S. Kelly; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1946. An act relative to the pay of certain retired warrant officers and enlisted men and warrant officers and enlisted men of the reserve forces of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard, fixed under the terms of the Panama Canal act, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 2020. An act for the relief of Leonidas L. Cochran and Rosalie Cochran Brink; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 2021. An act extending and continuing to January 12, 1930, the provisions of "An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to determine and confirm by patent in the nature of a deed of quitclaim the title to lots in the city of Pensacola, Fla.," approved January 12, 1925; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 2310. An act supplementary to, and amendatory of, the incorporation of the Catholic University of America, organized under and by virtue of a certificate of incorporation pursuant to class 1, chapter 18, of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 2316. An act for the relief of Lewis C. Hopkins & Co.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

S. 2317. An act continuing for one year the powers and authority of the Federal Radio Commission under the radio act of 1927, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

S. 2439. An act to amend the military record of Arthur Waldenmeyer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 2457. An act for the relief of Bert Moore;

S. 2471. An act for the relief of the owner of the American steam tug *Charles Runyon;*

S. 2516. An act for the relief of the owners and/or receiver of the American steam tug *W. S. Holbrook;* and

S. 2517. An act for the relief of the owner of barge *Consolidation Coastwise No. 10;* to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2585. An act for the relief of the owners of the cargo laden aboard the U. S. transport *Florence Luckenbach* on or about December 27, 1918;

S. 2586. An act for the relief of the owner of the Coast Transit Division barge *No. 4;* and

S. 2591. An act for the relief of Maria Maykovica; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2765. An act for the relief of the estate of Benjamin Braznell; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

S. 2780. An act for the relief of owners of cargo aboard the steamship *Boxley;* to the Committee on Claims.

S. J. Res. 21. Joint resolution to correct section 6 of the act of August 30, 1890, as amended by section 2 of the act of June 28, 1926; to the Committee on Agriculture.

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

BILLS AND A JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. CAMPBELL, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 108. An act granting the consent of Congress to the States of North Dakota and Minnesota to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Red River of the North;

H. R. 164. An act to authorize appropriations for construction at the Pacific Branch, Soldiers' Home, Los Angeles County, Calif., and for other purposes;

H. R. 172. An act to authorize the Secretary of War to grant and convey to the city of Vancouver a perpetual easement for public highway purposes over and upon a portion of the Vancouver Barracks Military Reservation in the State of Washington;

H. R. 193. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near the village of Clearwater, Minn.;

H. R. 194. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Morrison, State of Minnesota, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Little Falls, Minn.;

H. R. 199. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Minnesota to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Monticello, Wright County, Minn.;

H. R. 319. An act to legalize a bridge across the Snake River at Idaho Falls, Idaho;

H. R. 444. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Wolf Point, Mont.;

H. R. 495. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Armstrong, a county of the State of Pennsylvania, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River at Kittanning, in the county of Armstrong, in the State of Pennsylvania;

H. R. 766. An act for the relief of Ida F. Baum;

H. R. 1405. An act granting six months' pay to Maria J. McShane;

H. R. 2138. An act for the relief of the owner of the schooner *Sentinel;*

H. R. 2145. An act for the relief of Albert J. Zyvolski;

H. R. 3400. An act to correct the military record of Andrew B. Ritter;

H. R. 4127. An act for the relief of Joel T. Smith;

H. R. 4393. An act for the relief of Howard V. Sloan.

H. R. 4707. An act for the relief of Calvin H. Burkhead;

H. R. 4777. An act to compensate Robert F. Yeaman for the loss of certain carpenter tools which was incurred by reason of a fire in the Government area at Old Hickory Ordnance Depot;

H. R. 4995. An act for the relief of Sabino Apodaca;

H. R. 5228. An act for the relief of Finas M. Williams;

H. R. 5300. An act for the relief of Lewis H. Francke and Blanche F. Shelley, sole legal heirs of Ralph K. Warrington;

H. R. 5510. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of Duluth, Minn., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Duluth Ship Canal;

H. R. 5628. An act to extend the time for commencing and the time for completing the construction of a bridge across the Potomac River;

H. R. 5638. An act granting the consent of Congress to rebuild and reconstruct and to maintain and operate the existing railroad bridge across the Tombigbee River at Epes, in the State of Alabama;

H. R. 5744. An act granting the consent of Congress for the reconstruction of a bridge across the Grand Calumet River at East Chicago, Ind.;

H. R. 5994. An act for the relief of George C. Hussey;

H. R. 6041. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Allegheny River;

H. R. 6045. An act granting the consent of Congress to the commissioners of Mahoning County, Ohio, to reconstruct, maintain, and operate the existing bridge across the Mahoning River at South Avenue, Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio;

H. R. 6046. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of Youngstown, Ohio, to construct a bridge across the Mahoning River at or near West Avenue, Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio;

H. R. 6162. An act for the relief of Thomas M. Ross;

H. R. 6466. An act granting a part of the Federal building site at Phoenix, Ariz., to the city of Phoenix for street purposes;

H. R. 6479. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Susquehanna River between the borough of Wrightsville, in York County, Pa., and the borough of Columbia, in Lancaster County, Pa.;

H. R. 6483. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Illinois, the county of Lee, and the city of Dixon, or to any or either of them, jointly or severally, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Rock River at Dixon, Ill.;

H. R. 6512. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Cook, State of Illinois, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Little Calumet River at or near Wentworth Avenue, in Cook County, State of Illinois;

H. R. 6513. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Cook, State of Illinois, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Little Calumet River at or near Ashland Avenue, in Cook County, State of Illinois;

H. R. 6514. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Cook, State of Illinois, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Little Calumet River at or near Indiana Avenue, in Cook County, State of Illinois;

H. R. 6958. An act granting the consent of Congress to the city of Youngstown to construct a bridge across the Mahoning River at Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio;

H. R. 6959. An act to legalize a bridge across the Caney Fork in De Kalb County, Tenn.;

H. R. 7192. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Ohio River between the municipalities of Rochester and Monaca, Beaver County, Pa.;

H. R. 7370. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Idaho to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Snake River near Indian Cove, Idaho;

H. R. 7374. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Idaho to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Snake River near Swan Valley, Idaho;

H. R. 7745. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Chicago & North Western Railway Co., a corporation, its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Rock River;

H. R. 7466. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Montana, Valley County, Mont., and McCone County, Mont., or to any or either of them, jointly or severally, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Glasgow, Mont.;

H. R. 7913. An act 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.;

H. R. 8092. An act for the relief of Randolph Sias;

H. R. 8369. An act for the relief of Josephine Thibodeaux;

H. R. 8889. An act for the relief of Adriano Cruceta, a citizen of the Dominican Republic; and

H. J. Res. 104. Joint resolution granting consent of Congress to an agreement or compact entered into between the State of New York and the State of Vermont for the creation of the Lake Champlain bridge commission, and to construct, maintain, and operate a highway bridge across Lake Champlain.

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM D. GUTHRIE, OF NEW YORK

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a memorable and noble address delivered by William D. Guthrie, the president of the Bar Association of the City of New York and of the France-America Society, at a banquet tendered to the French ambassador, Paul Claudel, in the city of New York by the France-America Society on Monday last, February 6, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of alliance and friendship between France and the United States, negotiated by Benjamin Franklin with the French Government, and signed on February 6, 1778, which brought France into the Revolution upon our side and contributed so materially to the glorious result. On Monday last also, it is interesting to note, the treaty to remove the possibility of war between the United States and France was with singular appropriateness signed by the French ambassador and our Secretary of State here in Washington.

Mr. HOWARD of Nebraska. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Is this address a veiled support of the plan for practical cancellation of the French war debt due our Government?

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. O Mr. Speaker, there is no mention and no suggestion of any such thing in this address which simply deals with this very moving anniversary.

Mr. HOWARD of Nebraska. I accept the statement of the gentleman from New York, but I am receiving a great many of

those veiled arguments in support of the cancellation of the French debt.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I can assure the gentleman there is no such suggestion.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF SIGNING OF TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE, FEBRUARY 6, 1778

No event in American history is worthier to be celebrated and none has been bigger with great and enduring consequences than the signing at Paris on February 6, 150 years ago, of the treaty of amity and commerce and the treaty of alliance between the King of France and the United States of North America, as we were then named. It was a mighty fact in the annals of France and of America; and from it flowed the most far-reaching human movements and developments that have occurred since the downfall of the Roman Empire.

The treaty of amity and commerce was the first one signed. Briefly stated, it recognized the United States as an independent Nation, and stipulated that there should be a true and sincere friendship between the two countries, that the United States should at all times have the most favored nation privileges throughout France and in French ports, and that its terms should be perpetual. The execution of the treaty of alliance immediately followed. It declared, as expressed in the English version: "The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce"; and the King of France unqualifiedly guaranteed their liberty, sovereignty, and independence. Although the treaties were intended to be lasting, they were nevertheless abrogated by our Congress in July, 1798.

These treaties were unexampled in the generosity and disinterestedness manifested on the part of France toward a new nation, without resources and without adequate armament, bravely, and desperately battling for liberty and independence against a great European power. It was no wonder that their generous terms were characterized by European statesmen as "a glaring instance of quixotism," to quote the language of the then Prime Minister of Spain, and that they were regarded by many as an improvident sacrifice of the permanent material interests of France. Indeed, as it turned out, the performance of the obligations assumed by France called for financial sacrifices that brought about the bankruptcy of the French Crown and in great measure precipitated the French revolution of 1789.

It is a pity that the terms of these treaties and the sacrifices made for us by France in their performance, never requited until our day, are not more generally taught in our schools and colleges in order to have our people realize the extent of our debt to France and to quicken in them that finest of human virtues—the sense of gratitude.

As soon as Washington heard the news of the signing of the treaties—and it took nearly three months before it reached him at Valley Forge—he wrote to the President of Congress congratulating him on the good tidings, and expressing his belief that "no event was ever received with a more heartfelt joy." Encouraging and heartening must it have been to him and his Army after a winter of hunger and cold and dreadful suffering, of unparalleled misery, of perilous crisis, so great that Valley Forge has called forth the pity and admiration of historians and has led the English writer, Trevelyan, to declare that "as time goes on it bids fair to be the most celebrated encampment in the world's history."

Congress on May 4, 1778, ratified the treaties and sent to the King of France its grateful acknowledgment of his generosity and disinterestedness and its wish that the friendship between the two nations thus so happily commenced might be perpetual. Two days later, on May 6, Washington issued a general order to the American Army in which he reverently declared—I am quoting his own language: "It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the Universe to defend the cause of the United American States, and finally to raise us up a powerful friend among the princes of the earth, to establish our liberty and independency upon a lasting foundation; it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the divine goodness, and celebrating the event which we owe to His divine interposition." Washington directed the several brigades to assemble the next morning, when their chaplains were to communicate the intelligence, offer up thanksgiving to God, and deliver discourses suitable to the occasion. He further directed that the religious services should be followed by a military review, and that thereupon the whole Army should huzza, "Long live the King of France!"

We have not time to-night to recall in any detail how loyally, generously, and effectively the Government of the King of France kept the pledges he made in these treaties and without compensation or indemnity of any nature. To those who have studied the history of the War of Independence and reflected upon the paucity of the American forces and equipment, the despondency at Valley Forge in February, 1778, and the danger of dissolution of our Army at the very time when these treaties of relief were being negotiated and concluded in Paris, as well as the decisive effect of the French aid during the following three years and a half, the conclusion must be irresistible that the American cause could not possibly have triumphed at Yorktown had it not been for the supplies and funds furnished by France and the cooperation of the French army and the French fleet. On the morning after the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington pledged to the Count de Rochambeau and through him to France "the most unalterable gratitude" of our country; and this celebration to-night bears testimony that that pledge has not been forgotten and that it will be kept a living force among those Americans who remember. Six months after Yorktown, in April, 1782, Washington wrote to the Chevalier de la Luzerne that the continued aid of the King of France was "among a variety of important considerations, which ought to bind Americans and French in bonds of indelible friendship and gratitude, never, I hope, to be sundered."

The societies initiating this celebration have felt that the message from the long past would not be adequately conveyed if we did not in some way emphasize and attempt to picture in our minds the misery and suffering of the American Army under Washington and Lafayette at Valley Forge. The apprehension and discouragement felt even by Washington should be recalled in order to engrave on our hearts how desperate our fortunes were in February, 1778, and how much we then and subsequently owed to France. In looking over mementos of that winter, a winter that so awfully tried the souls of the American officers and soldiers in this historic encampment, we have found nothing that seemed to us quite so characteristic of Washington during this period of trial and hardship as the bronze bas-relief in front of the subtreasury building on Wall Street, which represents him kneeling in prayer in the snow at Valley Forge, and we have reproduced it for those who may treasure such a heart-stirring souvenir of the darkest hour in our history. It may be an inspiration to believe, as Washington himself devoutly believed, that his prayers were heard and answered.

If the immortal souls of Washington and Lafayette are conscious of this celebration, immense must be their gratification to realize that their sacrifices and services in the common cause of American liberty and independence are still bearing fruit in the hearts of Americans and French. Their spirits still live. The souls of the truly great survive in the continuing effects of their lives and works. Who will challenge our faith that the sacrifices and services of these two noble men have continued to inspire Americans to patriotic service and sacrifice from generation to generation? Who can doubt that during the World War millions of Americans were stirred, consciously or unconsciously, by the peerless spirit and example of these two Americans? For Lafayette was an American. He was called the man of two worlds. With prophetic vision he wrote to his wife during his first voyage to America on board *La Victoire*, June 7, 1777: "I hope that, for my sake, you will become a good American, for that feeling is worthy of every noble heart. The happiness of America is intimately connected with the happiness of all mankind." America was Lafayette's adopted country, and he was the adopted son of Washington. Hence, we love him and cherish his memory not only as a great Frenchman but as well a great American patriot and major general of the American Army of the Revolution.

Is it extravagant to believe that countless Americans are keeping alive in their hearts the spirit and influence of the souls of Washington and Lafayette, inseparable in their memory? How easy it would be for modern pagans, if there be any such among us, to deify these two Americans as the Greeks and Romans deified their heroes. Yet we may conceive them as in the Valhalla of the illustrious, and we may well pray to them for present and future inspiration in our hopes, struggles, and aspirations and in our desire to be worthy of fellowship with their spirits.

Your excellency, it is surely a happy and poetic augury for the future relations between our two countries that on this sesquicentennial anniversary of the conclusion of these famous treaties, and amid and notwithstanding vastly changed conditions, descendants of the associates and compatriots of Washington and Lafayette and inheritors of the fruits of one of the most important and decisive events in the world's history should not have forgotten the great service then generously rendered to America by France, and should be proclaiming to-day, alike in France and in America, the survival of American gratitude to France, the perseverance of French friendship for America, and the mutual hope that these sentiments and ties, so stirring and inspiring, shall ever be maintained among the traditions and ideals of both nations.

JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a very brief resolution passed by the General Assembly of Virginia relative to matters of public interest, this resolution being addressed to the Virginia delegation in Congress.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following: A joint resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia, protesting against certain freight-rate adjustments, which are discriminatory against and hurtful to interests in that State.

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Constitution of the United States not only does not confer upon Congress the authority to impose tariff and other import duties upon commerce between the States but affirmatively asserts the principle of free and untrammeled commerce between the States; and

Whereas the Interstate Commerce Commission, in recent decisions and opinions, has construed the transportation act and the interstate commerce act to confer upon it the authority not to regulate the conduct of interstate commerce, but to control it to the extent of excluding the commerce of certain States from competitive markets outside their borders and of giving a monopoly of trade in those markets to competitors in other States; and

Whereas this construction of the statutes by the Interstate Commerce Commission will work inevitable and fatal injury to the interchange of all business between the States, and, therefore, to the general welfare of all the people, and said decisions and opinions have already proven injurious to the coal, agricultural, horticultural, manufacturing, and fishing industries of Virginia, by directly impairing its internal business in interstate commerce: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the house of delegates (the senate concurring), That the Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States from the State of Virginia be, and are hereby, requested to do everything in their power to effect such changes in the Federal statutes as will prevent a repetition of such decisions and to have said statutes so amended as to make the construction thereof aforesaid impossible.

Agreed to by house of delegates, February 3, 1928.

JNO. W. WILLIAMS,
Clerk House of Delegates.

Agreed to by the senate, February 3, 1928.

O. V. HAUGE,
Clerk of the Senate.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER. Under the previous order of the House, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CASEY] for one hour.

Mr. GARNER of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CASEY] is going to discuss a question which I think he is as well prepared to discuss as anyone in the House, and one in which the country is very much interested. I think the Members of the House would like to hear this address, and I am going to take the privilege of making the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas makes the point that there is not a quorum present. Evidently there is not a quorum present——

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, when the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 26]

Adkins	Douglas, Ariz.	Johnson, S. Dak.	Schafer
Anthony	Dowell	Kent	Sears, Fla.
Auf der Heide	Doyle	Kindred	Sproul, Ill.
Bacon	Drewry	Kunz	Stalker
Beck, Pa.	Driver	Larsen	Steagall
Beedy	Elliott	Leatherwood	Stedman
Bohn	Fort	Martin, Mass.	Strong, Kans.
Boies	Foss	Mead	Strong, Pa.
Britten	Gallivan	Michaelson	Strother
Burdick	Gilbert	Monast	Sullivan
Campbell	Golder	Moore, N. J.	Taylor, Tenn.
Celler	Goldsborough	Morin	Tucker
Chapman	Graham	Nelson, Wis.	Vestal
Clancy	Griffin	Newton	Williams, Ill.
Collins	Hall, Ill.	Norton, N. J.	Williamson
Connery	Hastings	O'Connor, N. Y.	Wingo
Connolly, Pa.	Hickey	Porter	Winter
Cooper, Ohio	Houston	Prall	Wood
Curry	Hughes	Purnell	Zihlman
Davey	Hull, Morton D.	Reed, Ark.	
Deal	Hull, Tenn.	Romjue	
Dickstein	Igoe	Sabath	

The SPEAKER. Three hundred and forty-six Members have answered "present," a quorum.

On motion of Mr. TILSON, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CONSTRUCTION AT MILITARY POSTS

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 7009) to authorize appropriations for construction at military posts, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the following conferees: Messrs. MORIN, JAMES, and MCSWAIN.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CASEY] is recognized for one hour. [Applause.]

THE BITUMINOUS COAL FIELDS

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I have been given permission to address the House this afternoon for the purpose of placing before its Members and the country specific information relative to the deplorable conditions now prevailing throughout the bituminous coal fields of central and western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and certain sections of West Virginia.

You are no doubt aware that there is an industrial war, commonly called a strike, prevailing in the sections I have mentioned. Many of you, however, are not aware of the outrageous practices imposed upon the strikers, of the insults heaped upon womanhood, of the abuses imposed upon innocent children in western Pennsylvania. Such methods are unjustifiable, unwarranted, unnecessary, and should not, and must not be tolerated in this progressive age. And the soulless corporations responsible for them deserve and should receive the eternal condemnation of every just man and the rebuke of Congress of the United States.

WILKES-BARRE A BEAUTIFUL PLACE

For the information of the Members of the House who were not present on February 1, 1924, when I described the anthracite-coal situation, I desire to inform them that I am a resident of Wilkes-Barre, Pa. That beautiful and historic city, replete with traditional, historic, and patriotic events, famous in song and story, possessing brave men and angelic women, whose goodness and greatness are known everywhere, is situated in the heart of the anthracite coal regions.

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] will assume the chair.

QUITE APPROPRIATE FOR A WOMAN TO PRESIDE

Mr. CASEY. Let me say that it is most fitting and appropriate for a woman to assume the Speaker's chair at this time, because I am going to talk about women, many of them mothers, whose love of home and devotion to duty can not be excelled, and I am going to talk also of children, many of them not more than babies, helpless, undernourished, half starved. She will understand the need of prompt action. Therefore it is quite appropriate for a woman to be in the Speaker's chair. [Applause.]

But before I describe the conditions as I personally viewed them, I desire to reiterate that I am the son of a miner; that I have worked as a breaker boy when only 8 years of age; and that I have followed the usual course a mine boy pursues, from the breaker to the mines.

IMPRINT OF THE TYRANNICAL HEEL

I have lived in the coal company shacks, such as will be described in detail at a later period in my address. I have suffered all the oppressions that it is possible for the iron heel of tyranny to impose upon its humble subjects in the mine patches of this country.

I have lived among miners all my life. And I know them as well as any man in the country. I have found them true to their homes, their country, and their God. They are outstanding citizens, with high-class, ambitious, and aspiring families. They have human hearts. They are true to every trust. They are actuated by high motives. They love peace, but they are not afraid to fight for principle and what they believe is right and just. And when the reports came to the miners of the anthracite region, my friends and my neighbors, through their union, that their fellow miners of the bituminous region were in trouble; that they were suffering as the anthracite workers suffered in the years just past, I promised them that I would investigate and if I found conditions as they described them I would appeal to Congress and the country.

THE DOLLAR PLACED BEFORE JUSTICE

The very next day I was on my way to western Pennsylvania and in that part of the State I spent one week. I visited the mine patches, entered honest though humble homes. I talked with the individual miner and with groups of them. And I interviewed impartial citizens, and after doing so I went to other mine patches and renewed my efforts to get the truth; the whole truth. And after concluding my investigations I stood appalled at the nature of the information I had unearthed; I viewed the scenes all about with intense indignation, and I concluded that I would do everything in my power to right the wrongs so flagrantly imposed by corporations who have put the dollar before justice and human life, and that I

would place this information before Congress and appeal to its sense of justice.

I know that my appeal will not go unanswered; that you, my colleagues, will do your part in reestablishing order; that you will do your part in seeing that the happiness of those unhappy miners is restored; that you will do your part in alleviating the suffering and the distress of the suffering women and famished children.

EXPRESSING ONLY INDIVIDUAL VIEWS

But before I proceed further I again repeat the statement that I made while discussing the anthracite situation, to the effect that anything I may say this afternoon represents only my own personal views. I do not speak as a representative of either the operators or the miners' union, because I do not belong to either organization, but will endeavor to give you an impartial statement of facts as I found them.

THE CASEY RESOLUTION

In the first place, I want to say that some time ago I introduced a resolution in the House which is known as House Resolution 109, a similar resolution having been introduced in the Senate by Senator JOHNSON, of California. This resolution provides for an investigation into the terrible situation in western Pennsylvania, and has been referred to the Committee on Rules of the House.

Resolved, That the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce be, and it is hereby, authorized and directed immediately to make a thorough and complete investigation of the conditions existing in the coal fields of central Pennsylvania, western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio; also to ascertain whether the railroad companies and their officials have been or are, by agreement or otherwise, endeavoring to depress the labor cost of coal produced by union mine labor; also whether in the said coal fields wage contracts have been abrogated or repudiated, whether defenseless men, women, and children, without cause, have been evicted from their homes, and generally what has transpired in the said coal fields, and the reasons for conditions and happenings therein; and in this connection the said committee shall ascertain whether in industrial disputes or strikes in said coal fields injunctions have been issued in violation of constitutional rights, and whether by injunction or otherwise, the rights granted by the Constitution of the United States have been abrogated and denied.

The balance of the resolution provides for the customary subpœnas of witnesses, the contingent expenses, and how the report shall be made.

THE DUTY OF CONGRESS TO ACT

Those who have investigated and are investigating conditions in western Pennsylvania, if they investigated as I have investigated, will sustain the charge of incredulous cruelty; of man's inhumanity to man. They will find, as I have found, that greed and avarice were practiced with impunity; that the gun and the blackjack were given precedence over law; that there was a place where American citizenship did not count; that there was a place where American love of fair play was absent. If the findings were otherwise, I would not be justified in appearing here and requesting the passage of such a resolution.

But knowing conditions as I know them, it is my fervent belief that it is the duty of the House, as the representative of the people of the United States, to provide for such an investigation, so that the great majority of the American people who believe in right over might; who believe that all men are equal before the law; who believe it is the duty of every man and every corporation to make the world a little greater and a little better, will have an opportunity to reflect and to ponder over the barbarous treatment accorded the men, women, and children of the bituminous coal fields of western Pennsylvania.

THE RIGHTFUL ORDER MUST BE RESTORED

It is, in my opinion, the duty of Congress to determine the reason why great corporations lose American ideals in the maelstrom of avarice. It is the duty of Congress to aid in the restoration of righteous industrial conditions. It is the duty of Congress to insist that law and order prevail. It is the duty of Congress to insist that courts of equity order and decree, as it was rightfully intended, with justice for all and favors for none.

It is the duty of Congress to view the economic, industrial, and judicial and interstate ills and prescribe lasting remedies.

THE INTERESTS INVOLVED

On August 10, 1925, when the Jacksonville agreement, to which the vice president and general manager of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. had set their signatures, had a year and nine months to run, notices were posted at all the company's mines announcing that wages were to be slashed one-third, or from $7.50 to $5 a day.

The employees of the company refused to be parties to this breach of faith, and thereupon an army of nonunionists were imported from Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, and other States, and all those negroes knew about mining coal is what they learned in the convict coal mines of their respective States, they having been sentenced to said mines instead of jail after being convicted for violation of law.

THE WHOLESALE EVICTIONS

In order to house these scabs the coal companies began the wholesale evictions, which have since spread throughout western Pennsylvania, encouraged and sustained by an injunction issued by Federal Judge Schoonmaker. Within six months nearly every employee who was a member of the union had been driven from his home.

The action of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. was followed by the Bethlehem Mines Corporation, a subsidiary of Bethlehem Steel, and the Consolidation Coal Co., a subsidiary of the Standard Oil. Appeals were unheeded.

Other operators in western Pennsylvania were persuaded or coerced into joining these tremendously wealthy concerns, but the struggle did not become general until the expiration of the Jacksonville agreement.

MINERS AND OPERATORS UNABLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT

Miners and operators met in Miami, Fla., on February 14, 1927, for the purpose of drafting a new national contract. The operators insisted on a heavy reduction in wages, which the representatives of the miners refused to accept, so the meeting adjourned in a deadlock.

On April 1, 1927, the Jacksonville agreement expired, and the miners in all the union fields suspended work.

Three days before this the policy committee of the United Mine Workers agreed upon a marked concession from the usual policy of the union.

In the interest of a peaceful and speedy settlement and to avoid all possible suffering and inconvenience to both miners and friendly operators, it was decided that the various districts would be allowed to make individual contracts based on the Jacksonville scale. These were to continue until a national agreement had been secured.

INDIVIDUAL SETTLEMENTS EFFECTED

Montana, Michigan, Wyoming, and part of Washington immediately signed up, and production was resumed.

In Illinois the mines were shut down until October 1, when, after a conference at Chicago, it was decided to continue the old agreement until April 1, 1928.

Iowa, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, and Missouri followed the example of Illinois and are now paying the union scale, except in a few districts.

While the Indiana operators refused to sign as an association, individual mine owners came into line, and now about 60 per cent of the output of the State is produced under union conditions. The same situation prevails in Ohio, except that the number of union operators is much smaller.

During this entire period the western Pennsylvania operators, dominated by the Pittsburgh Coal Co., stood adamant against any settlement with the union.

The central Pennsylvania operators, who had signed the temporary agreement, were induced to break away and join the diehards of Pittsburgh on July 1.

This leaves the strike at present confined to the western and central Pennsylvania fields and to a majority of the operators in Ohio and northern West Virginia.

THE REPUDIATED CONTRACT QUOTED

I wish to place in the RECORD a copy of the Jacksonville agreement in order that the solemn and morally binding character of this repudiated contract may be understood:

JACKSONVILLE AGREEMENT

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., *February 19, 1924.*

The following agreement was entered into by the representatives of the coal operators and miners of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania:

1. This joint conference of operators and miners of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania, as now constituted, hereby reaffirms the wage-scale contracts now existing between the United Mine Workers of America and the coal operators whose interests are represented in this conference, and hereby extends the same for a period of three years, from April 1, 1924, to March 31, 1927, in all of their terms, provisions, and conditions. It is understood the execution of this interstate agreement extends, without further negotiations, the district and subdistrict agreements now in effect in the districts affected.

2. That an interstate joint conference of the central competitive field shall assemble the second Monday in February, 1927, at Miami, Fla., and the president of the United Mine Workers of America and the chairman of the joint interstate conference are authorized and instructed to send out notices at the proper time as to the assembling of the conference.

For the operators: Rice Miller, H. C. Perry, P. H. Penna, Hugh Shirkie, S. H. Robbins, J. R. Biddle, J. A. Donaldson, William Henderson.

For the mine workers: Frank Farrington, Harry Fishwick, John Hessler, William Mitch, Lee Hall, William Roy, P. T. Fagan, William Hargest.

Officers of joint conference: Michael Gallagher, chairman; William Green, secretary; Ezra Vanhorn, assistant secretary.

International officers United Mine Workers of America: John L. Lewis, president; Philip Murray, vice president; William Green, secretary-treasurer.

Let us start out then by quoting a few statements, which I believe will give the Members of the House the atmosphere of western Pennsylvania better than I can in my humble way convey to you.

HELL ENLARGING ITSELF

Here is a statement made by the Rev. George Hine, a Baptist minister of Saltillo, Pa.:

Hell is enlarging itself in Pennsylvania. The pot is boiling here, and when it boils over there is sure to be bloodshed.

That statement does not come from an agitator; it comes from a Baptist minister.

Here is another statement:

The Vesta Coal Co. had a gang of gunmen evicting the strikers in that locality, when the officials of the mine workers' union appealed to Joe Edwards, the general manager of the company, to postpone the eviction for a few days until the union could construct barracks to care for the women and children.

HUMANITY TOLD TO GO TO PERDITION

"In the name of humanity do not put these women and children on the roadside these cold nights," said the union official in his appeal to Edwards.

Edwards reply was:

To hell with humanity. I hope they will freeze and rot.

Oh, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, this is the terrible situation. I have here a letter addressed to the House of Representatives of the United States which came in the mail yesterday; I hope you will pay attention to the language of this letter and its construction:

A BLOTCH ON SAVAGERY

718 LINDEN AVENUE,
Johnstown, Pa., February 4, 1928.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C.:

Upon my own volition as a citizen, and without the knowledge of a living soul, I am writing this to request that Pennsylvania be no longer considered a part of the United States. The manner in which this State has been ruled or overruled since the coal miners' strike would be a blotch upon savagery.

I am not a miner, but I know of many cases where peaceable and worthy citizens have been driven from our public highways by vicious, bully State police. They were halted, cursed, and threatened in the vilest, basest manner never conceived of by humanity since the world began.

Horses, clubs, and pointed weapons were used, coupled with the most sanguine threats of violence ever heard by mortal man. All this was issued with the malicious intent to create riots and bloodshed.

I appeal to you in the name of God and righteousness that some steps be taken to civilize Pennsylvania.

I remain, respectfully yours,

ARTHUR J. BENDLE.

APPEALING TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR PROTECTION

This letter was not written by a coal miner, but, like the statement which I have just read to you, which came from the minister of the Baptist Church located at Saltillo, Pa., it is the honest expression of outraged, honest men who are not miners and who are citizens of the United States appealing to this great Government for justice.

THE PRESS IS AROUSED

Not only has protest after protest come from citizens of the highest standing in all walks of life but the great press of this country has been induced by the public indignation, manifested in all quarters, to send investigators to these stricken communities.

LABOR

The national weekly organ of the railroad unions sent a representative to Pittsburgh, who accompanied me on a part of my investigation.

One of the first experiences we encountered was that of seeing the inmates of a bawdy house, maintained on company property and in a company house, haled before Justice of the Peace J. M. O'Rourke.

DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS OPEN AND FLAUNTED

Twenty-three negroes, 8 women and 15 men were taken from a disorderly house by a member of the State constabulary. This house was inside the deadline maintained by coal and iron police, and in a company building.

At the same time a collection of bottles, containing the vilest-smelling alcoholic decoctions, was piled on a table in O'Rourke's office. These, I was told, had been taken from the scabs.

When sentences to pay fines of varying amounts or serve terms of 30 days or thereabouts in jail were pronounced, it developed that the 15 negro scabs, lured to the mining camps by tales of fabulously high wages, had only $29 coming to them in wages for several days' work.

Here is a statement made by the distinguished Member of the House from the thirty-third district of Pennsylvania, Mr. KELLY, as to the character of the strike breakers:

Never before in the history of industrial disputes in any civilized country have entire communities, numbering thousands of men, women, and children, been deported from their homes by private armies of mercenaries acting as public officials, but paid from private funds.

MOST UNDESIRABLE TYPES

These refugees have been replaced by persons of the most undesirable type, not only as workmen but as residents in our cities. This is shown by the large number of colored men, who, because of lack of experience, are being injured in our mines and are becoming burdens on our charitable institutions.

NOTORIOUS VIOLATIONS OF THE PROHIBITION LAWS

Further testimony as to the deplorable moral conditions prevailing in the coal camps is found in a protest sent by Vice President Phil Murray, of the United Mine Workers, to the head of the Federal prohibition enforcement service:

"While the conditions to which we direct your attention are common in the mining camps of western Pennsylvania, known as the Pittsburgh district," said Mr. Murray, "we call your special attention to the notorious violations of the Federal prohibition law in the camps of the Pittsburgh Coal Co."

The Pittsburgh Coal Co. is owned by the Mellons. Andrew Mellon, before becoming Secretary of the Treasury, was a director of the company. Upon entering the Cabinet he turned this position over to his brother, R. B. Mellon.

As Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Mellon is, through the Internal Revenue Bureau, the head of the Federal prohibition enforcement forces. Thus, what the miners are asking is that Secretary Mellon investigate appalling conditions alleged to exist in one of his own properties.

The letter states that nearly 100 murders have occurred in the scab camps, "many of which can be traced to the effect of bootlegging liquor."

DRUNKEN BRAWLS OF COMMON OCCURRENCE

"Drunken brawls are of common occurrence," it continues. Fights and assaults by drunken men and women no longer attract even passing attention. Men and women bootleggers supply liquor to these camps and peddlers of dope circulate among the employees.

It is notorious that this condition has existed in the camps of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. for many months without interference by officers of the law.

"It would be impossible for the Pittsburgh Coal Co. to be ignorant of these wholesale law violations," Vice President Murray says, inasmuch as the "company maintains a large force of private police, who pay no attention to bootleggers, dope peddlers, and addicts."

It is alleged that this deplorable situation arose because of the difficulty encountered in maintaining a force of scabs lured to the mines by stories of big wages and good conditions. When thousands refused to go to work or threatened to leave, "bootleggers, dope peddlers, and prostitutes made their appearance as an inducement to remain."

While some of the camps of other companies are said to be "infested with like conditions," the Pittsburgh Coal Co., by far the largest in the field, and one of the largest in the world, is said to be the first to inaugurate these policies.

That the charges made by Mr. Murray are fully warranted is proven by the fact that the prohibition enforcement officers in Pittsburgh, spurred to activity by the resulting storm of public protest, immediately raided a number of disorderly houses in the mine camps.

A TYPICAL STRIKE BREAKER

Here is another picture—a bewildered and ignorant negro, whom I interviewed when in the strike district. He was known as "Strike-breaking Bill." Under cross-examination by myself and the representative of Labor, he confirmed every charge which has been made as to conditions among the "scabs."

"Where did you come from?" was asked.

"I'se fum No'th Ca'liny," he responded.

"How long have you been strike breaking?"

"Well, boss, I'se been in a heap of strikes. I just don't remembah."

"Did you ever make any good money?"

BUSTED, HIS MIDDLE NAME

"No, suh. I always went to them jobs busted and left the same way."

"How are you making out here?"

"Not so good, boss, not so good. Things is gettin' mighty tough 'round heah. When I comes they pays me dollah and one cent fuh a ton of pick wuk. Then they cuts me to ninety-fo' cents and now they only pays eighty-fo' cents."

"How much do you make?"

"Well, suh, I makes by my 'count 'bout hundred and eighty-fo' dollahs last month."

"How much did they give you?"

"Well, boss, I gets thutty dollars scrip and they checks me off foty dollahs fo' bo'd."

"What became of the other $110?"

"I doesn't know exactly, suh; different things."

"Did you buy any clothes?"

"No, suh, I didn't buy no ga'mints."

WORKERS ARE PAID IN SCRIP

At this point Bill rolled his eyes and refused to answer any more questions until assured that "none of them coppahs was 'round."

Convinced of this fact, he then, in a confidential outburst, said:

"Hit don' do no good to kick. They keeps the books. So what can yo' do. I'ss gettin' mighty discu-aged. I'se all scrip up so I haint got nothin'."

A former checkweighman asked him how much they were allowed for a car of coal.

"'Bout thutty or thutty-fo' hundred," he responded.

According to this union checkweighman the correct weight is around 4,500 pounds.

"Well, boss," remarked poor, bewildered Bill, scratching his wool, "I guess tha's right. They cuts yo' every way they knows how."

In addition to a program of systematic debauchery of the strike breakers, they are so miserably underpaid as to be unable to purchase even the barest necessities of life. The following is the wage scale of the Mellon concern, the Pittsburgh Coal Co.:

PITTSBURGH COAL CO. NEW WAGE SCALE

The severe depression in the coal market at the present time makes it necessary for us to readjust wages. We feel that the scale listed below will result in more work for you.

Beginning January 10, 1928, wages in effect at this mine will be as follows:

	Scale	Jacksonville scale	Cut
Tonnage rates:			
Pick mining	$0.85	$1.11	$0.26
Loading after machines	.58	.77	.19
Cutting, short wall or breast machines	.11	.17	.06
Yardage rates (rates per yard):			
Loading in entries, entry break throughs and necks	.74	.97½	.23½
Cutting in entries, entry break throughs and necks	.18	.24	.06

No change in dead work (don't pay any).

INSIDE DAY-LABOR RATES

Motormen	$5.60	$7.60	$2.00
Shot firers and trackmen	5.52	7.50	1.98
Brakemen, drivers, wiremen, bratticemen, and bottom cagers	5.44	7.50	2.06
Pumpers and trackmen helpers	5.04	7.25	2.21
Cleaning drains, bratticemen helpers, couplers, greasers, spraggers, and other inside labor	4.72	7.25	2.53

OUTSIDE DAY-LABOR RATES

Dumper	$5.04	$6.66	$1.62
Tipple labor	4.08	6.60	2.52
General outside labor	4.08	6.60	2.52

But this is not the worst. The strike breakers are being overcharged by the company bookkeepers.

It is the common practice to charge up against the poor, ignorant strike breaker every cent he may be credited with having earned. So common is this practice that there is a slang phrase to describe it.

THE "THREE PINK KISSES"

Here is one of the so-called "three pink kisses" statements. At the end of two weeks when the miner has nothing coming to him, the company indicates that by placing on the statement at the place marked "balance due" three red crosses. This is a typical statement, and it is nothing unusual under present conditions for a miner to receive "three pink kisses" at the end of two weeks' work.

WORKERS ALWAYS IN DEBT TO THE COMPANY

A boy, H. Gabel, earned $31.24 in two weeks. From this amount the company charged him 4 cents for smithing; $1.20 for rent; he was charged $30 for moving; making his debt just $31.24, the same as his earnings, leaving him no balance. This means that the man had to draw from the company's stores the food necessary to keep him and his family alive. Therefore, next week he will again be indebted to the company, and may run for weeks and weeks before he gets any cash at all in his pay envelope.

Here is another statement: This shows that the miner earned $21.48 in the two weeks, and again he is charged with equal amount by the company, leaving him only the three pink kisses for his pay day. In this instance he was charged $1 for assignments, 10 cents for smithing, $9.69 for his tools, $1.85 for powder, $8.23 for board, and 65 cents for an electric mine lamp.

I want the Members to note that the miners are required not only to pay for their tools but also for keeping their tools in condition—that is the item called smithing—and are charged with the cost of the powder used for blasting in the mine. He must also pay for his lamp and for the upkeep or fuel for the lamp, as the case may be.

Here is an even more interesting example: James Harrison was a strike breaker in the Pittsburgh Coal Co. mines. I was shown a slip for his earnings for two weeks ending April 30, 1927:

The slip shows that Harrison is credited with $39.58 for two weeks' work, ending April 30, 1927. This is at the rate of less than $20 a week for mining coal!

NOT A PENNY LEFT

He was checked off for "miscellaneous items" amounting to $17.71, and the exact remainder, $21.87, was taken from him "for board."

It is the settled policy of those coal companies to keep the nonunionists "broke." Then they will have to stick to their jobs.

Two of the "miscellaneous items" are especially interesting. One is $5.50 for "check weighman."

There is no such position in the Pittsburgh Coal Co. mines. Check weighmen are found only in union mines. They are employed by the unions to prevent short-weighing the men on their coal. The union officials were perplexed and amazed at the effrontery of entering such an item in a scab's account.

But the second item is even more astonishing. The sum of $8.30 is entered as "miner's dues."

STRIKE BREAKERS ASSESSED TO PAY FOR ENSLAVEMENT

Officials of the United Mine Workers say they can prove that this charge represents the sum the operators are exacting from all scabs for "police protection."

In other words, they are forcing the scabs to pay the enormous bills incurred for coal and iron police, deputy sheriffs, stockades, machine guns, and other features of the State martial law which is being maintained in western Pennsylvania in order to break the union.

The strike breakers are kept in actual peonage and unmercifully beaten by the coal and iron police when they attempt to escape.

Here is another testimonial from one of the most conservative papers in the United States, the New York Daily News.

The News is supposed to have the largest circulation of any paper in the United States. Its owners are regarded as ultra-conservative. The writer of the articles on the coal situation, Lowell M. Limpus, got part of his education at West Point and served as an officer in the World War.

A PREJUDICED OBSERVER

He says very frankly that he went into the coal fields prejudiced against the miners and anxious to "show them up." For an entire month, accompanied by a photographer, he wandered through the coal camps, interviewing all classes, from the chiefs of the big corporations to the half-starved "kids" of the striking miners.

When the coal and iron police discovered what he was doing they threw Limpus and his photographer into jail; but, of course, they were soon released. You can not treat the reporter of a great newspaper like you would a striking coal miner!

In his first article in the New York News Limpus gives a summary of what he saw in Pennsylvania. He says, in part:

I have just returned from a visit to hell in Pennsylvania. I have seen horrible things there, things which I almost hesitate to enumerate and describe.

I can scarcely expect my story to be believed. I did not believe it myself when the situation was first outlined to me.

Then I went into the coal camps of western and central Pennsylvania and saw for myself.

For nearly a month Herbert J. McCrory, of the News staff, and I made the rounds of the strike-cursed towns. Many times it seemed impossible to think we were in modern, civilized America.

We saw thousands of women and children literally starving to death.

We found hundreds of destitute families living in crudely constructed, bare, board shacks. They had been evicted from their homes by the coal companies.

We unearthed a system of despotic tyranny reminiscent of Czar-ridden Siberia at its worst.

We found police brutality and industrial slavery.

We discovered the weirdest flock of injunctions that ever emanated from American temples of justice.

We unearthed evidence of terrorism and counterterrorism, of mob beatings, and near lynchings, of dishonesty, graft, and heartlessness.

MACHINE GUNS AND TEAR-GAS BOMBS READY

We located machine guns and tear-gas bombs prepared to back up the ready rifles that wait to crush any rebellion of hunger-crazed men, and near by we heard the children of those men, striking miners, crying for food in empty kitchens.

We interviewed strikers and prosperous coal company officials, magistrates and State police, priests and preachers, mine superintendents and company troopers, officials of organized labor, who are backing the strike to the limit, and the guarded strike breakers that work in the mines, sheriffs, deputies, merchants, and neutrals.

We were entertained, cajoled, persuaded, and browbeaten. We were threatened. We were praised. We were arrested, and we were released.

And we uncovered the truth.

The mine fields are a bubbling cauldron of trouble. If it boils over—and it threatens to do so—blood must flow freely and many lives pay the forfeit.

Regardless of who is right and who is wrong in the desperate strife between the operators and the 85,000 striking miners, the children constitute the tragedy of Pennsylvania to-day.

WHAT FANNIE HURST SAW

Fannie Hurst, one of the most eminent writers in America, also visited the coal fields. Here is a typical extract from a number of articles written by her:

It is less than two years since I returned from a tour of Russia, but in the brief survey of strike conditions in this city I can safely say that I have never beheld the equal of the scenes of human squalor, degradation, poverty, and misery that exist here on the outskirts of Pittsburgh. * * *

Regardless of who is right and who is wrong in the issues at stake, this uncivilized spectacle of families evicted from their homes and living like dogs among slops in kennels opposite the very thresholds of their vacant homes is wrong.

CHILDREN GO HUNGRY

Children are hungry and sore-eyed in these kennels. Mothers have not the milk for their wretched babies.

The civilization which countenances the wretchedness that exists along the hems of this fine city becomes a horror. * * *

This is Pittsburgh's fight This is America's fight. This is humanity's fight. Trade unionism, the right of man to organize and protect himself against man's inhumanity to man, is at stake.

Why, after two years and a half of an unspeakably degraded and degrading situation, is there no relief or end in sight? Why has there not been local or national intervention? Both sides say they would welcome it. Which side lies? Or do both? Or do neither? Why have the problems fundamental to this situation—overproduction, living wage, collective bargaining, interstate commerce, etc.—remained mere phrases—while Rome burns and Pittsburgh fiddles?

I shall have to hurry on, as I see my time is going quite rapidly, but I want to say to you this: I have not time to read it, but I have it here, and any of you men who are interested who will take the time to get a copy of the proceedings of the conference called by the American Federation of Labor in Pittsburgh on November 14, you will get there the story as it has never been told before and never will be told again.

ORGANIZED LABOR AROUSED

Let me say in explanation: When this strike was on and just preceding the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Los Angeles last fall, the American Federation of Labor sent its trained investigators into the Pittsburgh coal fields, so that they might have the real facts to lay before the convention for such action as it might desire to take.

When these trained investigators made their report to the officials of the American Federation of Labor in convention at Los Angeles, the convention decided by a unanimous vote that the situation was too serious for them to pass judgment upon it at that time, with the result that they adjourned the convention and issued a call for a conference of all the officers of the international unions in the United States and Canada and of the State of Pennsylvania, so that they might canvass the situation and get the facts in relation to it.

That is the conference I speak of. At that time Mr. Philip Murray, vice president of the United Mine Workers of America and the official in direct charge of the strike in the coal fields of western Pennsylvania, made a statement with reference to the situation there. If you will get that statement and read it, it will give you all the information you desire. John Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, made a similar statement, giving additional information to that given by Philip Murray, and, in addition, a former Governor of Pennsylvania, Hon. Gifford Pinchot, made a statement explaining the police powers of the State and sets forth their relation with reference to the industrial disputes that I am now speaking about. Those three statements tell the story as it has never been told before. They read as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. GIFFORD PINCHOT

President Green, Mr. Lewis, gentlemen, I can not begin to say how much I appreciate what President Green was kind enough to say about me. If I came out of those four years at Harrisburg with the reputation of a square guy that is about all a man can hope for.

I have known Mr. Green for a great many years, and there are a great many among you here whom I have a right to class as my friends. Some of you I have fought side by side with in a good many fights. Phil Murray and John Lewis I fought with side by side in the last fight of the numerous fights in which I have been licked from time to time. That was in the fight for the senatorship. We were licked financially—financially, you hear me—morally we were not licked, and that is worth remembering; but I shall never cease to be grateful for the support the miners of Pennsylvania gave me then, and, more than that, because the miners of Pennsylvania in the east and in the west did what they said they were going to do and did it a hundred per cent. And I like that kind of thing.

I have a written speech—it is pretty tough on an audience to present a written speech, but I am no good at any other kind of speech, and I am not much good at this. I wrote it out because I think the questions you are going to deal with are as important as any questions that can be dealt with, and I feel very deeply about them. This is what I want to say:

The fundamental power of the State is the power to do justice. That power underlies every other. It is the power which gives the Commonwealth its reason and its right to live.

STATE MUST DO JUSTICE

The power to do justice is the duty to do justice. To do justice between man and man and between groups of men—justice to all alike, rich and poor, strong and weak, wise and ignorant, good and bad—justice without respect of persons, of position, of occupation, or of wealth.

Nowhere is the duty of the State to do justice more binding than in industrial disputes, for nowhere is human welfare and opportunity more directly at stake. To preserve the public peace, to protect both life and property, and to do it without fear or favor—that is to do justice when industrial conflicts are to the fore.

To do justice means that the State must neither harass capital nor bludgeon labor. To do either is to violate the basic principles of our Government. There has been little attempt by Government in the United States to harass employers in labor disputes, but there has been much bludgeoning of labor, and to bludgeon labor is little short of idiocy. I can think of no less likely way to get an American workingman back on his job.

The official or the administration which uses or winks at the use of the power of the State to coerce either labor or capital during an industrial dispute may think he is the friend of the side he favors, and so may the favored party. But they are both dead wrong. Justice is as much in the interest of the decent employer as it is of the decent employees, and injustice in the long run is fully as dangerous to the side that is unduly favored as it is to the side that is unfairly oppressed.

When the State exercises its powers with due consideration for justice and the lawful rights of all concerned, it keeps the door open to peace; but when it plays the part of the tyrant, it does what the tyrant has always done—it embitters those it brutalizes, turns peaceful contention into open warfare, prolongs the disputes it tries to foreclose, and produces the most valuable sort of ammunition for those who would pervert or pollute our national institutions.

VIOLENCE CAN BE PREVENTED

When both sides in an industrial dispute know that the State will give each a square deal, that neither will get more and neither less, that the State will smash and repress violence on one side as promptly as it will violence on the other side, that the State will not stand for transgression of the law no matter by whom, there is little, if any, danger of violence. Nine-tenths of the violence that occurs in strikes would be prevented by the mere exercise of courage and justice on the part of the men who have charge of the Government at the time.

During my four years at Harrisburg there were two strikes or suspensions in the anthracite region. In one of them the more than 150,000 anthracite miners were idle for more than five months in the longest suspension in the history of the hard-coal mines.

In the bituminous region of western Pennsylvania a very large percentage of the 300,000 soft coal miners were on strike almost continuously during the whole of my four years. These strikes in the bituminous field were caused by the failure of the operators to live up to the wage agreement made with the United Mine Workers at Jacksonville in 1923. They were accompanied by the most serious provocation, such as the eviction of men, women, and children, young and old, sick and well, from their homes in the dead of winter. Over this kind of outrage I had no legal power, but I checked some of it by vigorous public protests by name against the men and the companies who were guilty of it.

But neither in the anthracite nor in the bituminous field was there any serious public disturbance. There was scarcely the slightest disorder in either field during my four years which could not have occurred equally well if the mines had been working full time.

I do not know of any other four years in the history of Pennsylvania while strikes were going on when the State kept so scrupulously in the middle of the road, and when there was such complete freedom from riots and violence.

MINERS PEACEFUL AND LAW-ABIDING

For this there were three reasons. First, the miners and their leaders were essentially law abiding, and were not looking for trouble. It was the policy of the unions to avoid violence and preserve order.

Second, the miners knew they were getting a square deal from the State. They understood that the State had as much regard for human rights as it had for property rights.

Third, they were convinced, and so were the operators, that the State would instantly put down violence of any kind from either side, and would not allow itself to be made use of by either side.

Labor avoided violence because it had learned, not from hearsay but directly from me by word of mouth that I would stand for no violence. Capital ceased to employ its well-known methods of coercion in the coal fields because it had learned from me that I would not stand for violence. My business was to maintain the peace against any one who undertook to break it, capital or labor, gunmen or miners. I proposed to see that justice was done and that peace was maintained, and both sides knew it.

In strikes and suspensions in the mines before my time, the State took the side of the employer as a matter of course. It gave the employer the whole police power of the State to use in substantially any way he chose to use it. At his request it commissioned as special police officers, authorized to exercise the police power of the State, any men the employer chose to name, including in countless cases thugs and gunmen of the most depraved and despicable type.

COAL AND IRON POLICE INCITE VIOLENCE

These men were not protectors of peace but inciters to violence, for their interest was to bring about disorders in order to prolong their own employment. Consequently, they used violence to provoke violence so that they might be needed to repress it.

Then, after disturbances thus provoked took place, the Commonwealth sent the State police or the State militia to finish the job.

I do not say that the miners were always free from blame, but I do say they often had great provocation. I do not say that every operator was guilty, but I do say that many of them used men and methods that were both brutal and outside the law.

One of the pledges upon which I was elected was to give every man, woman, and child in Pennsylvania a Roosevelt square deal. In any strike that meant that I must keep the Commonwealth squarely on the side of peace and justice, and on no other side whatsoever.

Less than two weeks after I became governor I took the first step toward peace and justice in the coal fields by issuing an order to break up the current practice of commissioning criminals and other professional makers of trouble as coal and iron police.

On January 28, 1923, I issued a statement in which I said:

"Commissions as special policemen for corporation issued by the (previous) governor in the last two years number 5,800 * * * So far as I can ascertain, no investigation of any sort has ever been made into the character of any of these men by the State of Pennsylvania before intrusting them with the police powers of the Commonwealth.

* * * * * * *

"* * * (They have) not only been appointed without any effort to determine their fitness, but once appointed they are wholly without supervision by State authorities. * * *

"Hereafter no special policeman will be appointed, except in the event of some great emergency, until he has filled out satisfactorily a form giving full information concerning himself, and until his capability, reliability, and reputation for sobriety and peaceableness, as the law specifies, have been certified under oath by two reputable citizens of the Commonwealth who have themselves been Pennsylvanians for at least three years. * * *"

I intended to see to it, and I think it is fair to say I did see to it, that no more gunmen from New York and other places would be imported into Pennsylvania to make trouble here.

TWO-THIRDS GUNMEN

We began the elimination of the crooks and gunmen among the coal and iron police, and the application of the law's requirements to new applicants at once. We cleaned out two-thirds of them. Instead of the 5,800 promiscuous and largely criminal characters that held commissions as private policemen from my predecessor when I went into office, there were 2,000 reasonably decent officers when I left, and the State had made a thorough investigation of every one of them.

Some of the coal companies changed their attitudes and began sending in only the names of good men. These companies approved of and cooperated fully with the new position of the State. Other companies continued their effort to get commissions for plug-uglies and thugs—and did not get them.

Before I came into office these coal and iron policemen not only were given their commissions without investigation but they did their work without supervision from the State whose power they exercised. I put an end to that by appointing a State police officer whose courage and even-handed sense of justice had won him the confidence, both of the labor unions and of the better class of employers.

In a statement on December 6, 1923, I said:

"* * * Sergeant Freeman's duty will be to keep in close touch with the activities of private policemen, see that objectionable characters are weeded out from the force, or refused appointments, and that the abuses which have in the past been committed by private policemen are not hereafter repeated. * * *"

This marked the end of the worst of our troubles with the coal and iron police. What tendency to violence remained promptly disappeared, but until the very end of my term we continued to uncover a few cases of dishonesty among private policemen, some of whom had been stealing from their employers for years. They had been given the power to arrest and all the rest of it, but we put an end to that. Getting the private policemen cleaned up was a matter of not a little difficulty and importance, for there were twenty times as many of them as there were of the State police.

The State police themselves, to whose selection and training the State had given as great attention as it gave little to that of the special policemen before I came into office, were given the strictest orders to stay within their proper sphere of keeping the peace. They must not be for either side in any labor dispute, but only for the peace and dignity of the State. They took just that position and they handled themselves with a degree of impartial justice which won them the respect and confidence of operators and miners alike during my four years.

I have read with the deepest sorrow and indignation the account of the beating of men and women by police officers at Cheswick, near Pittsburgh, on August 22 of this year. Nothing like that happened during my time, for nothing like that would have been tolerated for one moment, and everybody knew it. The police reflect the will of the administration.

POLICE SHOULD NOT BE STRIKE BREAKERS

In spite of the vicious custom which has grown up in Pennsylvania, at the very outset of my term I made it clear that I would not stand for the use of the State police as strike breakers. From beginning to end of my four years I believe it is fair to say that the State police held the balance even in every labor dispute in which they were concerned. I had as many requests from labor to put or keep State police in neighborhoods where strikes were going on as from capital, and practically none from either side to take them out.

One fruitful source of trouble in the bituminous region I was not able, for lack of authority, entirely to control. That was the appointment of sheriffs of men hired by the companies to be deputy sheriffs in the strike areas. These hired deputies often or always found it to their advantage to promote disorder and prolong the strike. Furthermore, the most important, case after case came to my attention where sheriffs were paid by the coal companies so much per day for every man deputized by them at the companies' request.

These men were often fully as undesirable characters as those whom I had thrown off the list of State commissioned private policemen, but the mere knowledge that the administration meant what it said about preserving the peace, and would stand for no violence on their part, made them peaceable to a point that was unknown before.

In all this I did nothing but my obvious duty, and no man deserves much credit for that. I gave labor nothing to which it was not entitled and refused to capital nothing that it ought to have had.

But labor had had so much less than its due from the State, and capital so much more than its right, that my position was new and strange. I got much praise from organized labor and much blame from organized capital, when I deserved neither the one nor the other. I simply did the square and decent thing.

This meeting is a protest against the control of government by money for the sake of making more money. It is a protest against putting the dollar above the man and the woman and the child. It is a part of that great struggle which we face to-day in the United States as we never have faced it before in my time—the struggle to restore this Government to the ideals of the Constitution, to make it again what it is in theory but no longer in fact, a government of laws and not of influence, of honest votes and not of crooked money, of both human rights and property rights, and not of property rights alone, a government not of a ruling class, but of all the people.

The following speech was made to the conference by Phil Murray, who has been the field general of the United Mine Workers in this great fight for existence.

ADDRESS OF PHILIP MURRAY, INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT, UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

Mr. President, distinguished guests, fellow trade unionists, at the outset I desire to express to the national and international organizations, the central trades bodies and the State Federation of Labor, as well as to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, the appreciation of the United Mine Workers of America for your coming here this afternoon to give special consideration to the mining situation. I know that before you leave you will devise some definite policy having for its ultimate purpose something that will be of material benefit to the United Mine Workers of America and to the labor movement generally.

The story which I am about to tell you is an unusual one, in that it had its inception some 28 months ago with a powerful coal corporation abrogating the provisions and conditions of a contract made between the representatives of that coal corporation and the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America. This contract was negotiated in the city of Jacksonville, Fla., in the month of February, 1924, between the bituminous coal operators of the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania, and the United Mine Workers of America from the same territories.

Assisting in the making of that agreement we found, not only the representatives of the coal operators and the mine workers, but we also found substantial representatives of the Government of the United States, who, in the interest of the Nation, in the interest of the welfare of the people and to prevent the possibility of an industrial catastrophe, sought to bring about a wage agreement that would guarantee a continuity of production and assist in the stabilization of the bituminous mining industry.

A no less distinguished gentleman than Mr. Hoover, Secretary of the Department of Commerce, and Mr. James J. Davis, Secretary of the Department of Labor, loaned their high offices in behalf of the Government in an effort to compose the differences of the mine workers and the operators at that time and prevent a strike of magnitude. So when the Pittsburgh Coal Co. abrogated its contract with the United Mine Workers of America on August 10, 1925, they not only repudiated an agreement made with their own employees and our organization, but they also deliberately and maliciously slapped the Government of the United States in the face, in that they violated the promise they had made to the people of the United States when they signed that agreement to abide by its terms and provisions until March 31, 1927.

PITTSBURGH COAL CO. LEADS

Beginning on the 10th day of August, 1925, this Pittsburgh Coal Co., which employed approximately 19,000 coal miners in western Pennsylvania, had notices posted at the mines to the effect that from that date they expected to cut the wages 33⅓ per cent. They invited their employees to return to work—they were all members of the United Mine Workers of America—and asked them to join in a conspiracy to defeat the aims of an agreement which had been made between the representatives of both associations.

The members of the United Mine Workers of America refused to join the conspiracy, contending that their organization had an agreement, that it had been the fundamental policy of the mine workers' organization to at all times adhere strictly to the provisions of a trade agreement, and they would not join in a conspiracy to violate this agreement. The Pittsburgh Coal Co. thereupon imported from States south of the Ohio River, namely, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and elsewhere a large number of men to take the places of the union mine workers who had refused to accept a wage reduction.

To house these strike breakers they were importing into the mine fields of western Pennsylvania the Pittsburgh Coal Co. determined to prosecute a policy of wholesale evictions. As a result, within a period of six months they succeeded in evicting every former employee of that corporation who was a member of our organization. Following that action the Pittsburgh Coal Co. and the Bethlehem Mines Corporation, officered as it is by Mr. Schwab, abrogated its contract with the United Mine Workers of America, set the mine workers out in the street, imported strike breakers from almost every section of the United States, and proceeded with this unholy crusade to deflate wages and destroy the principle of collective bargaining. The work of strike breaking on the part of these two companies has continued for a period of approximately 28 months. Up to date, according to the best figures obtainable, there have been no desertions from the ranks of our organization among the former employees of these two organizations, so the mines that are conducting their crusade are manned by strangers imported from other States.

TYPE OF STRIKE BREAKERS

Who are those strangers? What type of men have been imported into the mining fields? Are they skilled miners? Does their productivity compare with that of the miners there formerly? Statistics show that the average productivity of those men is about 50 per cent efficient; that is, each strike breaker can produce approximately one-half as much coal as a union man formerly employed in those mines. The records which we have in our office, and which have been made public from time to time by the corporations, prove that statement.

Approximately 85 per cent of all the strike breakers who have been imported into the mining fields of western Pennsylvania are colored men without any previous experience in mining. They are of the lowest possible type, in that they have no particular aspirations; they are of the floating population who have no desire to improve themselves, their wives and families, the State or the Nation. They do not contribute in any way to the welfare of the Nation.

The record these strike breakers have made can be found—I speak of this with particular reference to the criminal record—in the office of the coroner of Allegheny County, Washington County, Westmoreland County, and Fayette County, and it will show that since the beginning of this strike-breaking campaign in the Pittsburgh district there have been approximately 85 murders committed in the mining camps among the strike breakers themselves.

No longer ago than last Friday two strike breakers were engaged in some kind of a game of chance in a den of iniquity at Red Hill, on the outskirts of this city, and as a result of a quarrel one took an ax and hit the other square in the face with it, scattering his brains on the floor. I could catalogue a large number of such murders that have been committed in the mining camps of western Pennsylvania by strike breakers and coal and iron police since the beginning of the present strike.

On the other hand, as to the observance of the law and respect for constituted authority, the United Mine Workers of America has made what it feels is a commendable record. In our communities we have maintained an observance and a respect for the constituted authorities that has won for us the commendation of the people who live in and around these mining communities. Our people have been persecuted; they have been browbeaten and bludgeoned by an army of coal and iron policemen, deputy sheriffs, recruited by these coal companies in numbers even exceeding the amount Governor Pinchot referred to as the number employed in the manufacturing industries and around the coal mines prior to his assuming the office of governor.

PROFESSIONAL THUGS EMPLOYED

There is no one here who is able to estimate the actual number of professional gunmen who are manning the properties of these coal corporations in western Pennsylvania. It is a safe and I believe a very conservative estimate to say there are at least 3,000 professional gunmen manning the coal mines in western Pennsylvania to-day. I have here a list of 218 affidavits in my hand, just collected recently. They were not collected through all the period of the strike, which has lasted 28 months, but in the last few weeks, each detailing some kind of atrocity that has been committed by a coal and iron policeman, a deputy sheriff, or a State policeman employed by some coal corporation in Western Pennsylvania. Here is one:

Last Thursday two members of the United Mine Workers' organization who never were arrested in their lives, who had never violated a law, were walking from their homes to the post office in a little mining town on the outskirts of Pittsburgh. They were accosted by five coal and iron policemen, and without any provocation taken to the barracks of the coal and iron policemen, beaten on their ribs, their stomachs, their faces, and their heads with the butt of a high-powered rifle. Then they were dragged to the county jail, taken before a magistrate, who is subsidized by the coal corporations, charged with disorderly conduct and a few other things, then held in $1,500 bail for offenses never committed.

I have a picture of one of them in my hand. His face is beaten beyond recognition. He lost all of his teeth and there is a cavity in the top of his head. His ribs are crushed. He is now at his home, and Dr. Paul Franklin, a reputable physician, says it is questionable whether he will live or not. This is only one out of the 218 cases we have the records of here, and there are thousands of others in our possession.

Here is a gentleman who, only 10 days ago, was clubbed over the head with an ax in the hands of a deputy sheriff. A friend rushed to

his assistance. The friend was almost naked; he rushed out of his house in his bare feet. The coal and iron policemen and deputy sheriffs picked both of them up, took them away, and their friends were unable to find them for three days.

CHILDREN ASSAULTED

I hold in my hand the picture of four boys, the oldest 10 years of age. They are the sons of miners who are on strike. These boys were arrested at the Cloverdale Mine, 4 miles out of Pittsburgh, for inciting to riot and disorderly conduct, and haled before a local magistrate. Talk about a travesty on justice!

I understand it is the purpose of this conference to investigate and look into the evidence which we are submitting here this afternoon. The conference can have these 218 affidavits, and if you decide to have the matter brought to the attention of the authorities or the Governor of our Commonwealth, the affidavits are at your disposal.

To-day in western Pennsylvania we have approximately 8,000 eviction cases pending; that is, we anticipate that some 8,000 families will be dispossessed of their homes in the mining camps of western Pennsylvania within the next six weeks. We are not at liberty to take advantage of the courts in an effort to test the validity of these company leases, for the reason that we have a Federal restraining order here, an injunction, and the court in its wisdom has decreed that no surety company can put up any bonds to protect any of the miners who occupy those houses, nor can our organization use its treasury to defend the occupants of those company houses in the courts of Pennsylvania. All that is necessary under the circumstances is for a coal company to issue a formal notice to one of the miners occupying one of its houses, notifying him to vacate, and if he does not leave within the specified time it is incumbent upon the sheriff of the county to throw his furniture out into the street.

Within the last three weeks the United Mine Workers of America has housed 1,500 families in the Pittsburgh district. We have built emergency houses, called barracks, for 800 of those families and provided shelter of different kinds for the remainder. There is a total of 45,000 mine workers in the Pittsburgh district affected directly by this strike. According to the figures which we have collected, there are 28,000 families in the district, a majority of whom will be affected by this eviction process.

Since the beginning of the strike in this district there have been 175,000 strike breakers imported into the mining communities of western Pennsylvania. If any of you men representing national and international unions will stay in the city over to-morrow I would like to have you visit Grant Street before you go, and Market Street, the headquarters of the Pittsburgh Coal Co., and the Wabash Building, headquarters of the Pittsburgh Terminal Co. If you do you will see a stream of strangers, coming from God knows where, being taken by runners to busses and trains to ship out to the mines to work as strike breakers.

You might ask if we have protested this abuse of the police powers in Pennsylvania. Shortly after April 1, as a result of an attack that was made upon our people by several State policemen at Bridgeville, a small community on the outskirts of this city, I went to Harrisburg and called upon the governor, acquainted him with the facts, and asked him for an impartial investigation. He told me he would detail certain special representatives of the Commonwealth to make a speedy investigation of the matter.

"MOCK" INVESTIGATIONS

As a result of my request, Captain Mock, of the State police, was delegated to make an investigation, to look into the conduct of his own fellow policemen. He visited Bridgeville, visited our district headquarters, made what he intended to be or what he called an investigation, and later submitted his report to the governor. The report was framed in language designed to defeat the aims of the United Mine Workers of America. It condemned the mine workers and their union and substantially blamed them for that affair.

I went to Bridgeville myself and called upon the business men, the doctors, the lawyers, and the churchmen. I asked them if they had attended this meeting of the mine workers' organization on April 1, when it was alleged the State policemen had ridden their horses through the crowds and trampled on women and children. They said they were there, and each of them gave an affidavit condemning the State policemen and upholding the mine workers' organization. They stated that none of our members had committed any violence at the meeting that day. Yet the governor accepted the report of Captain Mock and closed the incident. He never communicated with me at all.

State policemen are manning every strike-breaking mine in western Pennsylvania, and the same is true of central Pennsylvania. Many of them live in company houses and ride around in the automobiles of the superintendents. They ride their horses among women and children; they arrest people and hale them before local magistrates, testify against them, and do everything that is done by strike breakers to hamper the mine workers' organization.

SHERIFFS PROSTITUTE OFFICES

Sheriffs of the four counties comprising our jurisdiction in western Pennsylvania and the sheriffs of the mining counties in central Pennsylvania, shortly after April 1, issued proclamations prohibiting more than three miners from congregating at any place in any of these counties. We violated these sheriffs' proclamations and held our meetings; and then the coal companies asked for deputy sheriffs to enforce these proclamations. They recommended to the sheriffs the individuals they wanted appointed; they got their own men; and as a result hundreds of deputy sheriffs are also stationed at the mining camps of central and western Pennsylvania.

Each deputy sheriff is paid by the coal company. It is my understanding that each of these sheriffs receives a commission from the coal companies for giving them the services of the deputies, the commission amounting to from $3 to $5. These deputy sheriffs are not sympathetic; as a matter of fact, they carry out the instructions of the superintendents of the mines and the policies of the companies. They do all the coal and iron policemen do and what many of the State policemen do.

You might ask: "What do the local authorities do about this? You have local policemen in those municipalities who are elected by the taxpayers. They are the regular peace officers." The coal operators of central and western Pennsylvania pay no attention to the peace officers; they ignore them, and see to it at all times that the work of maintaining the peace of the communities, as the coal companies see it, is carried out by State policemen, deputy sheriffs, and coal and iron policemen. You can appreciate from this the tremendous handicap the mine workers' organization has to overcome.

What virtue is there in the position the United Mine Workers have taken with regard to wages? Is there anything the public is not acquainted with as to the wages for which the mine workers are struggling? The mine workers of central and western Pennsylvania and West Virginia are fighting for a maximum wage of $7.50 a day for skilled men inside the mine, mechanics, the highest paid men in and around the mine. The disorganized condition of the industry enables them to get work to do approximately 160 days in the year. Multiply that by $7.50 and it amounts to a total gross earning of $1,200 a year. There isn't anything unreasonable in a demand coming from a man who works in a coal mine for a wage that will enable him to make $1,200 a year.

The representatives of the mine workers' organization, in an effort to compose the difference existing between the coal operators and the members of our union, have sought from time to time to set up what we believe to be constructive cooperating agencies, having for their ultimate purpose the stabilization of the mining industry of this country; but evidently the only solution the coal operators see lies in the direction of wage degradation and a lowering of our living standards.

OPERATORS WILL NOT NEGOTIATE

The strike which took place the 1st of April this year came about as a result of the unwillingness of the bituminous operators of the country to even negotiate, to even discuss from the standpoint of logic and reason the relative positions of both parties. The operators contended at the beginning of the conference that they must be given a wage reduction, and at the end of the conference they were still contending for that wage reduction, giving no consideration to constructive agencies that would have for their purpose a stabilization of the industry, that would guarantee our people a reasonable wage with greater continuity of employment.

That situation—and I speak now with particular reference to the Miami conference—brought about a suspension in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and included many companies that were formerly respecting the terms of their agreements with the United Mine Workers of America. Among the companies in western Pennsylvania whose mines closed down on April 1, and who have since been employing strike breakers, is the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Co. Beginning the 15th of April this company started importing strike breakers.

They posted notices and gave interviews to the newspapers, advising the public through the medium of the press, that it was their purpose to give their employees a small reduction, with a guaranty of steady employment and that no further reductions would take place. As a result of this the company was able to induce a large number of union men from other States to come in as strike breakers. Shortly after April 15 the first wage reduction was put into effect, and the company went into the Federal courts of the State and sought what we know as the Terminal Coal Co. injunction. They succeeded in having this Federal court assume jurisdiction and set up Federal regulations governing the conduct of the mine workers engaged in this strike.

How serious and important the issuance of this injunction is to the labor movement generally can best be explained in this way: The mine workers' counsel contended that the Federal court was without jurisdiction, for the reason that no evidence was offered to show that members of the United Mine Workers of America, or the organization itself, had ever interfered with the shipment of coal after it had been mined, or had interfered with the consumption or sale of the commodity after it was shipped.

We sought to impress the court that there was no violation on the part of the mine workers' organization of any Federal statute, for the reason that we believed that before the Federal court could assume jurisdiction in a case such as ours there must be shown an intent on the part of

the mine workers' organization to commit, or the commission of, some act which had either interfered with the shipment of coal after it had been mined or its consumption after it had been shipped.

THE INJUNCTIONS APPEAR

However, Judge Schoonmaker assumed jurisdiction and then ruled that in the case of evictions, wherein the company was demanding the return of its houses, that the United Mine Workers of America could not after that date give any more assistance to the occupants of those houses in securing appeals to the superior court of Pennsylvania for the purpose of testing the validity of those leases. That is the extent to which the Federal court went to curb what we believe to be legitimate activities of the people engaged in that strike.

I have sought to show you in my own way that this fight through which the United Mine Workers of America is passing in the State of Pennsylvania is not an ordinary fight between any manufacturer and a labor organization, or between a coal company and the United Mine Workers of America. I have sought to prove that in addition to it being an industrial war between the United Mine Workers of America and these coal companies there is also what appears to be a damnable conspiracy on the part of certain politicians in Pennsylvania, cooperating with strike-breaking agencies, to crush the United Mine Workers of America in this State.

Every agency at the command of the sheriffs and the governor has been put to work to cooperate with the coal companies in their attempt to destroy our union. It is my judgment that consideration of this situation should be given before this conference, and the relations which evidently exist between the politicians who control the destinies of the people of the State and the coal companies who are strike breaking in Pennsylvania. I believe there is a conspiracy between these agencies, and I believe there are other conspiracies afoot that have for their purpose the defeating of the mine workers' organization.

We have in Pittsburgh a gentleman who has been negotiating with the United Mine Workers of America for a period of approximately 37 years, John H. Jones, of the Bertha Consuming Co., who owns a corporation that produced three and one-half million tons of coal a year. Six hundred thousand tons of this amount, according to his statement, are sold annually to the General Motors Co.

THE RULE AND RUIN POLICY

John H. Jones called the officers of the mine workers to his office one day in June and said: "I am prepared to sign the Jacksonville agreement with you boys; I can pay the wages provided in that agreement. I would like to open my mines up and go ahead and pay that wage, because I believe in harmonious relations between employer and employees. Yesterday I was told by the purchasing agent of the General Motors Co. that I can not sign the contract on any basis at all, and that I must conform myself to the policies of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. or they propose to ruin me."

Bankers in the city of Philadelphia, who hold the paper of the Bertha Consuming Co., advised Mr. Jones over the telephone the day I was there that they understood he was going to sign the contract, and that banking company forbade him to do so under penalty of surrendering his company to the banks that hold his paper.

Mr. Gilmore operates a small mine that employs 400 men. It has a daily output of 2,300 tons. He came to the office of the United Mine Workers of America a short time ago and said: "I have a sufficient amount of business at my disposal now to sell coal in the city of Youngstown, Ohio, at a contract price of $6 a ton delivered, and I can pay your wage agreement, but my mine is located on the Montour Railroad, which is owned by the Pittsburgh Coal Co.; the policies of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. are dominated and controlled, directly or indirectly, by the Mellon banking interests, of Pittsburgh, and they have told me that if I recognize your union and pay the wage I am ready to pay they will ruin me."

That is only part of the evidence, only some of the confessions that have been made by independent operators in the Pittsburgh district to officers of the mine workers' organization within a few weeks. Now, what is the Bertha Consuming Co. and the Gilmore Co. doing? They have strike breakers, they are evicting men from their homes, they have gunmen around their properties, and they tell the officers of the mine workers' organization that they were told to do it at the peril of having their properties taken away from them by this powerful group in Pittsburgh who are concentrating their efforts on destroying the United Mine Workers of America.

THE DISPOSSESSED ARMY

In the State of Pennsylvania we have 85,000 striking miners; we have 320,000 dependents, or a number approximating 400,000 people, who are being persecuted by those interests combining their influence for the purpose of defeating the aims of the common people. The time is here when we should focus our attention in a national way in the situation in this district. I feel that your decision in this matter and what you do after the meeting is over will do more good in the end to solve this problem of the mining industry than any other single thing I know of.

It has necessitated, of course, the expenditure of enormous sums of money to conduct this campaign in behalf of our people in the State of Pennsylvania. I am quite sure that you will give frank, free, and generous consideration of that phase of the situation. I am hopeful that you may direct your attention to the political phases of it in order that the government of our Commonwealth at least and other people who are connected in a high way in the affairs of our National Government may have it also brought to their attention in a way that will influence the situation sufficiently to warrant a square deal being meted out to the mine workers of the State of Pennsylvania.

The 405,000 members and dependents of our organization have their eyes focused upon this meeting to-day; they are living in the hope that out of this meeting there will come some action that will prevent a continuation of this crusade that is being conducted against the rights of the people by those combinations of wealth and politics in the State of Pennsylvania.

I could dwell at greater length upon the situation. I could give in detail countless numbers of incidents that have occurred during the progress of the strike, but that, it seems, would be superfluous. However, before closing I think I ought to say this to you so that you may have it indelibly impressed upon your minds. The Pennsylvania Railroad Co. is one of the largest consumers of bituminous coal in the Nation. As a matter of fact, the combined consumption of all the railroads in the United States represents approximately 33⅓ per cent of the total production of the Nation.

With this enormous purchasing power the railroads have evidently combined with large public-utilities companies, directed, as I hold, by no less a genius than Mr. Atterbury, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., to depress the price of coal to the lowest possible point, no matter what it may cost the men who mine the coal or the women and children dependent upon the men who mine it.

THE RAILROAD INFLUENCE

This program of the railroads, led by the Pennsylvania Railroad, has resulted in the purchasing agents coming to the independent commercial producers in cities like Pittsburgh, where they are operating under a contract with the mine workers' organization, and saying that, beginning with the month of December, they will supply coal to the Pennsylvania Railroad for $1.60, and they can make their wage scale accordingly.

The coal companies, lacking initiative, lacking organization, lacking a desire to remedy their own condition, surrender abjectly to the orders of the railroads and the large utilities corporations. They post notice that at a certain date reductions will be introduced to correspond to the reduction in their prices. The question of the wage, whether you have a contract or not, whether you have a trade agreement or not, according to the philosophy of the Pittsburgh Coal Co., the Bethlehem Mines Corporation, and others, is not one to be regulated by either an economic fact or the use of collective reason in the making of a trade agreement, but it is one that must be regulated by the influences of those large purchasers of bituminous coal in the United States, and particularly the influence of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co.

COMBINATION TO DEPRESS COAL PRICES

Our contracts, which were originally repudiated in the Pittsburgh district, came about as a result of the railroads combining to depress coal prices, going to the heads of concerns like the Pittsburgh Coal Co., saying they were going to cut prices, and the Pittsburgh Coal Co., rather than contend with the railroad company, reduced the wages of the miners. Our fight, whatever it may be, must be directed against these large consumers in the hope that the development of a healthy public sentiment might contribute something toward a healthy solution of that particular phase of the problem.

I hope before you leave the city you will take advantage of the opportunity to visit some of the mining towns in western Pennsylvania. Many of the mines are but a short distance from this city. I wish you could go to Russellville and see the colony that was built in 10 days to house 210 families. I wish you could go there and interview the men and women who live in those little homes built for them by the United Mine Workers of America and find out what they think of the strike and what their reaction to it is. If you do that you will have a greater appreciation of what the strike really means than you will through any description I can give you.

I hope you can go to Mine No. 3, Castle Shannon, and see the army of coal and iron police that are manning the property and the deputies that are patroling the street. Go to No. 4 and see the element that has been imported in there to take up the work left by the union mine workers. There are thousands of colored workers in the mines in the Pittsburgh district to-day who learned coal mining in the convict mines of Alabama and Tennessee. They never knew what it was to mine coal and make wages at it.

Go to the camps and talk to the men and women who belong to the mine workers' union and get their story of the element that has been shipped into the camps. Ask them the experience they have been required to undergo at the hands of the coal and iron police, the State police, and the deputy sheriffs. They will not only confirm, but they

will add to what I have told you concerning the atrocities that have been perpetrated upon our people.

In closing, in behalf of our organization, I will express to you the appreciation of the mine workers for anything you may be able to do that will be of assistance to the United Mine Workers of America.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, added his story of the conflict:

ADDRESS OF JOHN L. LEWIS, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

Mr. Chairman, members of the conference, there is little that might be said to supplement that marvelous human recital of conditions in this territory that has been given you by Vice President Murray. During all these long, weary months of industrial conflict in this region and contiguous territory he has, day after day and night after night, been visualizing the scenes he has described to you. He has only been prevented by lack of time from reciting to you the most harrowing tales of the human injustice and brutalities that have been visited upon the heads of numbers of men whose only crime is seeking to maintain their standard of living and their place as American citizens.

It is a great human paradox that those least able to care for children have the most to care for. As I stand here to-night I voice the expression and the hopes of 150,000 mine workers who are in the industrial trenches of this great coal-producing region, consisting of western Pennsylvania, the great coal-producing counties of central Pennsylvania, 12½ coal-producing counties of northern West Virginia, and all the great coal regions of the State of Ohio.

In these four districts we have 150,000 men who are systematically being crushed by the oppressive heel of American organized capital. And dependent upon these 150,000 men are 600,000 women and children, making a gigantic army of 750,000 souls who have no hope of life and no protection for the future except that which might be accorded to them by the United Mine Workers of America. Many of them have been on strike for a long period of time, and as the months go by their human necessities increase. Their savings have been exhausted, the individual credit has been overtaxed, their clothes are becoming worn out, and they are being evicted from their homes.

APPALLING LIVING CONDITIONS

These people are living under conditions which would astonish the citizenship of our great land were the facts only known in a manner that would cause the men and women of our country to see and to think. Thousands of them are being evicted from their homes. What are those homes? They are those characteristic coal-mine houses, the sight of which is familiar to many of you. Poorly constructed, offensive in design, covered oftentimes with a crude coat of red paint, inexpensive in construction, but in which many of these people have lived throughout their normal lifetime.

We have had people in the Pittsburgh district who lived in company houses as long as 28 years, whose children were born there, whose children were married from those homes, and they expected to spend their old age in the protection of those domiciles. But they have been ejected by the brutal arm of these coal companies without any consideration whatever because they refused, in the first instance, to become a party to breaking a wage agreement, and, in the second instance, because they refused to accept a lower wage and desert their trade-union organization.

To-day they live in mere shacks, a mere shelter from the weather erected by the United Mine Workers of America upon a piece of land leased, perhaps hard by, and daily they see their former homes occupied by the negro strike breakers from the cotton fields and the convict mines of the South and going into the mines to take their occupation. Can you imagine their feelings? And can you imagine the sacrifice they are making in order to remain loyal to their ideals?

We are furnishing them food, we are furnishing them clothing such as we may, we are furnishing them water, coal, medicine, and doctors. We care for them when they are born, we are providing their children in a small way with books in those places where books are not furnished, and we bury them when they die. The United Mine Workers of America is making that contribution, not alone to itself, not alone to its own members and its own people, but it is making that contribution to uphold the trade-union movement and to the citizenship of this country. These industrial heroes are fighting, not alone their own fight, but your fight and mine and all others whose lot is to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.

THE FAR-REACHING CONSPIRACY

There is, as has been said by my distinguished colleague, a gigantic conspiracy upon the part of great combinations of American finance and capital to break the resistence of the mine workers' union in the coal industry. And, be it said, the people who are doing that recognize that when they accomplish what they have set out to do they will have taken a long stride forward and made a great step in advance in accomplishing the weakening of the entire labor movement of our land.

The Pennsylvania Railroad is one of the prime movers in that proposition; the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, serving this great eastern area, is likewise a participant in that great scheme. The New York Central Railway system has joined in recent months with those other combinations, and to-day they are all allied together in this great movement to uproot from these mining districts every vestige of our organization and remove for all time any interference with what they conceive to be their inherent right to raise or depress their wage schedules at will.

THE FREIGHT-RATE STRUCTURE INVOLVED

The freight-rate structure of American railways, which is a charge levied upon the consuming public, was predicated upon a fuel cost to the railroads of $2.25 per ton. Notwithstanding that fact, and notwithstanding the fact that the class A railroads of our country to-day are in a more prosperous condition than has been the case for a long period of time, we find these great combinations joining with the banking interests of Pennsylvania and adjoining States to secure the locomotive fuel which they use in such volume at a lesser and a lesser price.

The Pennsylvania Railroad in the State of Indiana, even since the settlement in midwestern fields, has served notice upon the producers who formerly served its requirements that it will not pay more than $1.75 per ton, and if they expect accommodation from the Pennsylvania Railroad they must accommodate their wage scale to that fixed charge.

In northern West Virginia and central Pennsylvania the railroads are buying coal for as low as $1.60 and in some instances as low as $1.40 a ton. The New York Central in recent months has been granting increases to certain classes of employees, and, on the other hand, has been undertaking a strike-breaking policy in its mines in this State. And thereby hangs a tale.

GOVERNOR FISHER A "PARTY AT INTEREST"

May I ask if President Marks, of district No. 2, is in the hall?

President MARKS. I am.

President LEWIS. Has the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation undertaken to reduce wages and employ strike breakers and attempted to evict our people?

President MARKS. Yes.

President LEWIS. And employ coal and iron police and State policemen and deputy sheriffs?

President MARKS. Yes.

President LEWIS. You know the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation is owned by the New York Central and that the Governor of Pennsylvania is a director of the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation?

President MARKS. My understanding is that he is their attorney also and a member of the board of directors.

President LEWIS. That will clear some of the political equations in the minds of some of you men.

President MARKS. I have here copies of injunctions that have been issued to them.

President LEWIS. May I ask if the Pennsylvania Coal & Coke Co. is doing the same thing?

President MARKS. Yes.

President LEWIS. And you know that they lease their lands from subsidiaries of the New York Central?

President MARKS. Yes.

POLICE RAN AMUCK

President LEWIS. That simply shows the degree to which this conspiracy goes, and gives a possible motive why the Governor of Pennsylvania has permitted his State police and the coal and iron police and the deputy sheriffs of this State to run amuck in the coal fields perpetrating the things which have been revealed to you here.

In view of these conditions, and in view of the revelations made by Vice President Murray as to conditions existing, the mine workers may well call upon organized labor of America to join with them in protesting against these injustices and help to awaken, as this meeting is doing here to-day, the eyes of thoughtful citizens throughout the length and breadth of the land to the necessity of giving a square deal to the men who work in the mines.

The former governor of this Commonwealth, the Hon. Gifford Pinchot, has rendered a great service here to-day in showing this audience and in showing the citizens of this State the manner in which the police powers of the State could be exercised in a fair manner, and the manner in which it was exercised under the administration of an honorable and honest man.

STATE AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE CALLED TO ACCOUNT

The prominent political interests in Pennsylvania who are responsible for the election to the highest office in this State of the attorney, vice president, and director of one of these strike-breaking coal companies, and the political powers in Washington who constantly give comfort and counsel to these same interests should be compelled to assume their proper responsibility for the continuance of such a policy and by this means of making known the facts here to-day to the citizenship of our country may come a great moral influence for improvement and betterment.

The story told here to-day should carry conviction into the mind of every man; it should reveal a degree of human effort, human sacrifice that is being made by these tens of thousands of men who are in the

mining camps of this area to-day. They are placing upon the altar of trade-unionism everything that they hold dear to themselves; they are exhausting their personal resources; they are exposing their breasts to the clubs of their oppressors, and they are carrying on, as they will continue to carry on, with a determination not to yield to injustice and not to surrender and pull down the banners of trade-unionism in our land. And in doing this they are looking forward to being upheld and morally sustained by the great army of organized labor throughout the land who sympathize with them in every way.

The hour is late, and I will not detain you. I want to express the appreciation of not only myself and my fellow officers in the United Mine Workers of America, but I want to extend to you the appreciation of that gigantic army of boys and girls, and haggard, ill-clad, and undernourished women, and those stalwart men who inhabit these mining communities in the area of which I spoke, who are glad, first, that you have come here and who, secondly, will be glad for anything you may do to help and aid and encourage them in their hour of discontent and the winter of their great need.

WHAT THESE SPEECHES SHOW

Mr. Lewis and Mr. Murray said that about the time the Jacksonville agreement was to expire—that means the contract between the coal operators and the miners' union—it appeared as though there would be a break in the negotiations to renew the contract. It appeared as though the country was going to be thrown into a nation-wide mine strike. The President of the United States, acting in behalf of all the people, very wisely had the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, and the Secretary of Labor, James Davis, speak in the name of the Government of the United States for the purpose of trying to compose any differences that might exist between the miners and the operators, with the result that their efforts were very successful, and with the further result that the administration and both Secretaries got unstinted and deserved praise for the service they rendered their country.

OPERATORS DEFY GOVERNMENT

But lo and behold! When it came to operating the mines under that contract, voluntarily entered into by the operators and the miners, with the approval of the Government of the United States, Secretary of Labor Davis and Secretary of Commerce Hoover, the Pittsburgh Coal Co. refused to comply with the provisions of the contract and closed their mines, thereby locking out the union miners of that particular company.

That was nearly three years ago. And then, following that, when they thought they had the miners starved into submission, when mine employees' feet were on the ground because of no shoes to wear, and the children were hungry and their wives depressed, then they said they would open the mines; they posted their proposed wage scale, which called for a reduction in wages in many instances of as high as $2.52 a day, and invited the miners to come back to work under the company's own agreement, after the company had repudiated the contract entered into between the miners and the operators.

And, of course, the miners employed by this particular company, all being members of the United Mine Workers of America, refused to be parties to the violation of a solemn agreement entered into by their representatives and representatives of the coal companies, because the United Mine Workers of America hold sacred the provisions of every contract entered into by their representatives and the operators.

Here they were asked by the coal companies to violate that principle, but they refused to do it. That was the inception of the lockout.

FORCING DOWN THE PRICE OF FUEL

Then we find pressure brought to bear. We find the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co., and the New York Central Railroad Co. making a drive to force down the price of fuel coal.

Let me say in passing that the railroads consume at least 33⅓ per cent of the annual production of bituminous coal in the United States, and, of course, no operator wants to lose that market. But the railroad companies took this position: That, notwithstanding the fact that in fixing the freight and passenger rate structure by the Interstate Commerce Commission, they in their application for the fixing of said rate structure stated that it cost them $2.20 and $2.40 a ton for fuel coal, and the Interstate Commerce Commission gave them rates based upon that fuel cost of $2.20 and $2.40 a ton, while they at the same time were beating down the price to $1.50 and $1.60 a ton, and the people of the United States were paying and are paying freight and passenger rates on the basis of $2.20 and $2.40 a ton for fuel coal.

Then we find some of these operators who had been operating their mines for 40 years, negotiating with the miners' unions and entering into contracts with them every time a contract expired, said to the officials of the miners' union—I will put the names of the coal companies and everything connected with this matter into the RECORD—these operators said: "We are ready and willing and anxious to enter into an agreement with you and your organization; you have always treated us fairly; we can pay the wages and we can make profits by working under the Jacksonville agreement, but we are prevented from doing so."

PUBLIC UTILITIES COERCE OPERATORS

For instance, we will take the Jones Coal Co. The president of that company made that statement to the officials of the miners' union, but he said, "I can not do it because the General Motors Co. has forbidden me to do so." Here we have the situation where independent, free-thinking, patriotic American men at the head of industry, who want to comply with the sacredness of contract, solemnly entered into, saying they can pay the wages and make profits for their concerns, but right above these men are corporative heads who say, "If you do, we will ruin you; we will drive you out of existence." And the sad part of it is that is just what would happen. And at the same time this was going on, the Philadelphia banks could not take the time to write a letter or send a telegram to Mr. Jones, but called him on the long-distance telephone and said, "We understand you are thinking about entering into a contract with the miners with certain qualifications, and we say to you that if you do that, or if you enter into any kind of a contract, we will ruin you."

THE DIRE THREATS OF HEARTLESS CORPORATIONS

They went further and said, "If you do not follow the lead of the Pennsylvania Coal Co., in violation of your contract, in the eviction of your women and children, we will take your credits away from you and throw you into bankruptcy." These are the conditions in Pennsylvania, my friends—not very pleasant information for free Americans. They are the conditions about which we are appealing to you to-day in order that you may do what you can to relieve the situation.

You may ask, "Well, what is the matter with the authorities of the State of Pennsylvania?" That is a proper question. In the statement made by Mr. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, at the Pittsburgh conference he developed the fact from Mr. Marks, president of the miners' union in the central Pennsylvania district, that the present Governor of the State of Pennsylvania is on the board of directors of and the attorney for one of the coal companies which is a subsidiary of the New York Central Railroad, and every power at his command—the constabulary, the coal and iron police, and the deputy sheriffs—has been used for the purpose of breaking down the resistance of the miners' union and in the effort to starve into submission the bituminous miners of western and central Pennsylvania.

SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST THE GOVERNOR

When this conference at Pittsburgh, above referred to, adjourned, it did so with instructions to its committees to carry this message to the Governor of Pennsylvania in person, so that he could no longer say, "Well, that is news to me; I am surprised." That conference went further. It directed the president and secretary of the great American Federation of Labor, the great leader of the Mine Workers of America, John Lewis, and others to speak for that conference, which represented labor, and instructed them to place these facts before the President of the United States.

IT IS EASY TO EVADE

When these facts were presented to the President of the United States, we had the right to expect that the President, who was so interested in relieving the distress of women and children in the Mississippi Valley, who was so interested in relieving the distress of the women and children and refugees in the flood districts in the New England States, who was so interested in endeavoring to preserve the peace of the land and endeavoring to avoid a nation-wide strike in the bituminous coal fields that he authorized Herbert Hoover and Secretary of Labor Davis to prevent it—we had the right to expect when these conditions were laid before our President—my President and your President—that something would be done to at least relieve the distress. He said in response to the charge of a conspiracy between the railroads to violate the contract and beat down the price of fuel coal: "Your place is not here; go to the Interstate Commerce Commission."

WHAT WOULD WILSON OR ROOSEVELT HAVE DONE?

What would Woodrow Wilson or Theodore Roosevelt have done if a similar appeal were made to them? Would they have evaded direct action? Would they have suggested a conference with the Interstate Commerce Commission? Certainly not.

Would those two great Americans have said after being told of the human sufferings that the bituminous-coal industry was in a transitory stage and nothing of a practical nature could be

accomplished until a reorganization had been effected? Oh, no! Not they. They would have placed human happiness and human righteousness before industrial warfare.

Wilson and Roosevelt by their acts have shown that life is only valuable according to the good influence that goes out from life. They stood out preeminently in our Nation's history, because as individuals each was absorbed with the spirit of freedom and brotherly love which dominated their lives. They were actuated by the principle, which forms the foundation stone of the Constitution, that all men are created equal; that men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And it was to these rights of men that they devoted their lives.

BOTH ACTED FOR THE GOOD OF HUMANITY

Did Wilson or Roosevelt when the suffering, distress, and hopes and aspirations of the miners were told to them turn evasively away and suggest the need of additional legislation before they could rightfully interfere? Oh, no! Not they. They directed the coal operators to appear at the White House. And when they did arrive these mine owners were told in terse and emphatic terms that the mighty strikes then in vogue must cease or else the Government would intervene and assume control. And the conflicts did cease, and to-day and every day from now until the end of time the names of Wilson and Roosevelt are first in the hearts of men, women, and children of the anthracite coal regions.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY LOST

I desire to add that it is to be regretted that the State and national administrations did not make a study and endeaver to cope not only with adverse conditions found in western Pennsylvania but with the present growing problem of unemployment. However, it is natural to expect that when they are remiss in one humane undertaking that they would be remiss in them all. If a falling off in employment, a decline in wages in certain industries, financial embarrassment in others; the awful affliction of want for thousands of American men and women, and an intense struggle for the right to bargain collectively, happens to come in an election year and reflects on the State and national administrations in power, it is unfortunate; but there is no good reason why they should have fallen flat, without vision and without direction.

This is the time for a display of red blood. This is the time the administrations should be up and doing, showing to the people that they have initiative, that they are human, and that they stand squarely for better and greater things. I realize that Congress, aside from directing that all Government work contemplated should be started at once and directing an investigation in western Pennsylvania, can do but little. But it can do that much, and it should proceed at once. Such procedure may be embarrassing to the leaders, who have laid their plans to conduct the coming campaign for a new lease of power for their party on the issue of "unparalleled prosperity." It may be embarrassing to find the unemployment increasing in many industries all over the country. It may be embarrassing to them to find wages in numerous lines decreasing due to part-time employment. And it will always be embarrassing to find over, about, and around them the heart-rending sobs of disheartened miners, the cries of sorrowing women, and the anguishing appeals of the little children of western Pennsylvania.

THE HOLLOW AND THE SHALLOW CLAIMS

If some definite move is made to improve the present adverse conditions, perchance the hollow claims and the shallow claims of "unparalleled prosperity" will be overlooked. If the administrations show, from this time henceforth, that they have hearts, souls—that they are intent upon doing what is right and just—that they are not laggards in righteous endeavor—they may leave a heritage. But before a single accomplishment shall be placed at their door they must turn the light of righteousness on the sordid and greedy coal operators of western Pennsylvania; the railroads and other interests who are striving to destroy the right of collective bargaining; who have turned their backs on contractual relations and who have tried to make a mockery of American citizenship.

THE UNUSUAL ATTITUDE OF A COURT

When we speak about the violation of the constitutional rights of these people we have in mind the fact that a Federal judge has reached out and for the first time has taken charge of the minerals in the earth that may or may not be mined for interstate commerce, that may never be mined at all—he reaches out the strong arm of the Federal Government, without any testimony being given to show that these miners individually or the miners' organization had interfered in any way or intended to interfere in any way with a pound of coal that had been mined and placed upon the railroad cars for shipment in interstate commerce or interfered in the slightest degree or to any degree with the sale of any of that coal mined and shipped in interstate commerce—without one scintilla of evidence he presumed that probably it would be necessary to guard this coal in the bowels of the earth of Pennsylvania, and which may never find its way into interstate commerce, and issued an injunction depriving the people of the State of Pennsylvania of their constitutional rights. When these things were placed before the President of the United States, and he did not act, to say the least, he was either indifferent or did not care.

VOICE OF THE GREAT HOOVER IS SILENT

Oh, the great Herbert Hoover has been proclaimed all over the world for his humanitarian work; but I wonder why the voice of the great Hoover is silent when his attention is called to the conditions in western Pennsylvania? Where women and children are slowly starving to death for the want of food and clothing because of the violation of a sacred contract which was consummated with his approval. I wonder if it is because of presidential injunction, or is it just presidential yellowness on his part? Let me say if Herbert Hoover expects that he is going to get the support of the coal operators of Pennsylvania for remaining idle and voiceless during this terrible crisis which has been brought about because of a violation by the operators of a contract which Mr. Hoover is responsible for, and does not raise his voice against it, against its violation and the suffering and distress which followed, let me say he may get the support of the coal operators of Pennsylvania, but he must not lose sight of the fact that there are four or five million union men and women in the United States who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow who may have something to say about this thing. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Will the gentleman yield for a very brief question?

Mr. CASEY. Gladly.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Has the gentleman told the House anything about the remarkable character of injunctions that have been issued by the courts against the miners in Pennsylvania, which seem to me to exceed any precedent in the history of English or American law?

Mr. CASEY. I just touched on it briefly, Judge. I have copies of several of these outrageous injunctions, which I wish to insert in the RECORD. The first one was issued by Judge Schoonmaker, of the United States district court at Pittsburgh, Pa., and it reads as follows:

THE INFAMOUS INJUNCTIONS

In the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, plaintiff, *v.* United Mine Workers of America, a voluntary association, et al., defendants

DECREE

This cause came on to be heard upon the application of the plaintiff for a preliminary injunction and was heard upon the verified bill of complaint, the affidavits submitted by plaintiff in support thereof, the affidavits submitted by certain defendants in opposition thereto, and the rebuttal affidavits submitted by plaintiff, and was fully argued by counsel for the respective parties. Upon consideration whereof the court finds:

That all of the defendants have been duly served with summons by subpœna and with the order to show cause heretofore issued herein as appears from the record of this cause, except: John L. Lewis, Joe Vujnovic, William J. Patton, Edward Snyder, Frank J. Hayes, Thomas W. Hughes, Fred Gollick, William Hynes, William Cadman, and Stanley Davis.

That the plaintiff is entitled to a preliminary injunction as prayed for (except as modified herein) for the reason that it clearly appears from the specific facts contained in the verified bill of complaint and by the evidence submitted that immediate and irreparable damage and loss will result to plaintiff unless a preliminary injunction be granted, and that for such damage and loss the plaintiff is without any adequate remedy at law.

IT IS THEREFORE ORDERED, ADJUDGED, AND DECREED

That the defendants, the United Mine Workers of America, and all officers, committees, boards, and members thereof; the defendant district No. 5 of the United Mine Workers of America and all officers, committees, boards, and members thereof; the defendant's local unions Nos. 820, 1339, 2363, 2500, 5085, and 5157, and all officers, committees, boards, and members thereof; the defendants, Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, P. T. Fagan, William Hargest, John O'Leary, and James Flood, individually and as incumbents of the offices and stations indicated in the bill of complaint, together with all other individual defendants named herein, and all members of said bodies or associations whether served with process or not, and all persons acting in combina-

tion or concert with them or who aid, assist, or abet said defendants, or any of them, in the acts hereinafter referred to, are collectively and severally and in their associated and organized capacity, as well as individually, enjoined from doing or attempting to do any of the following acts:

(1) From assaulting, beating, coercing, threatening, intimidating, insulting, molesting, or in any way interfering with plaintiff's employees or their families; or the officers, foremen, agents, or other persons in the employ of plaintiff; or any person transacting any business with, or rendering any service to, or for plaintiff or entering, approaching, or leaving plaintiff's properties, or any of them, in connection with such transaction, business or service; or any person applying for or seeking employment with plaintiff; or any former employee of plaintiff seeking, intending, or desiring to resume employment with plaintiff, including the families of such applicants.

(2) From interfering by violence, threats, intimidation, insult, calling of names or epithets, or in any like manner interfering with any actual or proposed contractual relationship between plaintiff and its employees, or interfering in any way, except as provided in section 6 hereof, with the right of plaintiff and such employees or intending employees or persons desiring or seeking employment to agree unmolested upon such terms of employment as plaintiffs and such persons may regard proper.

(3) From exploding dynamite, powder, or other explosives upon or near any property of plaintiff, or injuring, defacing, destroying, or interfering with any property, real or personal, of plaintiff, or of any of plaintiff's employees or intending employees; or shooting at or toward any property of plaintiff or at or toward any employee of plaintiff or any vehicle or conveyance owned by or engaged in any service for plaintiff; throwing rocks, stones, or other missiles at or toward plaintiff's employees, property, or vehicles or at vehicles or automobiles engaged in any service for plaintiff's benefit.

(4) From obstructing, impeding, hindering, preventing, or interfering with the operation of plaintiff's mines, or any of them, or the doing of any act connected with such operation, or obstructing, impeding, hindering, preventing, or interfering with the production, mining, transportation, or shipment of coal by plaintiff from its mines described in the bill of complaint.

(5) From trespassing upon plaintiff's property, mines, tipples, or cars for any purpose, or upon any other lands, places, highways, or property (except entering voting places, post offices, or physicians' offices), with the intent or purpose of committing any act forbidden by this decree.

(6) From congregating, loitering, parading, or gathering about or near plaintiff's properties or from picketing the same except as follows:

(a) One picket post may be maintained upon or immediately adjacent to each public highway leading to each mine of plaintiff, but not upon its property, and not closer than 100 feet to any building or structure—not including company houses—used by plaintiff as an office or in its operations.

(b) Nor more than three persons at a time shall be stationed at any picket post, and no other person shall be permitted to stand or loiter at any place within 100 feet from the limits of any picket post for any purpose whatsoever.

(c) Each picket post established shall be not to exceed 100 feet in length along the highway and its limits shall be indicated by a sign, flag, or marker.

(d) Relief pickets shall not stay in the vicinity of picket posts when not on duty.

(e) Pickets on duty at their respective posts may peacefully observe, communicate with, and persuade persons but shall not make use of abusive or threatening language. The peaceful persuasion herein referred to is peaceful persuasion directed toward one who is not known to be an employee, in the effort to keep him from becoming an employee, or directed toward one who is an employee, in the effort to induce him to terminate his relation of employment; it does not include talking to any person after having been notified or advised by him of his unwillingness to be talked with, or pursuing, or following any such person for any such purpose. Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to prevent defendants from meeting in ordinary neighborhood or social gatherings or from attending meetings of their unions in their union halls, provided that such gatherings or meetings shall not be conducted with the purpose or effect of violating the provisions or the spirit of this injunction, and the respective officers of such defendant unions as well as the persons taking part in such gatherings or meetings are charged with the responsibility of carrying this provision completely into effect.

(7) From hereafter detaining or occupying any mining house or houses of plaintiff by causing the same to be occupied against plaintiff's will by persons not employed by plaintiff; excepting that this decree shall not affect any cause now instituted and pending in the State courts of Pennsylvania, at the time of the commencement of this action and affecting the possession of such houses.

(8) From disbursing any funds for any further appeal bonds, attorney services, court costs, or otherwise for the purpose of enabling, aiding, encouraging, or procuring any person to occupy against the plaintiff's will any such mining houses of plaintiff; from signing any further appeal bond or depositing, providing, or furnishing security for such appeal bond to prolong or aid in litigation respecting the possession of said houses; but nothing herein shall prevent Oliver K. Eaton and William H. Coleman, or either of them, representing as attorneys and counsel the individual occupants of miners' houses in the appeals in the Superior Court of Pennsylvania.

(9) From interfering with plaintiff in the exercise of any right reserved to it under its leases of said miners' houses to secure repossession of the same and to remove the effects of any occupant thereof; provided that nothing herein contained shall interfere with the individual right of any tenant or tenants of any such house or houses to interpose in any court of competent jurisdiction any legal defense which he may have.

(10) Such defendants as are still occupying plaintiff's houses are enjoined from annoying, disturbing, insulting, interfering with, or threatening the families of plaintiff's employees and from encouraging members of defendant unions from using their occupancy of plaintiff's homes as a means of disturbing, annoying, or interfering with plaintiff's employees in neighboring houses or doing any other kind of injury to plaintiff's employees or property.

(11) This injunction shall become effective upon the plaintiff giving bond conditioned according to law in the sum of $50,000; said bond has this day been filed and approved.

F. P. SCHOONMAKER,
United States District Judge.

Dated at Pittsburgh, Pa., this 11th day of October, 1927.

MINE WORKERS DARE NOT MOVE OR MOTION

Here is an injunction issued by Judge Baker, of the United States district court at Wheeling, W. Va., which practically prohibits the United Mine Workers of America from functioning in any manner whatever.

District Court of the United States for the Northern District of West Virginia (at Wheeling)

West Virginia-Pittsburgh Coal Co. *v.* John L. Lewis et al.

PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

This cause came on this 19th day of May, 1925, to be heard upon the bill of complaint and the exhibits filed therewith, the affidavits of George D. Caldwell, Jim Long, Will Harris, William Turner (Nos. 1 and 2), Danilo Ljboper, Charles Wilis, Charlie Matvichuk, George Williams (Nos. 1 and 2), Oscar Maryland, Betroy Mills, Glen Wade, Louis Favali, Dan Johnson, John T. McMahon (Nos. 1 and 2), Charles Carter, Lawrence McMartney, Bert Snyder, Daniel Allman, Ignatz Kafton, Mike MaManus, Joseph J. Kossan, John M. Conner, Harry Sandreth, John Bober, Steve Humon, Paul Doebele, John Owens, and O. J. Keyes, filed by the plaintiff, the application of the plaintiff for the preliminary injunction, the orders herein heretofore made, and other papers herein heretofore filed, the several writs of summons and the returns of the marshal showing service of the same upon the defendants Van A. Bittner, William Roy, Frank Ledvinka, John Cinque, William T. Roberts, and Joseph Angelo, and upon the notice of the application for this preliminary injunction and the marshal's return showing the service of the said notice upon the defendants Van A. Bittner, William Roy, Frank Ledvinka, John Cinque, William T. Roberts, and Joseph Angelo, upon which notice the plaintiff did on the return day present its said application for preliminary injunction, which motion has been since the said return day under consideration by the court, and now comes on for hearing upon the said notice, upon the motion of the defendants to dismiss the bill of complaint, heretofore presented and filed in open court, in person, and by their counsel, Thomas T. Rownsend, John D. Gardner, J. W. Walker, and Wm. L. Bradshaw, and the court having heard the argument of counsel for the plaintiff and of counsel for the said defendants and maturely considered the question arising upon the bill of complaint, the exhibits filed therewith, the affidavits filed in support thereof, and the plaintiff's motion for a preliminary injunction, doth overrule the defendants' motion to dismiss the bill of complaint and doth find that the facts shown constitute sufficient grounds for the granting of the preliminary injunction prayed for in the bill of complaint, and is of the opinion to grant said preliminary injunction.

The court doth, therefore, adjudge, order, and decree that the defendants Van A. Bittner, a citizen and resident of the State of Pennsylvania, residing at Grafton in said State, individually and as chief representative of the United Mine Workers of America and of the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America; William Roy, a citizen and resident of the State of Ohio, residing in Belmont County in said State, individually and as vice president of district No. 6 of the United Mine Workers of America and of the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America; Frank Ledvinka, a citizen and resident of the State of Ohio, living and residing at Bridgeport in said State, individually and as president of subdistrict No. 5 of district No. 6 of the United Mine Workers of America and of the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America; John Cinque, a citizen and resident of the State of Ohio, residing at Bridgeport in said State individually and as vice president of subdistrict No. 5 of district No. 6 of

the United Mine Workers of America and of the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America; William T. Roberts, a citizen and resident of the State of Ohio, residing at Bridgeport in said State, individually and as secretary-treasurer of subdistrict No. 5 of district No. 6 of the United Mine Workers of America and of the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America; and Joseph Angelo, a citizen and resident of the State of Ohio, residing in Belmont County in said State, individually and as official organizer of and for the United Mine Workers of America and of the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America, operating in subdistrict No. 5 of district No. 6 of the United Mine Workers of America, and their committees, agents, servants, confederates, and associates and all persons combining and conspiring with the said defendants, and each and everyone of them, be and they are hereby, enjoined and restrained:

1. From interfering or attempting to interfere with plaintiff's employees for the purpose of unionizing plaintiff's mines without its consent, by representing or causing to be represented to any of plaintiff's employees, or to any person who might become an employee of plaintiff, that such person will suffer or is likely to suffer some loss or trouble in continuing in or entering the employment of plaintiff, by reason of plaintiff not recognizing the union, or because plaintiff runs a nonunion mine;

2. From interfering or attempting to interfere with plaintiff's employees for the purpose of unionizing the mines without the plaintiff's consent, and in aid of such purpose knowingly and willfully bringing about the breaking by plaintiff's employees of contracts of service known at the time to exist with plaintiff's present and future employees;

3. From knowingly and willfully enticing plaintiff's employees, present and future, to leave plaintiff's service on the ground that the plaintiff does not recognize the United Mine Workers of America or runs a nonunion mine;

4. From interfering or attempting to interfere with plaintiff's employees so as to knowingly and willfully bring about the breaking by plaintiff's employees, present and future, of their contracts of service known to the defendants to exist, and especially from knowingly and willfully enticing such employees, present and future, to leave plaintiff's service without plaintiff's consent;

5. From trespassing or entering upon the grounds and premises of plaintiff or its mines for the purpose of interfering therewith or hindering or obstructing its business, or with the purpose of compelling or inducing, by threats, intimidation, violence, or abusive language, or persuasion, any of plaintiff's employees to refuse or fail to perform their duties as such;

6. From compelling or inducing or attempting to compel or induce, by threats, intimidation, or abusive or violent language, any of plaintiff's employees to leave its service, or fail or refuse to perform their duties as such employees, or compelling or attempting to compel by like means any person desiring to seek employment in plaintiff's mines and works from so accepting employment therein;

7. From picketing the streets, roads, or other avenues of approach to plaintiff's mines for the purpose of enticing, entreating, persuading, or by any means inducing plaintiff's employees to break their contracts of service known to them at the time to exist; from approaching plaintiff's employees, present or future, at their place of residence or at any other place for the purpose of enticing, entreating, persuading, or by any means inducing employees to break their contracts of service known to them at the time to exist; from advertising meetings or by any means inducing plaintiff's employees to attend meetings at which attempts shall be made, by entreaty, enticement, or persuasion, to induce plaintiff's employees to break their contracts of service then known to them to exist; and from doing the like for the purpose of unionizing plaintiff's mines.

It is further adjudged, ordered, and decreed that before this injunction shall be effective the plaintiff shall enter into a bond with security to be approved by the court, in the penalty of $10,000 conditioned to pay any loss or damage which may result to the defendants or any of them from the issuing of this preliminary injunction, if it should be finally determined that the same is improperly issued, or that may be rewarded to them by reason of the granting of said preliminary injunction.

It is further adjudged, ordered, and decreed that this preliminary injunction shall be and remain in full force and effect from the filing of the bond above mentioned until the further order of this court.

To the granting of said preliminary injunction the said defendants object.

W. E. BAKER,
United States District Judge.

Dated May 19, 1925.

NONUNION MINERS ISOLATED

Here is another injunction, issued by Judge McClintic, of the United States district court at Charleston, W. Va., the effect of which is to isolate the poor, underpaid, nonunion miners of that field against every effort by the miners' union to help them improve their condition:

District Court of the United States for the Southern District of West Virginia (at Charleston)

Red Jacket Consolidated Coal & Coke Co., a corporation, *v.* John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, et al.

FINAL DECREE

This cause having been argued by counsel and submitted to the court at a former term, came on to be further heard at this term for final decision.

And the court having maturely considered the evidence and proceedings herein, and the argument of counsel thereon, and being of opinion that certain salient questions of fact are presented upon the record herein, doth find, adjudge, and decree the facts in this cause in respect of such matters as set forth in its written statement thereof marked "Finding of facts," dated the 16th day of October, 1925, entitled in the several suits pending in this court, including this suit, which were consolidated and brought on to be heard together by an order entered therein on the 22d day of May, 1923; which "finding of facts" is hereby filed herein and made part of the record in this cause.

And it appearing that of the defendants named in the plaintiffs' bill of complaint, the defendants above named in the caption of this decree, and each of them, have been duly served with process herein, or have appeared by counsel, and the court being of opinion that the plaintiffs are entitled to an injunction against said defendants, as hereinafter set forth and awarded, for the reason that unless such injunction be granted said defendants will continue their unlawful acts and practices set forth in said "finding of facts," and appearing from the evidence herein, and that damage to plaintiffs' property, business, and rights, or destruction thereof, will occur, and that threats, intimidation, and violence against plaintiffs' employees will continue, with the result that the mines of the plaintiffs will be closed or the operation thereof interfered with and plaintiffs prevented from producing and shipping coal from said mines in interstate trade and commerce, and their employees who desire to work in and about said mines thrown out of employment, by reason whereof the plaintiffs, and each of them, will suffer irreparable injury, loss, and damage to their property, business, and rights, and the rights of their said employees will also be violated, all contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and of the antitrust acts of Congress referred to in said "finding of facts," for none of which there is any adequate remedy at law:

Therefore, for the reasons aforesaid, and in accordance with the findings of this court set forth in said "finding of facts," it is adjudged, ordered, and decreed that the said defendants hereinabove named in the caption of this decree, and each and all of them, including all members of said international organization, United Mine Workers of America, and of districts Nos. 17 and 29 thereof, and of all subdivisions and local organizations of said district, their officers, agents, servants, employees, and attorneys, and those in active concert or participating with them, be, and they are hereby, inhibited, restrained, and enjoined:

(1) From interfering with the employees of the plaintiffs or with men seeking employment at their mines, by menaces, threats, violence, or injury to them, their persons, families, or property, or abusing them or their families, or by doing them violence in any way or manner whatsoever, or by doing any other act or thing that will interfere with the right of such employees and those seeking employment, to work upon such terms as to them seem proper, unmolested, and from in any manner injuring or destroying the properties of the plaintiffs, or either of them, or from counseling or advising that these plaintiffs should in any way or manner be injured in the conduct and management of their business and in the enjoyment of their property and property rights.

(2) From trespassing upon the properties of the plaintiffs, or either of them, or by themselves, or in cooperation with others, from inciting, inducing, or persuading the employees of the plaintiffs to break their contract of employment with the plaintiffs.

(3) From aiding or assisting any other person or persons to commit or attempt to commit any of the acts herein enjoined.

(4) From aiding or abetting any person or persons to occupy or hold without right, any house or houses or other property of the plaintiffs, or any of them, by sending money or other assistance to be used by such persons in furtherance of such unlawful occupancy or holding.

And it is further adjudged, ordered, and decreed that the plaintiffs recover of and from said defendants their proper costs by them expended in the prosecution of this suit to be taxed by the clerk of this court.

GEORGE W. MCCLINTIC,
District Judge.

Dated October 16, 1925.

A SWEEPING DECREE OF THE COURT

Here is a sweeping injunction that was issued by Judge Hough, of the United States district court at Steubenville, Ohio:

In the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of Ohio, Eastern Division

Clarkson Coal Mining Co. et al., plaintiffs, *v.* United Mine Workers of America et al., defendants

PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

This cause came on to be heard upon the applications of the plaintiffs and of the intervenor, the New Pocock Coal Co., for a preliminary injunction, and was heard upon the bill of complaint and the intervening bill of complaint and the evidence and was argued by counsel; upon consideration whereof the court finds:

That all the defendants herein, save John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, and Thomas Kennedy, as individuals have either been served with process or have entered their appearance herein, and the court further finds that plaintiffs and intervenor are entitled to a preliminary injunction as prayed for, for the reason that it clearly appears from specific acts shown by the verified bill and the evidence that immediate and irreparable loss or damage to property rights will result to plaintiffs and intervenor unless a preliminary injunction is granted.

It is therefore ordered, adjudged, and decreed that, save as to John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, and Thomas Kennedy as individuals, but including them as officers and agents of said United Mine Workers of America, the defendants herein and the officers, agents, and associates of said defendants, or any of them, and all persons in concert or participating with said defendants, and all persons to whom notice of this order shall come, be, and they are, severally and collectively hereby enjoined and restrained as follows:

1. From interfering with, obstructing, or preventing in any way, or attempting so to do, the carrying on of the business of the plaintiffs, or any of them, and of said intervenor, and from interfering with, obstructing, or preventing, or attempting so to do, the operation of each and all coal mines of the plaintiffs and the intervenor within the State of Ohio, including specifically the operation by the Clarkson Coal Mining Co. of its three coal mines located, respectively, at or near St. Clairsville and Fairpoint, in Belmont County, and at Dun Glen, in Belmont and Jefferson Counties; the operation by the Monroe Coal Co. of the mine known as the Webb mine, situated near Shadyside, in Belmont County; the operation of the Boomer Coal & Coke Co. of the Rose mine, situated near Cadiz, in Harrison County; the operation by the Atlantic Construction Co. of the Florence mine, situated near Martins Ferry, in Belmont County; and the operation by the New Pocock Coal Co. of its Maple Leaf mine, situated near the village of Newport, Tuscarawas County, Ohio; its Cambridge No. 1 mine, situated at or near the village of Blue Bell, Guernsey County, Ohio; its Pocock No. 8 mine, situated at or near the village of Navarre, Stark County, Ohio; and its Belmont mine, situated at or near the village of Flushing, Belmont County, Ohio.

2. From destroying or damaging, or attempting to destroy or damage, the plant, buildings, equipment, or property at or near any of said mines.

3. From exploding or causing to be exploded any dynamite or other explosives anywhere on or about or in the neighborhood of any of said mines or on or near any highway used by employees of any of the plaintiffs or said intervenor, or others going to or from any of said mines, and from shooting at or toward any houses or buildings or structures at or in the vicinity of said mines, or at or toward any of the plaintiffs' agents, officers, or employees, or at or toward any person having any contact with any of the plaintiffs or with said intervenor or employees of any such contractor.

4. From trespassing upon or unlawfully entering into or upon any of said mines or any of the lands or buildings owned, leased, or controlled by any of the plaintiffs or said intervenor, and from entering upon or trespassing upon any lands near or in the vicinity of any of said mines, or the doing of anything designed or intended to interfere in any way with plaintiffs or intervenor or any of them, or the plaintiffs' or intervenor's employees, or with persons having business with any of them;

5. From doing any act or acts of violence, or making any threats by acts or words to, or in the hearing or presence of the employees, or those desirous of or to become employees of any of the plaintiffs or of intervenor, or to or in the hearing of or presence of contractors or employees of contractors with whom plaintiffs or intervenor, or any of them, have contracts, to the effect that such persons or members of their families will be, or may be assaulted, killed, or injured in any manner, or that their property will be injured or destroyed;

6. From displaying any signs or banners containing any words or language designed to intimidate or insult employees or prospective employees of plaintiffs or intervenor, who are at said mines or are desirous to go to said mines, or any of them, or contractors or persons having business at said mines, on the premises of the plaintiffs or said intervenor, or on any highway or railroad station within a radius of 10 miles from any of said mines. The prohibition applies to the display of signs now or hereafter on property owned or leased by the defendants, as well as to all other places within the territory described. The words "scab," "rat," "yellow dog," and like terms, and profane or obscene words or terms shall not be used in a menacing, threatening, or insulting manner, or be applied to plaintiffs' or intervenor's officers, agents, or employees;

7. From interfering in any way with the plaintiffs and intervenor or any of them or their agents in the making or carrying out of any contract of employment which any of them may desire to make, or has made, with any person; and from attempting to coerce or induce any such employee to break any such contract of employment, and from attempting to coerce or induce any such employee to become a party to any plan or conspiracy of any nature designed or tending to force plaintiffs or intervenor or any of them to enter into a contract with the United Mine Workers of America or any constituent union, or to force the plaintiffs and intervenor or any of them to operate their said mines or any of them upon the "closed union shop basis" against their will;

No groups or crowds shall be permitted for the purpose of communicating with or persuading persons seeking employment from accepting employment or contracting for employment with the plaintiffs and intervenor or any of them. Persuasion in the presence of three or more persons congregated with the persuader is not peaceful persuasion and is hereby prohibited;

8. From blockading any of the public highways leading to said mines of the plaintiffs or intervenor or any of them, and from interfering in any way with the free use of said highways by any and all persons having business with plaintiffs and intervenor or any of them;

9. From gathering or loitering in groups or crowds about or near the mines or property owned or leased by any plaintiff, or by intervenor, or upon, along, or about any public road, railroad, railroad station, or train, or place of any kind near any of said mines or property, or used by plaintiffs' or intervenor's agents or employees, or by persons seeking or having employment contracts with any plaintiff or with intervenor, or used by such contractors, agents, or employees in going to and from work wherever located, or used by plaintiffs or intervenor or any of them for the transportation of men under contract who work for them or any of them, for the actual or apparent purpose of intimidating or creating fear in the minds of any such person or persons, or for the purpose of coercing or persuading or attempting to coerce or persuade any person to break or not to make any employment contract with any plaintiff or with intervenor, or from working with any contractor or plaintiff or intervenor.

Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to prevent defendants from meeting in ordinary neighborhood or social gatherings or from attending meetings of their unions in their union halls, provided that such gatherings or meetings shall not be conducted with the purpose or effect of violating the provisions or the spirit of this injunction, and the respective officers of such defendant unions as well as the person taking part in such gatherings or meetings are charged with the responsibility of carrying this provision completely into effect;

10. From picketing except as herein specifically permitted:

(a) Picket posts may be maintained upon or immediately adjacent to each public highway leading to the mines of plaintiffs or intervenor, but not upon their property, and such posts in no event shall be closer together than 700 yards, nor shall any picket post be located closer than 100 feet from any building or structure owned or leased by plaintiffs or intervenor.

(b) Not more than three persons at a time shall be stationed at any picket post, and no other person shall be permitted to stand or loiter at any place within 100 feet from the limits of any picket post for any purpose whatsoever;

(c) Each picket post established shall be not to exceed 100 feet in length along the highway, and its limits shall be indicated by a sign, flag, or marker;

(d) A list containing the names of the picket details as soon as chosen will be delivered to the United States marshal, southern district of Ohio, accompanied by a rough plat or plats showing the designation and location of each picket post. The list shall also show the assignment and post location of each individual picket. In case of change of picket personnel or location of picket posts at any time, the fact of such change will be reported to said United States marshal at the time made. The president of subdistrict No. 5 is charged with the duty and responsibility of seeing that the information and reports herein mentioned are promptly given to the United States marshal;

(e) Each picket shall be a citizen of the United States and shall be able to speak the English language;

(f) Relief pickets shall not stay in the vicinity of picket posts when not on duty;

(g) Pickets on duty at their respective posts may peacefully observe, communicate with, and persuade persons, but shall not make use of abusive or threatening language. The peaceful persuasion herein referred to is peaceful persuasion directed toward one who is not known to be an employee in the effort to keep him from becoming an employee, or directed toward one who is an employee in the effort to induce him to terminate his relation of employment upon the expiration of any employment contract he may be under, but does not include peacefully persuading one to break an existing employment contract;

(h) The erection or maintenance of tents or other places for the assembly of persons belonging to defendants' union or their sympathizers (other than tents used solely for pickets) within 100 yards of plaintiffs' properties, or within 100 yards of any picketed highway, is hereby restrained;

11. From the doing of any act or acts whatsoever in the furtherance of any combination or conspiracy heretofore or hereafter formed for the purpose of hindering, delaying, or interfering with plaintiff or intervenor or any of them in the mining, shipping, and sale of coal from said mines or any of them;

12. It is further ordered that the marshal cause this preliminary injunction to be published in a newspaper of general circulation in each of the following counties of Ohio, to wit: Belmont, Harrison, Jefferson, Tuscarawas, Stark, and Guernsey, for at least one issue, and that he cause this order, together with a certificate of authenticity of the clerk of this court, to be printed in the English, Italian, and Polish languages and to be posted in at least 25 conspicuous places in each of said counties, save Stark and Tuscarawas, adjacent to the aforesaid mines and elsewhere, and that the clerk of this court issue to the marshal of the northern district of Ohio 50 of said printed and certified orders to be by him posted in conspicuous places in the counties of Stark and Tuscarawas adjacent to the said mines of intervenor, and elsewhere; and all persons are forbidden under the penalty of contempt of this court from destroying, defacing, or mutilating any such poster wherever the same is being lawfully displayed;

13. The marshal for the southern district of Ohio is directed to see that this injunction is enforced within the limits of said district, and to arrest and cause to be arrested any person or persons caught in the act of disobeying any of the provisions of this injunction, and to bring such person or persons forthwith before the United States commissioner or the court, and to report to the court each such other acts of disobedience of this order as may otherwise come to his attention. The marshal is authorized and directed to call to his assistance such persons, either as deputy marshals or otherwise, with compensation allowed by law, as he may deem necessary and is empowered by law to do, for the purpose of securing early and prompt obedience to the provisions hereof within his jurisdiction, and for that purpose the marshal with such assistants as he shall deem necessary and so appoint, shall attend the premises of plaintiffs and intervenor within his jurisdiction, from time to time, and especially at such times as plaintiffs or intervenor shall be ready to engage in mining operations in said respective mines; and said marshal is authorized to make service of copies of this order upon any and all persons within his jurisdiction who may be in or about said mines, or in the vicinity thereof, whether or not named as defendants herein;

14. The court reserves the right to modify this preliminary injunction at any time on its own motion and without hearing if the court shall deem it necessary so to do to make the same more effective and to bring about the purpose for which the same is now issued;

15. This injunction shall become effective as to the plaintiffs upon their giving bond conditioned according to law in the sum of $40,000, and it shall become effective as to the intervener upon its giving a like bond in the sum of $15,000.

BENSON W. HOUGH, *Judge.*

Dated at Steubenville, Ohio, this 10th day of September, 1927.

LITTLE JUDGES JOIN IN

Not only have the Federal courts thus used their vast power to break the miners' union, destroy the rights of the miners, and prohibit them from securing decent American wages, but State courts, also, are issuing injunctions for the same purpose. I call special attention to an injunction issued by Judge Langham, of the court of common pleas for Indiana County, Pa. And I call your attention, also, to the fact that Judge Langham is the owner of coal lands in the very county in which his injunction is in effect. His injunction reads as follows:

INDIANA COUNTY, *ss:*

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to A. J. Phillips, individually and as vice president of local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America, Tony Ross, individually and as organizer of the United Mine Workers of America; Robert Slee, individually and as recording and financial secretary of Local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America; James Mark, individually and as president of district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; John Ghizzoni, individually and as member of the national executive board of United Mine Workers of America; Faber McCloskey, individually and as vice president of district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; Richard Gilbert, individually and as secretary and treasurer of district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; Sam Truance, individually and as president of local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America; John Ferrio, individually and as treasurer of local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America; Levi McConnaughey, individually and as board member of district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; Harold Altman, Howard Altman, Charles Anderson, Francis Brennan, Francis Burns, Nick Cherry, Eugene Comport, Louie Del Grande, James Elliott, Howard Hatherall, Robert Jackson, Julius Johnston, Charles Johnston, Howard Keys, William Maddox, John Mock, Walter Nowickie, Joe Paleo, jr., Joe Patterson, Arch Serian, Carmine Serian, George Shilling, Santo Sarotto, James Trunzo, district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; and local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America, their associates, aiders, abettors and agents, or any other person acting with the above named, or hereafter named, defendants, greeting:

Whereas it hath been represented unto us at our court of common pleas for the county of Indiana, in a certain cause there pending, wherein Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation is plaintiff, and you the said A. J. Phillips, individually and as vice president of local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America; Tony Ross, individually and as organizer of the United Mine Workers of America; Robert Slee, individually and as recording and financial secretary of local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America; James Mark, individually and as president of district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; John Ghizzoni, individually and as member of the national executive board of United Mine Workers of America; Faber McCloskey, individually and as vice president of district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; Richard Gilbert, individually and as secretary and treasurer of district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; Sam Truance, individually and as president of local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America; John Ferrio, individually and as treasurer of local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America; Levi McConnaughey, individually and as board member of district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; Harold Altman, Howard Altman, Charles Anderson, Francis Brennan, Francis Burns, Nick Cherry, Eugene Comport, Louis Del Grande, James Elliott, Howard Hatherall, Robert Jackson, Julius Johnston, Charles Johnston, Howard Keyes, William Maddox, John Mock, Walter Nowickie, Joe Paleo, jr., Joe Patterson, Arch Serian, Carmine Serian, George Shilling, Santo Sarotto, James Trunzo, district No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; and local No. 1736, United Mine Workers of America, their associates, aiders, abettors, and agents, or any other person acting with the above named, or hereafter named, defendants, on the part of the said plaintiff, that you have been complained against as fully set out in the bill of equity hereto attached.

We therefore, in consideration of the premises aforesaid, do strictly enjoin and command you, the said defendants, your associates, aiders, abettors, and agents, and all other persons, that you do from henceforth desist—

(a) From attempting by any scheme, combination, or conspiracy among themselves, or with others, to annoy, hinder, or interfere with or prevent any person or persons from working for the plaintiff or seeking employment with the plaintiff, or from any and all acts, and from the use of any ways, means, and methods, such as assaulting, attempting to assault, beating, threatening, picketing, terrorizing, intimidating, and annoying the employees or their families at their homes, spreading reports causing men seeking employment to fear violence in plaintiff's employ, causing explosions, writing or causing threatening letters to be written to employees or families of employees of plaintiff, putting or attempting to put any person or persons in fear which will tend to hinder, impede, or obstruct the plaintiff from operating the said Rossiter mines.

(b) From picketing and parading in, upon, or through the public roads, roads, streets, alleys, bridges, railroads, and other places, past, near, or in the vicinity or in the neighborhood or leading to the Rossiter mines or the dwelling or boarding houses of the employees of the plaintiff.

(c) From loitering, assembling, or congregating about or near the property of the plaintiff or trespassing thereon, from visiting the dwellings or boarding houses of the employees of the plaintiff, to intimidate them or their families, from obstructing the streets or roads of Rossiter, from congregating about or near in the town of Rossiter where the employees and their families go, from operating and maintaining automobile patrols on the streets and roads of Rossiter, from erecting or causing to be erected or maintaining billboards for purpose of displaying signs warning men to stay away from Rossiter, from congregating on the Magyar Presbyterian Church lot, or any other lot, lots, place or places at the time the employees of the plaintiff enter the mine and at the time the employees of the plaintiff come out of the mine, from singing song or songs in hearing of the employees of the plaintiff of a threatening or hostile nature.

(d) From suggesting danger to or giving the appearance of danger to the employees or the families of the employees of the plaintiff; from saying or doing anything to cause the men now working to quit or cause men seeking work to refrain from so doing; from interfering with or obstructing men from going to or returning from work; from the use of vile, opprobrious, and ridiculing names or any insulting names, and especially the words "scab" and "s— of b—"; from distributing pecuniary contributions, in furtherance of the conspiracy to keep men from employment or seeking employment with the plaintiff; from doing any act to interfere with the right of plaintiff and its employees or

persons seeking employment to agree upon such wage as is agreeable to them; from doing any act, directly or indirectly, to test the nerve, courage, and strength of those desiring to work.

(e) From doing any acts or uttering any words of any kind in the furtherance of any combination or conspiracy or other unlawful acts for the purpose of preventing plaintiff from operating its mines or to reduce the tonnage.

Returnable Saturday, the 12th day of November next, at 10 o'clock a. m.

Witness the Hon. J. N. Langham, president judge of our said court, at Indiana, the 8th day of November, A. D. 1927.

[SEAL.] CLAUDE E. BATH, *Prothonotary.*

OPERATORS ARE RUTHLESS

What is the attitude assumed by the operators toward a settlement?

Starting this conflict by brazenly repudiating a solemn agreement, they have continued this attitude of rule or ruin to this very day.

When Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, one of the original negotiators of the Jacksonville agreement, called a "peace meeting" of operators and miners, all the big companies repulsed him with effrontery.

The hard-boiled attitude of a small, but dominating, group of operators is thus solely responsible for the failure of this peace meeting.

It should not be forgotten that the principal of these corporations which thus flouted the President of the United States by ignoring the request of his Cabinet member and authorized spokesman was the Pittsburgh Coal Co.

STRIVING TO OBTAIN SUBMISSION BY STARVATION

This reduces the conflict to a test of endurance, with all the resources on one side. It is civil war with one side armed. The result is apparently to be determined by the ability of the miners and their wives and children to endure starvation.

This group of mine owners is not only starving their former employees, disrupting the social order of an entire district and breaking every legal and moral law of industrial relation, but they are holding their more humane associates in line under threat of ruin.

Here is what one of them said to the investigator of the Daily News, Mr. Limpus:

HIS HEART BLEEDS FOR THE KIDS

I may be a traitor to my class and I'd lose my job if this were traced to me, but I'm going to tell you the truth about this strike. First of all, my sympathy is with the miners, and I'm ashamed of what I've done to them. I almost wish I'd resigned, but somebody else would have done it if I hadn't.

They've been brutally treated. I know it. Most coal and iron policemen are thugs. I know that. I've used them. I'm ashamed of myself for having done so and for having evicted families. My heart bleeds for the kids. Everybody in the game is losing a lot of money, and a lot of us are damned near bankrupt.

The Pittsburgh Coal and the Terminal companies are the biggest fellows in the field. They're both using unskilled, imported scab labor, and it's mighty expensive. Those scabs can't make decent salaries in the mines. They nearly starve to death. Both companies have coal and iron policemen, and they are the worst in the business. Anyhow, that's my opinion.

DISGUSTED WITH THE WHOLE BUSINESS

I think all evictions are a mistake. It forfeits the support of public opinion. Besides it's wrong. I may bluff, but I'm going to resign before I give orders to kick another family out into the snow. I'm disgusted with the whole damn business.

There you are. Now, if you print it nobody will ever believe that the president of a coal company ever said that, but it's the truth nevertheless.

The futility of the struggle was revealed by President Jones, of the Bertha Coal Co., described by Limpus as "easily the most broad-minded and least bitter of any of the operators interviewed."

This verdict concerning Jones is indorsed by the leaders of the mine workers. According to Limpus, Mr. Jones said:

This strike has already cost the producers of the Pittsburgh district more than $14,000,000. In my opinion, if we had spent $1,500,000 of that in some kind of scientific cooperative marketing we could have paid the Jacksonville scale and all made money.

TRY TO FRIGHTEN CONGRESS

Not content with flouting a member of the President's Cabinet, these operators attempted to influence Congress just prior to the time I made my speech.

The following is a copy of propaganda sent to many Members of Congress at that time:

FEDERAL REGULATION UNDESIRABLE

MONONGAHELA COAL OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION,
Morgantown, W. Va., December 22, 1927.

MY DEAR SIR: In view of the recommendations in the President's message again recommending Federal regulation of the coal industry in times of emergency, and the conference of operators and representatives of the United Mine Workers of America recently called by the Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis, it occurred to me that the correspondence carried on by telegraph between Secretary Davis and the Monongahela Coal Operators' Association might be of some interest and some aid to you if and when it becomes your duty to consider a bill or bills introduced in this Congress for emergency legislation. I attach hereto a mimeograph copy of the telegrams sent to the association through me by Secretary Davis and replies of the association thereto.

The proposition that a great private industry shall be subjected to governmental interference and regulation because the labor union has seen fit to call a strike in that industry and thereby create an emergency over which the operators in the industry have no control and for which they are in no wise responsible, is wholly untenable. Such a program is violative of the constitutional safeguards guaranteeing the right to private property and freedom of contract and would be an unwarranted and dangerous grant of power which could be easily abused, because the term "emergency," like the term "expediency," is very elastic, and it is obviously unsound and unjust to place legislation upon the statute books which would give opportunity to the United Mine Workers of America at any time to bring down upon the operators in the coal industry Federal regulation by the simple expediency of calling a strike and thereby creating an emergency.

This association desires thus early to go upon record as being unalterably opposed to any such program and now here states its desire to be given notice of an opportunity to be heard upon any bills having for their purpose the carrying of such a program into effect.

Yours very truly,

H. D. PAPE, *Executive Secretary.*

Please note that they have included copies of the telegrams exchanged with the Secretary of Labor, thus brazenly confirming their refusal to confer with him:

[Western Union]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 9, 1927.*

MONONGAHELA COAL OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION,
Morgantown, W. Va.:

You are requested to attend a conference in my office in the Department of Labor, Washington, Tuesday morning, December 13, at 10 o'clock. The attendance will consist only of bituminous operators of western and central Pennsylvania, northern West Virginia and Ohio, and representatives of the United Mine Workers. The meeting will be for frank discussion of problems affecting the mining industry with the object of bringing about, if possible, a satisfactory and peaceful situation. The conference is called with the knowledge of the President. Very important your company be represented.

JAMES J. DAVIS, *Secretary of Labor.*

[Western Union]

OPERATORS NOT INTERESTED

DECEMBER 11, 1927.

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Acknowledging receipt of your telegram inviting the Monongahela Coal Operators' Association to attend a conference having for its purpose "a frank discussion of problems affecting the mining industry with the object of bringing about, if possible, a satisfactory and peaceful situation" we beg to advise that all of the operators in this association are now and for several years past have been operating their mines open shop. All of them have been operating full time and are now operating as continuously as the conditions of the market will permit in a peaceful manner and without friction or trouble of any kind as between the respective companies and their employees. There is no strike in any mine over which this association has jurisdiction. There is no connection, contractural or otherwise, between the operators of this association and the United Mine Workers of America. Therefore the operators of this association would not be interested in or affected by labor problems which may be brought before the proposed conference. For the foregoing reasons your invitation is respectfully declined.

MONONGAHELA COAL OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION,
D. H. PAPE, *Executive Secretary.*

[Western Union]

SECRETARY DAVIS DISAPPOINTED

WASHINGTON, D. C.

D. H. PAPE,
Monongahela Coal Operators' Association,
Morgantown, W. Va.:

Deeply regret your decision not to attend conference called by me and ask that you reconsider the subject for consideration is far broader

than any immediate wage question. As said in my previous telegram, this conference is for frank and free discussion of all questions at issue. The public is now aware of overproduction, overdevelopment, the vast waste of our natural resources and hopes for some move toward permanent stabilization of the industry, to guarantee steady supplies of coal with fair profit to the operator and steady employment at fair wages to the miner. It is a great mistake to assume this conference is called in the interest of labor only. I personally and representatives of the Department of Labor have discussed the matter with more operators than miners. All previous conferences attended by miners could also have been attended by operators had they so desired. Nothing is ever lost by conference and with many operators losing money and thousands of miners out of work the public has become very much interested. Even if the mines be more or less fully manned, as stated, does this guarantee the industry a future free from the same grievances and the same unsettlement and unemployment as now exist. The present time seems to me the more appropriate for conference because the existing supply of coal will permit discussion without passion or prejudice on behalf of the public and the thousands of miners unemployed and in the interests of the industry itself. I would strongly urge you to be present for full consideration of the problem in its broad humanitarian as well as economic aspects.

JAMES J. DAVIS, *Secretary of Labor.*

[Western Union]

DECEMBER 13, 1927.

MINES ARE FULLY MANNED, BUT HOW?

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Your telegram December 12 received 10 p. m. same day. Beg to advise that for reasons stated in previous telegram to you this association is unwilling to participate in coal conference. Members of this association are willing to participate in any conference which may be called to discuss problems relating to the overproduction, conservation, and marketing of coal, or any other economic problems affecting the bituminous industry, in an effort to stabilize the industry and promote the public interest provided coal operators and associations representing the bituminous industry in the various coal producing sections of the United States are invited to be present. The members of this association can not understand how a conference participated in by the United Mine Workers of America, which does not represent labor in this field, and only operators from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and northern West Virginia, representing but a small part of the bituminous industry, can possibly solve any of the economic problems referred to in your telegram. We beg to assure you that our mines are not more or less fully manned, but are overmanned, in that there are more miners in this region than the mines can employ. There are no labor grievances and neither is there any unsettlement or unemployment in the mines operated by members of this association or in this field which can be settled in any conference with the United Mine Workers of America.

MONONGAHELA COAL OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION,
D. H. PAPE, *Executive Secretary.*

WOMEN AND CHILDREN THE FIRST CONSIDERATION

That is the attitude of these cruel, brutal operators in reply to the suggestion that an armistice be declared, where both sides could sit down together and discuss the situation in a proper manner to see if some relief could not be had to relieve the suffering and distress of those innocent women and children in the western part of Pennsylvania.

Are we, as the representatives of the people of this great Nation, going to sit supinely by with that defiance thrown into our teeth and say that there is no chance to even discuss these relations by corporations that have violated their solemn contracts with the miners' union and forced upon these people this terrible condition that we have there? I have some more statements that I will read to you. I am trying to give you the atmosphere that you are about to approach.

WILL NOT YIELD TO HUMANITY

Here is what they say.

On February 4, 1928, in the issue of the Sun-Telegraph, published in Pittsburgh, Pa., a proposal for an armistice was made by Fannie Hurst. I quote from that paper:

Fannie Hurst's proposal in the Sun-Telegraph Thursday that an armistice be declared in the coal strike and the miners return to work, pending final settlement of the questions at issue, was laid before the union miners' chieftain and before the two largest operators, and this is what they said:

John L. Lewis, international president of the Mine Workers of America: "We are willing to consider an armistice. I can make no suggestion as to what its terms might be until negotiations have been opened. The thing to do is to open negotiations. We have always been and are now willing to meet the operators in a conference."

THE OLD, OLD STORY

C. E. Lesher, vice president of the Pittsburgh Coal Co.: "We indicated our position when we refused to attend the conference called by Secretary of Labor Davis, and it has not changed. We are not interested in the proposal of an armistice, because we do not recognize the existence of a war. We will not meet the union's representatives, because we have nothing to discuss with them."

Horace F. Baker, president of the Pittsburgh Terminal Corporation: "The time for compromise has passed. We have won the fight. To talk of a truce now is like raising a squawk after the battle is over. As I see it, there is no alternative for the strikers but to continue idle or return to work on our terms."

STRIKE BREAKER INEFFICIENT

Just a word more as to the suicidal nature of this conflict.

Here are some figures which completely explode the excuse of the operators as to the labor cost in unionized American mines:

The selling cost of coal, f. o. b. at the mines, under the Jacksonville scale was from $1.80 to $2.10 per ton.

German brown coal of a very inferior quality cost $3.75.

British, French, Belgian, and German coal of the better grades cost from $4 to $4.50 per ton, f. o. b. mines.

Here is a statement by Vice President Phil Murray, acknowledged to be one of the best-informed men in the coal industry in the United States:

The average production costs in western Pennsylvania during the years 1924, 1925, and 1926, at coal mines operating on the basis of the Jacksonville agreement, was $1.89 per ton.

The Pittsburgh Coal Co., as I have already stated, abrogated its contract August 10, 1925. Statements coming from the company since this abrogation were made public early in March, 1926 and 1927. These statements show that the cost of production operating on the basis of a $6 per day wage rate was $3.78 per ton.

THE COMPANY LOSSES ENORMOUS

It is conservatively estimated that this company's losses for the first 15 months that it fought the union amounted to about $11,000,000. This company has failed to pay dividends on its preferred stock since the latter part of 1925, or since its abrogation of contract. This is the first time in the history of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. that it passed up preferred dividends.

The company's mining equipment manned with efficient union miners, in western Pennsylvania, is capable of yielding an annual production of 22,000,000 tons. During the postwar period its production exceeded this amount. It has been conducting its strike-breaking campaign in western Pennsylvania for two and one-half years, the net result of its effort being a production figure of approximately 24 per cent of normal.

* * * * * * *

The next largest commercial coal producer in the Pittsburgh area is the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation. It respected the terms of its contract until its legal expiration, March 31, 1927. During the year 1926 it operated its six mines in western Pennsylvania steady and yielded a return of $378,000 to its stockholders after interest on bonded debt, taxes, insurance, etc., had been paid off. The production costs of this company for the year 1926, when it paid the Jacksonville agreement, was $1.86 per ton. Since April 1 it has operated nonunion and has inflicted three separate reductions on its employees. The last wage reduction was put into effect early in December, 1927. This company has suffered heavy losses in its effort to destroy the mine workers' organization and degrade wages. In fact, its first quarterly statement after starting on a nonunion basis, or for the months of April, May, and June, 1927, showed the company's net operating loss to be something in excess of $200,000. During the months of January, February, and March, 1927, this company paid the Jacksonville wage rate and netted a return of $77,000 after paying insurance, interest, taxes, etc.

The Bethlehem Mines Corporation abrogated its contract with the union in July, 1925. Its mines are located in western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia. I have been unable to ascertain the production costs of this corporation because it is a subsidiary of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and it has not been possible to secure any public record of the losses of the coal division of this corporation since it broke faith with the United Mine Workers of America. I know that they must be exceptionally heavy.

SHOOT UP PUBLIC SCHOOL

Here are some further facts:

The shooting affray in the Curry strike zone that shocked the country yesterday is the natural consequence of official incompetency that permits the ruthless rule of coal and iron police in western Pennsylvania.

Sheriff Braun very properly took charge of the riot district yesterday after a rain of bullets had been pumped into the strikers' barracks and a public school closed to save children from being shot by snipers.

Maybe Governor Fisher will be spurred to take some decisive action now.

To preserve order and protect the public safety is the fundamental function of government.

Those are the kind of things that are happening in western Pennsylvania, where, under the law of the State parents are compelled to send their children to school, and while those children are in attendance, in compliance with the law, these gunmen and thugs who have been imported from the scums of the earth, armed with authority of the State, come along and shoot into the barracks of the miners and shoot into the public schools to such an extent that the schools have to be closed to save the lives of the little children. Oh, Pennsylvania, what shame!

PENNSYLVANIA GREATLY ADMIRED

Let my position be understood. I love Pennsylvania. Its hills, valleys, dales, mountains; its great industries; its great educational institutions; its patriotism and its general and uniform greatness are the source of never-ending admiration.

Its warriors of every war and its men of peace have the highest place in my regard, but I can not remain silent when I see men and corporations employing questionable methods in order to sully its fair name. I can not remain silent when I see women whose hearts are golden suffer as my mother once suffered. I can not remain silent when I see stalwart men grieved and despondent, wondering how much longer such unjust restrictions shall be imposed; wondering, perchance, during the despondent moment, if life was worth the while. What would Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, and the other seven signers of the Declaration of Independence say if they returned to their revered State and found things as I have found them in western Pennsylvania? Would they not come to you, as they appeared before the Continental Congress, and plead, as I have pleaded, more eloquently I know, for a return of justice to their unhappy sons; and they would ask that the coal operators, the railroad managers, and the other interfering interests be rebuked by this Congress, like no aggregation of unprincipled men had ever been rebuked before.

SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST A GOVERNOR

The charges made against the Pennsylvania Governor are serious ones, and they are all the more serious because they are made by men who love Pennsylvania just as much as he loves it. He is charged with being a party in interest, due to the fact that he is said to be a director and chief counsel for a mine company which is a subsidiary of the New York Central. And this railway, according to the information in my presence, is engaged in the debased, damnable, and un-American work of endeavoring to destroy the principle of contractural relations, and in the effort it has fallen from its high estate into the muck of trickery and deceit.

I do not desire to be misunderstood. I believe capital has its rights; that it has now and always will have a place in our economic and industrial life. But capital must be fair, it must be just, and it must treat its employees as men should be treated—with confidence and consideration. Labor asks the opportunity to share devotion to this high purpose through the only channel that makes cooperation possible—the trade union. Labor's cause is now plainly seen by all men to have what, by implication, it had from the very beginning—a positive as well as a negative purpose. Its aim is not merely to repel opposition, to vindicate public faith, to clip the wings of capital, and to frustrate the designs of what the railroads and the bituminous operators call the avowed policy—the establishment of company unions.

MUSEUM THE PLACE FOR ANCIENT METHODS

Labor recognizes that the old, coercive, and intimidative machinery, however, worked, like chain armor and horse cars, had its day, and that such machinery must take its place among the things one usually views in museums. Labor is determined to provide against the horrors which are now scourging manhood and womanhood in western Pennsylvania, not merely by repression and industrial warfare but by the continuation of collective bargaining and the corporative judgment, the sense of common interests and common duties, the reconciling of the warring industrial interests, and, if need be, the restraining and constraining of our whole industrial family.

It is necessary to thunder with indignation at the sight of harrowing scenes, and it is equally necessary for a note of warning to be sounded when corporations, such as the New York Central, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and other railways, keep stepping outside of their own field of endeavor and interfere with the peace, the prosperity, and the progress of other industries. They pursued such a course once before and were called to account before the bar of public opinion.

The interference in the anthracite coal fields only a few years ago has not been forgotten, and the effort to destroy the United Mine Workers in that region is still fresh in mind. Their apparent purpose was then, the same as it is now in western Pennsylvania, to keep down wages so that high freight rates can be charged.

RAILROADS WARNED TO BE CAREFUL

It will be recalled how the railroads interfered in Pennsylvania politics. They had no scruples about dealing with the gang in whatever way it suggested. Their representatives were everywhere. The mighty railroad hand was raised against every aspiring man who did not think in railway terms and meekly follow the railroad executives' suggestions.

These same executives were so busy attending to everyone's affairs but their own when the World War happened along, so much so that they fell flat. Their rolling stock became impaired and the Government, fearing a general breakdown, interposed and assumed charge. It will be recalled how these same railroad executives came to Congress and cried out in distressful lamentations that if the railroads were given back to the original owners they would be good; that they would attend to their own business and leave other industries and politics alone. Congress listened to their plea and returned the railroads to their owners.

For four or five years they did mind their own business, and as a result the railroads prospered. But unfortunately they can not stand prosperity. It goes to their head. Again they are going forth to conquer new industries. This year, perchance, with all the brazen effrontery of yore, they will again be enmeshed in the muck of gang politics.

THE PUBLIC EYE IS OPENED

But I warn them to desist before they go too far. The public eye is opened; the public conscience is awakened and will no longer tolerate unscrupulous methods. The hand that smote them once will smite them again.

It has been said that a cessation of hostilities would be of little advantage to the striking miners, because mills and factories are idle, and there is no demand for bituminous coal. I will admit that there is a lull in industrial activity. The mills and factories of my home city are not working as steadily as they should, and the anthracite mines are working a little better than half time.

But notwithstanding business stagnation, if peace between the bituminous operators and the striking miners were established, a sense of security would prevail; the miner's credit would be reestablished; he could return to his old home; he would be free from persecution; free from the blackjacks of the unscrupulous coal and iron police, and he and his family would be happy and content in their old environments.

THE ADVANTAGES OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE

The miner is a skilled workman. He must know the use of powder; he must know how to direct the course of the air; he must know how to stand props, erect doors, and brattices; he must know how to encounter gas and black damp; he must know how to protect himself and others from falls of coal and rock; he must know how to handle electrically operated boring machines; he must know how to handle the drill; he must know how to move the mine car from place to place; and, above all, he must know the kind of coal he is blasting, or else he will have only trouble for his pains. He must always look for the preservation of safety from his fellow miners, and they, too, look to him for a display of common sense and good judgment in every one of his daily tasks. But notwithstanding the care exercised, death and injury lurks in the darkness.

THE MINERS' PAY ALWAYS INADEQUATE

He could not be over or excessively paid no matter what his daily wage might be; that is my personal belief, and the belief of every man who is acquainted with the dangers and the intricate details of mines and mining. But the highest wage he ever received in the bituminous fields of western Pennsylvania was under the Jacksonville scale. That was a little over $7 per day. But the miner, if he is paid by the day, very seldom works more than three or four days a week. If he is a contract miner, he could report every day, but he has not the assurance of more than a few cars. So, it will be observed, that his monthly wage is never more than $80 to $90 per month. From this rent for his shack, charges for powder, sharpening of tools, and the like must be deducted.

OPERATORS DESIRE A RETURN OF THE OLD SYSTEM

Then why this charge of high wages? I will tell you. It is plain and unmistakable. The operators desire a return of the old days, when the mine boss cracked the whip the mine employee would run. They want the return of the company store. They want a return of the peonage system. They want a return of the old power of voting, when the miners were voted as a unit for a given candidate, no matter what the individual preference might be. They do not want the miner to have the independence or the freedom the United Mine Workers gives him, and they want to keep the miner at the borderland of starvation and in the state of absolute subjugation. Thus, you

will observe, the plea of inability to pay is a pretense, a subterfuge, and it is not going to fool anyone. It might be their wish, but a return of the old system will never materialize, because the people of these United States will not stand for it. The miners are striving as well as their limited means will allow to be true Americans. The seed of communism will, I hope, never find root among them, because they are not going to allow themselves to fall prey to the malefactors of the coal industry. And the good and true people of this country are going to see that they win a victory—one that will insure a decent salary; one that will insure good homes; and one that will insure an education for their offsprings.

THE REMARKABLE CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO GOVERNORS

It is apropos at this time to contrast the remarkable difference in the attitude of the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Governor of Ohio. Conditions in Pennsylvania are as I have described them—intolerable, unbearable, and inhumane. Want, cruelty, and the imposition of blackjack police regulations were in evidence everywhere in the mine patches.

Did the governor of that State size up to the occasion? Did he do one single thing to alleviate the sufferings? Did he do one single thing to satisfy the hunger of the men, women, and children? Did he do one single thing to prevent brutal practices of the coal and iron police? As far as I know, he did not. He incased himself in the ignoble shroud of silence—forgetful of duty.

I have been taught that one comes into this world to enjoy what is beautiful and good and to do as one pleases when the things one wants to do are noble, intelligent, and generous. Was he, the governor of a great State, noble or generous in the great emergency?

SOLDIERS ON MISSIONS OF MERCY

How different was the attitude of the Governor of Ohio. It is true shortly after the strike was called he ordered out the militia, not for the purpose of browbeating and blackjacking or evicting the striking miners, but for the purpose of performing missions of mercy.

The Ohio soldiers carried no guns, but instead carried bread and fed the hungry; clothed those who needed raiment; gave shoes to those who needed them; and escorted, when such was necessary, the children back and forth from school. The Ohio soldiers cheered the despondent, spoke kindly to all, and endeavored in every way possible to make the lot of the miner as happy and contented as circumstances would permit.

SOLDIERS HELD IN AFFECTIONATE REGARD

And as a result the Ohio governor and his manly soldiers are held in affectionate regard because they have lived with kindness in their minds and charity in their hearts and, according to history and religion, they are to live as true exponents of the American principle of noble endeavor.

Much has been said about the coal and iron police. I have had many inquiries as to what this institution is or what it represents, who they are, and where they get their authority. I believe this is an opportune time to make reply to these many inquiries. The coal and iron police is a body created by law by the State of Pennsylvania in an act passed by the legislature during the Civil War. Certain men were unable, because of physical disabilities, to go into the active military service during the war between the North and the South. Coal and iron being recognized as very essential in warfare, it was decided to pass a law by the State of Pennsylvania which, under its provisions, would make these men who were unfit for active military service in the field to be able to contribute their share toward the winning of the war.

The State passed what was known as the act creating the coal and iron police, whose duty it was to protect the coal and iron deposits and industries of the State and see that the coal and iron products were carried to their proper destination. Necessarily, under such a situation, great powers were granted to these coal and iron police.

WHAT ARE COAL AND IRON POLICE?

They represent the chief executive of the State and are commissioned by the governor of the State and are responsible to him; but while they are appointed by the governor, from the recommendations made to him by the coal companies, they are in reality governed in their official action by the coal companies upon whose pay roll they are carried and paid from. They have the full authority of the police powers of the State, while they are on the pay rolls of the coal companies and subject to the orders of these coal companies.

THE ARMED THUG AT LARGE

What else do we find? We find that upon the requests of the coal companies in the western part of Pennsylvania, made to the governor for the commissioning of coal and iron police, approximately 4,000 coal and iron police commissions were issued. These men carry with them the badge of authority of the State, a revolver, a riot club, and they are also dressed in officers' uniforms; they represent and speak in the name of the Governor of the great State of Pennsylvania.

We also find that after fighting for over a year and a half trying to get the facts about these gunmen commissioned as coal and iron police, the governor's office the other day admitted every charge that was made against these men and against the institution as an institution. He says the governor's office admits that there are about 4,000 coal and iron policemen appointed by the governor, and upon a check up by his office they find that there are about 2,500 of these men, with all this authority, representing the governor and the State, that can not be found upon the pay rolls of the coal companies of Pennsylvania; an armed mob of thugs and gunmen roaming through the State, unattached and not responsible to anyone.

And unfortunately under the law these men can not be discharged by the governor unless formal charges have been preferred against them and until they are given an opportunity for defense. Just think of it, an army of 2,500 irresponsible gunmen imported from all parts of the United States, and particularly from the slums of the big cities, roving through Pennsylvania, armed with a commission issued by the governor in the name of the State and representing the governor, and the governor does not know where they are or who they are.

DISORDER INEVITABLE

Is it any wonder we are having murder, bloodshed, riot, and everything that may follow in a situation of that kind, when this army of thugs are prowling through the State unattached? It is a serious matter, gentlemen. If they can do this in Pennsylvania, may they not likewise undertake to do the same thing in every other State. If these conditions are permitted to continue what is going to become of the freedom of the people? What is going to become of the Constitution of the United States? What is going to become of our rights and the protection that the Government of the United States has promised to give to each and every one of us?

The amazing brutalities to which the miners and their families are subjected under the system referred to are graphically set forth in sworn statements of many victims and I wish to place in the RECORD a number of these affidavits, which are as follows:

COULD NOT VISIT HER DAUGHTER

On August 2, 1927, I went into the Valley Camp Coal Co.'s office at the Kinloch Mine with Mrs. George Nuttall and Mrs. Margaret Maughan, a Red Cross nurse, to see Mr. Paisley, if he would permit Mrs. Margaret Maughan to take care of her daughter, Mrs. George Nuttall, as she was about to be confined, and Mr. Paisley said that he would not permit Mrs. Margaret Maughan to go into the patch to take care of her daughter, Mrs. George Nuttall. I asked him a few times that from a human right he should permit the mother to take care of her daughter during her sickness, while the mother is a Red Cross nurse, but Mr. Paisley answered that she could not go into the patch, and said that Mr. George Nuttall should have moved, and said that Mrs. George Nuttall didn't get that way overnight. I said to Mr. Paisley that while I was in his office once before on a confinement that we both understood that a doctor and a nurse could get into the patch, and Mr. Paisley answered that there was no such understanding, and I answered that he was not telling the facts and asked Mr. Paisley again to permit Mrs. Margaret Maughan to take care of her daughter, Mrs. George Nuttall, during her confinement, and Mr. Paisley said, "No; she can not go into the patch."

S. INGERSKI.

On this 19th day of October, 1927, personally appeared before me, a notary public in and for the county of Westmoreland, State of Pennsylvania, S. Ingerski, who, being duly sworn, stated that the above affidavit is true and correct to the best of his knowledge and belief.

RAPHAEL CHIODO, *Notary Public.*

INDECENCY AND INSULT

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
County of Allegheny, ss:

Mrs. Rosa Costa, being duly sworn, says that she is the wife of Tony Costa, and lives in one of the company houses at Mine No. 4, and that this has been her home for four years, her husband during this period and up to April 1, 1927, digging coal for the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation; that she has five children, four of whom live with her, one a daughter 19 years old.

This affiant says that said company has a large force of coal and iron police stationed at said mine, many of whom are overbearing, offensive, and insulting in their manner; that they do not allow the union miners or members of their families to stand on the highway, but continually order them to move on; that they will not allow any of

affiant's relatives, or relatives of other union families to visit them at their homes; that they will not permit the delivery of foods or groceries or other supplies purchased by the affiant or other families of union miners, but require the affiant and union miners and their wives to carry in their own supplies that they have purchased at Horning.

Affiant further says that many of the guards are insulting to the wives of union miners and to the girls of their families; that there is a toilet used by said coal and iron police in the rear of the house in which the affiant lives and about 40 or 50 feet from the rear porch, and that it is a common occasion for the members of the coal and iron police to go to the said outhouse they use about half dressed and use the same without closing its door and in full view of this affiant and members of her family and other families of union miners living near by, exposing their person to public view; that on one occasion one of the coal and iron police saw her at the window and motioned to her, and she came out on the porch and asked what he wanted, and he made an indecent proposal to her, whereupon she turned and went into the house.

This affiant further says that she has disliked to make charges before any magistrate of this conduct referred to, and for that reason has not had said coal and iron police prosecuted.

ROSA COSTA.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 27th day of August, 1927.

[SEAL.] J. M. O'ROURKE,
Justice of the Peace.

(My commission expires first Monday in January, 1932.)

THE TERRIBLE CONDITION FROM WHICH THERE IS NO RELIEF

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
County of Allegheny, ss:

Mary Tarker, being duly sworn, says on oath that she is the wife of Barney Tarker, a coal miner who has mined coal at No. 4 Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation for the last 16 years and up until April 1, 1927; that she is 38 years old and the mother of 10 children, 9 of whom live with her and her husband; this affiant has seen a number of the coal and iron police going to and from their toilet half dressed, and on one occasion one of them wholly exposed his person and made insulting signs to the affiant.

Affiant further says that the coal and iron police are overbearing in their manner toward members of the families of union miners.

MARY TARKER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 27th day of August, 1927.

[SEAL.] J. M. O'ROURKE,
Justice of the Peace.

(My commission expires first Monday in January, 1932.)

COAL AND IRON POLICE VILE AND OBSCENE

Personally appeared before me, John J. Gill, justice of the peace in and for the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania, one Mrs. Susie Lapovitch, house No. 348, Renton, Pa., who, being duly sworn, deposes and says: That on July 19, 1927, as she was going to the stable to milk a cow a State trooper came to her gate and swore at her and told her to get in the house. She replied that she could not, as she had to milk a cow. He asked her if she would milk him, too. When he found out that her husband was there and was listening to everything he was saying, he called her vile and vulgar names and tried to open her gate, which was locked. Her husband is a union miner, and they have resided in Renton for eight years. She is afraid to go out on the highway for fear of being insulted or assaulted. She is the mother of five children.

SUSIE (her x mark) LAPOVITCH.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this 4th day of October, 1927.

JOHN J. GILL,
Justice of the Peace.

WOMEN BRUTALLY ASSAULTED

LOCK BOX 27, *Creighton, Pa.*

Personally appeared before me, John J. Gill, a justice of the peace in and for the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania, one Mrs. Julia Luzick, House No. 146, Renton, Pa., who being duly sworn, doth depose and say: That on July 19, 1927, as she was sitting on her porch she saw some women running in all directions. She then saw two State troopers, who were mounted, chasing the women into their houses. One trooper broke the lock off the house next door to her and entered the said house and beat Mrs. Anna Turba with his mace. After leaving Mrs. Turba's house he came over to her house and said, "Now, we got you," and the other trooper said, "Beat her to death." The trooper struck her on her leg with his mace. She begged him not to hit her and ran into her house. The trooper broke through her screen door and struck her again on her chest with his mace. The said troopers went from house to house beating and chasing all the women into the houses. She, the said Mrs. Luzick, was confined to her bed for three weeks and was unable to perform her duties as before, and she is the mother of four children. Her husband is a union coal miner and was employed at Renton Mine. They have resided at Renton since 1919.

JULI LUZIK.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this 4th day of October, 1927.

JOHN J. GILL,
Justice of the Peace.

POLICE CLUB CHILDREN

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
County of Allegheny, ss:

Before me the subscriber, a justice of the peace in and for said State and county, personally came David Harris, who, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he resides at Renton, Allegheny County, Pa.; that on the evening of October 26, 1927, he saw two State troopers chasing children in the village of Renton, Pa.; that one of said troopers threw a club at a child crossing the street, and further saith not.

DAVID HARRIS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of October, 1927.

THOS. E. MALLISEE,
Justice of the Peace.

CHILDREN FLED TO THE MOUNTAINS

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
County of Clearfield, ss:

Before me, a justice of peace in and for said county and State, personally came Tony Cocoa, of Ginter, Pa., who, being duly sworn according to law, says: That in the township of Gulich, Clearfield County, Pa., at Brookwood shaft, on the 22d day of August, 1927, while a number of children were playing along the side of the road, three members of coal and iron police, employed by the Madera Hill Coal Mining Co., chased them into the woods, frightening them and scaring them almost to death. The children were so badly scared that they went on the mountain, and it took the neighbors more than three hours to find them.

TONY COCOA.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 9th day of November, A. D. 1927.

[SEAL.] W. H. SMITH,
Justice of the Peace.

(My commission expires first Monday in January, 1930.)

HORSES ARE USED FOR MANIFOLD PURPOSES

Personally appeared before me, John J. Gill, justice of the peace in and for the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania, one Mrs. Frances Birhar, of House No. 701, Renton, Pa., who, being duly sworn, deposes and says: That on the morning of July 19, 1927, as she was on her way to visit Mrs. Ella Lazar, she was accosted by a State trooper, who was employed at the Renton coal mine, who told her that if she did not run back to her home he would make his horse jump on her. He followed her about 300 yards and chased her into Mrs. Bogity's house, and called her vile and vulgar names. Further that she and her husband have been residents of Renton for the past five years, and her husband is a union man, employed at the Renton coal mine.

MRS. FRANCES VEHAR.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this 4th day of October, 1927.

JOHN J. GILL,
Justice of the Peace.

BREAK INTO HOMES

Personally appeared before me, John J. Gill, justice of the peace in and for the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania, one Mrs. Anna Turba, house No. 145, Renton, Pa., who, being duly sworn, doth depose and say: That on July 19, 1927, she was standing with a woman who was chased into her porch by some State troopers. Presently two troopers came along, and one told the other to get off his horse and beat them, the two women. They ran in the house and locked the door. The trooper broke the lock and entered the house and struck one woman with his mace and beat her, Mrs. Turba, across her hips with his mace. The trooper outside told the trooper inside to beat them to death. Mr. Turba was ill and bedfast at the time and was so upset that he was confined to his bed for a month and has been unable to work and support his family, and they are now depending upon neighbors for support. Her husband is a union man and was employed by Renton mine. They have six children and have resided in Renton for eight years. She is afraid to leave the house for fear of being insulted or assaulted by the State police.

ANNA (her x mark) TURBA.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this 4th day of October, 1927.

JOHN J. GILL, *Justice of the Peace.*

WOMEN UNSAFE ON THE STREETS

Personally appeared before me, John J. Gill, a justice of the peace in and for the county of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania, one Ludwig Bogertay, house No. 55, Renton, Pa., who, being duly sworn, doth depose and say: That on July 29, 1927, he was standing on his porch when a deputy sheriff rode up to him and said: "Get in the house or I will club hell out of you and damn quick, too." He was not bothering them or interfering with their duties, and he also saw them insulting and assaulting women and children who were not interfering with them in any way. He is a union man and has lived in Reuton for five years.

LUDWIG BOGERTAY.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 4th day of October, 1927.

JOHN J. GILL, *Justice of the Peace.*

DRIVEN INTO HYSTERICS

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Washington County, ss:

Before me, the subscriber, Thomas Ward, in and for the county and Commonwealth aforesaid, personally appeared Pulenie Peterson, who, being duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say, on the 24th day of October, 1927, that she was abused by George Waytte, one of the deputy sheriffs employed by the Valley Camp Coal Co. at Van Vooruis, Fallowfield Township, and Washington County, Pa., and because of the abuse thereof the said Pulenie Peterson was confined to her bed for three days because of the abuse which necessitated medical attendance, and further deponent saith not.

PULENIE PETERSON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of November, 1927.

[SEAL.] THOMAS WARD, *Alderman.*

(My commission expires first Monday in January, 1932.)

There are two classes in the private army employed by the operators, the coal and iron police and the deputy sheriffs.

It is against the latter that the keenest resentment is felt.

HIRELINGS OF THE OPERATORS

The coal and iron police are frankly the hirelings of the operators. From long experience the miners know these police are ready to go to any lengths to please their bosses and earn their pay.

But the deputies are theoretically the subordinates of the sheriff, an officer elected by popular vote and intrusted with wide powers and discretion.

In actual practice the deputies are selected by the operators, just the same as the private police. The miners charge they are just as overbearing, just as careless of the rights of ordinary human beings as the companies' hired men.

At Harwich, where the mine is owned by the interests which control the Pittsburgh street railways, complaints were numerous.

DEPUTIES WORSE THAN PRIVATE POLICE

Here the practice of forbidding the miners, then still living in company houses awaiting the decision of the courts in the eviction suits, from visiting among themselves or exercising many of the ordinary privileges of citizens were stated to be enforced with special rigor.

One striker told of being arrested for speaking to a sick friend who died a week later. The miners had to plead for permission to attend the funeral and were forbidden to march to the grave.

Another striker stated he had been arrested when he went to ask the wife of a neighbor to do some washing for his wife, who was expecting a new baby.

Still another said he had been fined $14.60 for trespass because he carried groceries to the house of a relative.

In another case a woman standing by the fence between two lots had been struck on the toes by a deputy and profanely told to "keep in her own back yard."

Six families were evicted at this mine on the very day the American Federation of Labor conference convened in Pittsburgh. The deputies threw the furniture into the street.

MINE BARONS CONTROL SCHOOLS

Another cause of bitter complaint was the treatment of the strikers' children who, it was asserted, were driven off the streets by the deputies.

The school directors are mine officials and many incidents were related of discrimination against the children of miners.

When the chief deputy at this point was interviewed concerning these charges he did not deny them, but deprecated the stories of the strikers, claiming they had been "exaggerated." He admitted that certain families had been forbidden to visit their friends, but justified this on the ground that they were "radicals."

BRUTALITY UNNECESSARY

Another chief deputy, only a few miles away, indignantly denied that there was necessity for such tactics. He contended such practices were deliberate attempts to foment disorder.

Our duties are to prevent unlawful assembly and obstruction of the public highways.

He said.

There should be no difficulty in performing these functions as the miners are anxious to avoid trouble. They are good boys and only ask to be let alone. If the coal and iron bullies would keep their mouths closed and attend to their own business there would be little to do.

He pointed to the fact that his territory had been one of the quiet sectors of the strike area, but said he had been reproached by mine officials for not "bearing down" harder on the miners. One of the complaints was that he "talked pleasantly to them."

Ample proof exists of the truth of the miners' statement that hundreds of arrests have been made on the most trivial charges. Both the deputies and the coal and iron police do not take their victims before the nearest justice of the peace, but draw them all over Allegheny County seeking a justice who will be sure to "stick" them.

ABSURD TACTICS OF POLICE

Some of the cases border on the absurd.

For example: One picket, a Turk, was taken before one of these "hard-boiled" justices of the peace charged with using abusive language.

It happened that he had called, in his native tongue, to a scab who happened to be of his own race:

Hi, buddy, there is a strike on in that mine.

An official interpreter had to be called from Pittsburgh before the local Solomon could be convinced that "buddy" in Turkish was not an opprobious epithet.

At another point a picket was arrested for talking too loud. The operations at this mine had been shifted to keep the scabs from coming close to the picket posts on the public road, but this picket, blessed with an especially powerful voice, had been able to beat that game and project his message to the listening nonunionists. Just how loud an American citizen might speak without fracturing the laws and constitution of Pennsylvania was not definitely determined by the justice of the peace.

The "squire" was doing a land-office business until the number of miners brought before him and the unvarying regularity with which they were found guilty and fined attracted the attention of officers of the United Mine Workers. Since then, about 240 appeals have been taken from his decisions.

We have in Pennsylvania a situation where the courts have declared that when a miner leases a house from a coal company the relation of landlord and tenant does not exist, as it does under the laws of other States, and when these evictions commenced the miners' union undertook to try and test the validity of these leases. They succeeded in getting some of these leases up to the courts; but, finally, along comes this injunction I spoke about a minute ago and enjoins the miners' union, its officials, or anybody connected with it directly or indirectly, from continuing "this conspiracy to prevent men returning to work in the mines" for this particular defendant by either putting up bonds or employing lawyers or contributing in any way toward getting the cases of these poor miners into court; and, of course, their cases can not be reviewed by the courts if they can not get them before the courts.

THE HEARTLESS EVICTIONS

This injunction went so far as to restrain and name the bonding companies that are restrained from putting up bonds in order to get their cases properly before the court—I think the amount of the bond was $700.

Here is a matter for those of you who are lawyers; here is a matter for those of you who have been judges; here is a matter for the great Committee on the Judiciary of this House—to protect the sovereign rights of citizens of the United States, because when a man living in one of these humble company shacks is informed of his eviction, if he does not get out, he and his family are put out on the streets, and if any person goes to his rescue he is enjoined for doing so, and if he did help an unfortunate man he no doubt would be sent to jail for contempt of court. The miners do not have $700. If they had they would not be working in those damnable hell holes in the bowels of the earth.

They can not get into court. They have not the money to put up the bonds, and the court reaches out and forbids the miners' union to put up the bonds so that these men may get

their cases into court. It restrains the bonding companies of Pennsylvania from putting up bonds for these miners, because they consider it a part of a conspiracy to keep men from going to work in these mines.

CITIZENS DEPRIVED OF THEIR RIGHTS

This is the situation, my friends, briefly stated. How are the poor miners going to get their cases into court when we find a judge sitting on the bench depriving American citizens of the right to have their cases reviewed by the courts of the land? How long are we going to stand for such damnable injunctions that take from the citizens of the United States the right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Such practices are rightly called government by injunction.

No feature of the strike has aroused more deserved indignation than the manner in which the miners have been thrown out of their homes by the operators.

Almost 10,000 families have been evicted and are being sheltered in flimsy barracks, in abandoned churches, old stores buildings, and in any other place which will afford some semblance of protection from the bitter winter weather of the Pittsburgh district.

I have here a list of barracks erected by the United Mine Workers, which I ask be inserted in the RECORD:

Barracks erected or under course of construction January 11, 1928

Town	Rooms	Families
Curtisville	325	138
Newfield	75	29
Arden	75	31
Broughton	66	25
Cokeburg	31	12
Avella	128	54
Harmarville	225	85
Harwick	188	76
Indianola	233	85
Kinloch	120	50
Naomi	43	17
Ontario	57	23
Pike Mine	36	15
Pittsburgh Terminal No. 2	217	82
Pittsburgh Terminal No. 3	121	59
Pittsburgh Terminal Nos. 4, 5, 6	325	125
Pittsburgh Terminal No. 7	85	34
Pittsburgh Terminal No. 8	200	70
Pittsburgh Terminal No. 9	224	94
Renton	340	132
Russelton	335	132
Soudan	192	79
Vesta No. 4	382	156
Vesta No. 5	464	185
Vesta No. 6	195	78
Vesta No. 7	60	25
Total	4,708	1,896

HOUSES STAND EMPTY

The excuse given for the eviction of the miners from the company houses was that the houses were needed for scabs. Yet, in a number of cases, after the miners had been driven out, the places were left vacant, except for those occupied by coal and iron police.

At Lick Run I saw a row of 44 houses with the windows boarded up with scrap lumber.

Right across the road, in flimsy barracks erected by the miners with material furnished by the United Mine Workers were the families that had been evicted.

Some of the families had lived in the company houses for 30 years. Several of the strikers in the barracks first saw the light of day in those abandoned homes.

The barracks are of one thickness of coarse lumber and this has already shrunken so as to leave wide cracks. These are covered with paper to keep out rain, snow, and wind. No appeal to the imagination is necessary to emphasize what this means to women, some in delicate health, and to children during the winter months.

When I visited the Pittsburgh district some of the union miners were still living in company houses pending decision in suits brought by the United Mine Workers.

In many cases they had scabs for next-door neighbors. Under the terms of the injunction issued by Judge Schoonmaker, as construed by the coal and iron police, they were not permitted to resent by word or look the jeers and insults of the mine guards or the scabs.

WANTON CRUELTIES

Their light and water had been cut off. On the ground that it constituted trespassing as defined by the injunction, grocery men, milkmen, and others bringing household supplies were forbidden to enter the company's property.

The miners and their wives had to wait in the public road until the delivery men came by and then carry their purchases to their homes, in some cases over half a mile.

I saw several women climbing hillsides with bags of coal on their heads. In another place a number of strikers were gathered by the roadside guarding bundles which others were carrying away in relays.

In one camp the only source of supply, after the water had been cut off, was a condemned spring. One of the commonest sights was that of boys carrying pails of water for long distances from springs or from the wells of sympathetic home owners.

Not content with this petty persecution the mine companies have resorted to more serious aggression.

TEAR DOWN HOUSES

At Coverdale Mine No. 8, I visited the home of John Usnick, a union miner then living in a company house.

Usnick had been served with an eviction notice and had refused to leave. The company had been restrained from throwing him out by the suits brought by the United Mine Workers.

Without any notice whatever a gang of company workmen was sent to the house and proceeded to erect scaffolding and tear off the roof. When an explanation was demanded Usnick was informed that "necessary repairs" were being made.

Mrs. Usnick was lying ill in an upper bedroom at the time and a block of wood dropped on her shoulder, paralyzing it for several days.

Complaint was made to the county attorney, and the company was informed that they must replace the roof. This was done by tacking on sheets of paper, leaving holes large enough to admit one's hand. Daylight could be seen through scores of cracks.

Heavy rains drenched the entire house. At the time of our visit the wallpaper was falling off, and the floors were still wet and the furniture soaked.

Two other families in this camp were treated in the same manner. When protest was made the company proceeded to camouflage its action by erecting a third story on the houses, but failed to go to the trouble of providing any connection between the upper and the lower floors. The village contains several hundred houses, but these are the only miners' homes with more than two stories.

The influence of the mine companies is being used, according to the strikers, to prevent them from securing employment of any kind.

At Harmanville an officer of the local miners' union informed me that a number of the strikers had secured work at the Duquesne Light Co., a public-service corporation.

All were suddenly fired. When asked for an explanation, the gang bosses said that word had come from the Consumers' Mine Co. that the miners were "undesirable."

PITTSBURGH CITIZENS AROUSED

What about the people of Pittsburgh?

For a long time they failed to realize the misery and actual starvation existing at their very doorsteps. The miners had suffered in grim silence. But finally the suffering spoke for itself. Various organizations and individuals began to investigate.

Among numerous other agencies the Young Women's Bible Class of the Beechview Episcopal Church, located in a prosperous suburb of Pittsburgh, conducted an investigation of its own.

These girls went into the homes of both scabs and strikers. They were so appalled by what they had seen that they immediately wired the senior Senator from New York. His indignation was so aroused that he in the Senate disclosed the facts given to him in a scathing speech in which he declared: "This is not a recital of conditions in Armenia or in some remote part of the earth, but within half a day's journey from the Capitol."

This telegram was as follows:

CONDITIONS ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE

PITTSBURGH, PA., *January 3, 1928.*

Senator ROYAL S. COPELAND,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR COPELAND: Reading your article on the coal situation prompts me to wire first-hand information. The Young Women's Bible Class of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Beechview, Pittsburgh, made investigation on December 2 in mines Nos. 2 and 3 at Castleshannon and mine No. 8 at Coverdale. We found large families of bright children without shoes and stockings and not sufficient food or clothing. Conditions almost unbelievable could exist in America. We found a newborn babe without any clothing, the first one born in the barracks of Coverdale. We immediately opened a receiving station in Beechview, and we were the first organization to extend relief to these destitute women and children in the mines. It seemed the heavens opened, and in less than three weeks we distributed 1,000 pairs of shoes and stockings, 500 well-filled baskets of groceries, and

a lovely Christmas treat for 1,200 children. This is to say the sympathy of the people is expressed in greater degree than upon any previous demand. Judging from the quality of all kinds of clothing, the contributors must have sacrificed. We were happy to provide ample clothing even for this very small portion of the area in distress. The use of coal being a public service, surely the Government will come to the rescue of these people, who are honest and industrious and must not be allowed to perish. We are not concerned in the controversy, but from a humanitarian standpoint we are urging you to use all the power at your command. I met you when you spoke in this city at a meeting. The barracks in which they are forced to live you could insert a lead pencil between the boards.

Very sincerely,

IDA L. ALLEN,
Teacher and Treasurer of the Relief Committee.
MRS. H. G. SCHRAEDER,
Chairman.

STRIKE BREAKERS SUFFER PRIVATIONS

Amazing as this state of affairs must appear to the Members of the House, the most astounding feature is yet to be disclosed.

This is the condition of the scabs who have, in the Pittsburgh Coal Co. and other mines of the Pittsburgh, West Virginia, and Ohio fields, enjoyed for over two years the wage scales and living conditions which one nonunion operator had the impudence to declare, when repulsing the invitation of Secretary of Labor Davis to attend his conference, were in the public interest.

When the citizens of Pittsburgh were brought to realize the emergency existing on their doorsteps, numerous agencies inaugurated investigations in both strikers' barracks and the stockade-guarded shanties of the scabs.

THE CLERGY AROUSED

This movement was led by the united clergymen of the city, supported by a large volunteer committee composed of the heads of practically every welfare organization in Allegheny County.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Goldenson, rabbi of Rodef Shalmon Temple, as chairman of a ministerial committee, issued a call for a meeting to prepare an appeal to the public for funds.

Members of the committee are the Rev. Dr. Ralph B. Urmy, pastor of the Bellevue Methodist Episcopal Church and chairman of the social service commission of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches of Christ; the Rev. L. W. Mason, pastor of the First Unitarian Church; the Rev. Father J. F. R. Corcoran, head of the Catholic charities of the diocese of Pittsburgh; and the Rev. Dr. W. I. Wishart, pastor of the Eighth United Presbyterian Church, North Side, and president of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches of Christ.

Father Corcoran estimated that $5,000 a week would be required for at least three months to save the miners' families from starvation.

OTHER DISTRICTS SUFFER

But what of the other districts? How are the strikers and scabs faring in West Virginia, Ohio, and central Pennsylvania?

Among those attending the conference called by Secretary of Labor Davis were Van A. Bittner, special representative of the United Mine Workers in West Virginia, and Presidents Lee Hall and James Mark, of the Ohio and central Pennsylvania fields, respectively.

These four chieftains told extremely interesting stories of the coal diggers' struggle in their districts.

By far the most important revelation came from northern West Virginia.

BUSINESS MEN CALLING FOR PEACE

Practically every business and professional man in 13 counties, comprising the entire coal-producing area of the State, has signed a petition calling for peace.

This petition is a most extraordinary document. After reciting that the strike has lasted for three years and that all attempts at a settlement have failed, it declares:

Three years of low wages have demonstrated that prosperity and happiness and contentment can only come to the mine fields of northern West Virginia through a rehabilitation of higher wages, better working conditions, and more freedom in the mining camps.

We believe that this can be brought about only through proper negotiations between the coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America.

The petition is addressed to Governor Howard M. Gore, United States Senators GUY D. GOFF and M. M. NEELY, all of West Virginia, and Secretary of Labor James J. Davis.

These distinguished gentlemen are urged to "use all the influence they possess to bring the operators and miners together for the purpose of negotiating a wage scale and ending the strike, in order that our business may be prosperous and happiness may again prevail."

ALL CLASSES PROTEST

The signers of the petition include sheriffs, mayors, and city councilmen, county attorneys, clergymen of every denomination, bankers and representatives of every line of commerce and industry. About 22 cities and towns are included.

Not content with signing as individuals, the members of the city council of Clarksburg, the fourth largest city in the State and by far the largest in the strike area, adopted an official resolution, declaring that "untold harm had resulted from the strike to inhabitants of the community."

The members of the Ministerial Association of Clarksburg also signed as individuals, and then adopted a resolution expressing the same sentiments on behalf of the association.

The conditions in northern West Virginia were described by Van Bittner.

HOW FARES WEST VIRGINIA?

There is no business in our territory and has been none since the beginning of the strike. The situation is one which residents in more fortunate communities would describe as "impossible."

Not a nickel of the money paid in wages to the scabs is spent in the cities and towns.

The camps are under martial law, administered by the mine guards. The coal properties are surrounded by stockades, flooded with electric lights and patroled by armed gunmen. No one, not even the scabs, is allowed to enter or leave the camps without a pass.

In spite of this situation only 1 out of 10 has been starved and terrorized into returning to work.

The complement of all mines, working full force, is about 20,000. We have 14,000 on strike, with 4,000 families in barracks.

The scabs, mostly southern negroes, are being imported by the carload to take the places of other scabs who escape from the prison camps.

It is estimated that 200,000 have been brought in, yet the largest force at work at one time was about 13,000.

The situation in Ohio and central Pennsylvania was described by Presidents Lee Hall and James Mark.

The Ohio operators are employing mine guards of the usual type. In some mines they outnumber the scabs who are at work. The attitude of the State authorities has been much fairer than in Pennsylvania.

OHIO INJUNCTION-RIDDEN, TOO

The corner stone of the union-busting program in Ohio, as elsewhere, is the injunction issued on behalf of the operators.

Eighteen local and one Federal injunction have been granted.

According to President Hall, only four "open-shop" mines are attempting to operate with scabs, the remainder being closed down.

The Goodyear Rubber Co. tried to operate its large mine on a nonunion basis, but failed to succeed. A number of mines are paying the union scale, selling their coal and apparently prospering.

FIGHT COSTLY TO OPERATORS

The enormous expense incurred by the operators in their fight to break the union is shown by the output figures of the four scab mines—

Said President Hall—

About 1,600 union men were formerly employed, and the daily production was about 8,500 tons. Now between 800 and 900 scabs turn out 2,200 tons.

The difficulties encountered in maintaining even a skeleton force are enormous. Out of 40 scabs imported in one day 38 came out within 24 hours.

Every effort is made to prevent us talking to the scabs. At one mine three electric siren whistles were put up, which blow day and night to drown out the calls of our pickets to the scabs.

One day a picket stood from 9 in the morning until 11 at night with a megaphone to his lips. During this entire period the sirens never stopped for an instant.

DEPUTIES RULE CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA

In central Pennsylvania the companies are not employing coal and iron police, but are depending on hordes of deputy sheriffs.

These deputies are worse than mine guards—

Said President Marks—

We can, in some measure, exert influence to restrain the latter from excesses, but the sheriffs are owned body and soul by the mine operators through the corrupt political machine.

The strike in this field has cost the operators enough to pay the Jacksonville scale for two years. A number of the mine owners are willing to deal with us, and did do so for several months after the expiration of the Jacksonville agreement, but because of some mysterious influence which they dared not defy, they were forced to break relations.

What is behind this determined campaign to starve and coerce honest, peaceful, and industrious citizens into slavery?

A great conspiracy of railroads, banks, and public-utility corporations!

Here is a series of facts, compiled and issued by the United Mine Workers, which clearly establishes this fact:

MORE EVIDENCE OF CONSPIRACY

It is well known that the Pennsylvania Railroad has been cooperating with the Pittsburgh Coal Co., the Hillman Coal & Coke Co., the Jones & Laughlin Steel Co., the Inland Steel Co., the Wheeling Steel Co., the Bethlehem Mines Corporation, and others in the policy of eliminating the union and sustaining the action of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. in repudiating its contract with the United Mine Workers of America. It is public knowledge also that the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation, which refused to make an agreement with its employees after April 1, 1927, enjoyed the sustaining counsel and assistance of the Pennsylvania Railroad in this decision.

All of this activity on the part of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in conjunction with the above-named coal companies, has for its purpose the destruction of the United Mine Workers of America and the degradation of the wages of coal-mine workers.

RAILROAD INFLUENCE IN OHIO

Not only did the Pittsburgh Coal Co. and the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. influence the wholesale repudiation of the Jacksonville agreement in western Pennsylvania, but this powerful influence was used also to direct and control the policies of coal operators in Ohio as well. The Pittsburgh Coal Co. owned mines in Ohio. When it scrapped its agreement in Pennsylvania it also scrapped it in Ohio and employed the same tactics there that it employed in Pennsylvania. A few other companies in Ohio also repudiated the agreement, but the majority of Ohio operators did not. However, upon expiration of the Jacksonville agreement the Ohio operators fell in behind the leadership of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. and refused to negotiate a new agreement with the miners except upon the basis of a heavy reduction in wages.

The Pennsylvania Railroad, the New York Central Railroad, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and other interstate railroads with lines in the Ohio coal fields lined up behind this policy and, under the lash of these railroad companies, the Ohio operators have fought and still are fighting to destroy the United Mine Workers of America and reduce wages. As a result of this policy practically all of the mines in Ohio are idle, 40,000 mine workers have been out of work since April 1, 1927, coal production in Ohio is negligible, while the railroads are shipping coal from other States into Ohio for their own use. The result is destitution, suffering, and starvation for 200,000 men, women, and children of the coal-mining section of Ohio and business depression and bankruptcy for business men and merchants.

COAL ORDERS WITHHELD

A purchasing agent of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. informed an operator in the Crooksville, Ohio, district that he could not consider giving him an order for coal as long as he operated his mine on a union basis. This purchasing agent told this operator that if he would operate his mine nonunion the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. would buy his coal and pay him a price that would make him a profit. This purchasing agent said to this operator: "We are not going to contribute any more to that damnable union."

An operator of a mine near Coshocton, Ohio, was advised by the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. that it would support him if he would operate his mine nonunion. This operator told officials of the United Mine Workers of America that he could not operate on a union basis and sell his coal.

An operator of a mine near Roseville, Ohio, operating on a union basis, sought a contract with the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. for the sale of his coal. The purchasing agent of the Pennsylvania told this operator: "I will pay no price for fuel that will justify the miners' Jacksonville scale."

THE CANCELED CONTRACT

A coal company whose mine is on the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in the Bellaire (Ohio) field had a contract with the Baltimore & Ohio to supply coal to that railroad. In the summer of 1927 this coal company signed a contract with the United Mine Workers of America in which it agreed to continue paying the wage rates provided in the Jacksonville scale, pending a final settlement of the wage controversy between operators and miners. Five days after publication of the fact that this temporary agreement had been signed the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad canceled its contract with this coal company, and officials of the company say the railroad took this action because of the signing of this temporary agreement.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Co. informed the operators of three mines in the Crooksville (Ohio) field that, if these companies would start their mines on a nonunion basis, the Pennsylvania would buy their coal and pay them a price sufficient to guarantee a profit.

RAILROADS REFUSED TO DELIVER CARS

The operator of a mine in Jefferson County, Ohio, on the tracks of the Wabash Railroad, signed a temporary agreement with the United Mine Workers of America to continue paying the Jacksonville scale, pending a permanent settlement of the wage question, and that he started his mine and loaded three cars of coal. When he ordered more cars for loading he was informed by the railroad company that it had no more cars. Being unable to obtain cars for loading purposes under these circumstances, this operator's mine is idle while railroad-fuel coal is being shipped into the State of Ohio from other States where miners' wages have been depressed to very low figures.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Co. is standing 60 per cent of any losses that may accrue to a coal company whose mine, near Shadyside, Ohio, is now operated nonunion. This company has imported and still is importing green, inexperienced men to work in its mine, some of these men being recruited in eastern cities and many more from the cotton fields of the Southern States.

RAILROADS PRACTICE A GAUGE IN FREIGHT RATES

When the present freight-rate structure of the country was established by the Interstate Commerce Commission the large railroads told the commission they were paying from $2.20 to $2.40 a ton for their locomotive coal, and that this fact should be taken into consideration by the commission in rate making. Freight rates were based upon that price for coal. Now, however, these same railroads have hammered down the price of coal until they are arbitrarily refusing to pay more than $1.60 to $1.75 a ton for coal, thus reducing their own operating cost, but they are still collecting the same rates for hauling freight and passengers that they charged when they paid $2.20 to $2.40 for coal. Coal companies can not pay decent, living wages to their miners and sell their coal at $1.60 a ton.

RAILROADS REFUSE TO BUY INDIANA UNION-MINED COAL

In Indiana, representatives of the Pennsylvania Railroad encouraged the Indiana producers to resist the making of a wage agreement at the Miami, Fla., conference of operators and miners of the central competitive field in February, 1927. Mr. E. D. Logsdon, president of the Knox County Consolidated Coal Co., of Indiana, large producers of fuel coal for the Pennsylvania Railroad, assumed leadership of the Indiana operators and organized the Indiana Bituminous Coal Operators' Association for resistance to the making of a new wage agreement and the necessity of beating down wages. Since the official termination of the strike in Indiana and Illinois, the Logsdon interests, the Pike County Coal Co., and other mines heretofore supplying railroad fuel for the Pennsylvania have declined to resume operations, because the Pennsylvania Railroad refuses to place any orders with these mines for railroad fuel mined under the existing wage rate—the Jacksonville scale. The Pennsylvania Railroad is fueling its lines in Indiana with coal brought in from the east and southeast at a higher cost than that for which Indiana coal could be purchased. And while this condition exists, the mines in the Indiana field are idle and thousands of miners out of work and reduced to a state of destitution.

COMPELLED TO CEASE OPERATIONS

In November, 1927, the Pennsylvania Railroad served notice on Indiana coal operators that, beginning December 1, that company would pay $1.60 a ton and no more for coal in Indiana. Under this ultimatum from the Pennsylvania Railroad, those Indian operators that had been supplying the Pennsylvania with coal were obliged either to close down their mines or attempt to operate nonunion with strikebreakers in a 100 per cent union-organized field. They chose the former course and closed their mines, thus throwing thousands of men out of work.

In issuing this ultimatum to Indiana operators, the Pennsylvania Railroad very well knew that the operators could not comply with the price terms and pay decent, living wages to their miners. It was well aware that in order to sell coal to the Pennsylvania Railroad at $1.60 a ton they would be compelled to ignore, repudiate, and break away from their contract with the United Mine Workers of America, which was negotiated and signed at Terre Haute, Ind., in the summer of 1927.

Whether by understanding and agreement; by concert of action; or mere coincidence, the attitude of the New York Central Railroad, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and other railroads in Indiana in this matter are parallel with the policy of the Pennsylvania Railroad. All are working for elimination of the United Mine Workers of America from the bituminous coal industry. With the miners' union destroyed and out of the way, there would be no minimum limit to the wage reductions which might then be forced upon the mine workers of the country, for they would then be without any means of self-protection against such onslaughts.

NEW YORK CENTRAL INTERESTS WOULD ELIMINATE THE UNION

As further proof of this fact, the New York Central Railroad, through its subsidiary coal company, the Clearfield Bituminous Corporation, has assumed the leadership of the commercial operators in the Central Pennsylvania bituminous producing field, first, in terminating its contract with the United Mine Workers of America on June 30, 1927; and, second, in the application of the policy of elimination of the Union, entailing evictions, injunctions, employment of armed guards and gunmen, coal and iron police, and the assistance of the Pennsylvania State constabulary.

Mr. F. H. Herriman, president of the Clearfield Bituminous Corporation, which is owned by the New York Central Railroad, in a telegram to Secretary of Labor Davis on December 13, 1927, advised that his interests would never again deal with the United Mine Workers of America and considered the elimination of the United Mine Workers of America as imperative.

The United Mine Workers of America is the one and only restraining influence in this country that prevents the New York Central and other strike-breaking interests from hammering coal miners' wages down to the poverty and starvation level. It is for that reason that these powerful interests are endeavoring so diligently to destroy the union.

WESTERN RAILROADS DEMAND LOW-WAGE COAL

This general campaign for the destruction of the United Mine Workers of America and lowering of miners' wages is not confined to eastern fields alone. The Western Coal & Mining Co., a subsidiary of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, maintained contractual relations with the United Mine Workers of America for years. But when the Jacksonville agreement expired and the large eastern roads began their fight against the union, the Western Coal & Mining Co. used its full power and influence to prevent coal companies in Kansas from making a new agreement with the union.

The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad openly asserted that it would not buy a pound of coal produced under the Jacksonville agreement, and it has religiously followed that policy. That company buys in the low-wage, nonunion fields of other States all the coal it consumes in the State of Kansas, while Kansas mines stand idle and Kansas miners are unemployed.

The Frisco Railroad buys in Kansas about 25 per cent of the total amount of coal which it consumes in that State. It ships in some coal from the low-wage nonunion field of western Kentucky and the rest of its supply from the nonunion field of Alabama where wages of mine workers are as low as $2 a day.

Similar conditions exist in other States.

NONUNION COAL PREFERRED

A high official of the Rock Island Railroad visited Appanoose County, Iowa, in his private car, and while he was there he notified coal operators of that county who were operating with union labor that they should immediately prepare to run their mines on a nonunion basis, as the Rock Island had adopted a policy of buying no coal from mines that were operated on a union basis. He said the company was going to put this policy in effect as soon as possible and that it was warning the operators to prepare themselves. Recently the Rock Island refused to take any coal in Appanoose County that was mined by union men. The company shipped coal to Iowa from Trinidad, Colo., several hundred miles distant, although union-mined Iowa coal would have cost it much less than the Colorado product when transportation charges are considered.

The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad is buying practically no coal in Iowa where union miners are employed. This company is shipping coal for its own use in Iowa from nonunion fields of Kentucky, on which the freight rate alone is far more than Iowa coal would cost it on its engines.

DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF LOW WAGES

During the years when the Pittsburgh Coal Co. operated its mines with union miners and paid the union scale of wages its average cost of production of coal was $1.89 per ton. Since it repudiated its agreement with the United Mine Workers of America and employed strike breakers its production cost has been $3.78 per ton. These figures are taken from the reports of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. A similar situation exists with reference to other companies that followed the lead of the Pittsburgh Coal Co., under the lash of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the New York Central, and other interstate railroad companies that are parties to this conspiracy.

THE UNFAIR FREIGHT RATES

But there is still another phase of the situation:

The northern fields in Ohio and Pennsylvania have been the victims of discriminatory freight rates to such an extent as to utterly disrupt the natural flow of coal from the nearest fields to the industrial centers and big city markets.

I refer to the scandalous and long-standing "cargo rate cases," which have been repeatedly before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Here are some figures:

In 1919 11½ per cent of the Lake port coal originated in the Kanawha district of West Virginia. In 1925 this had increased to 30 per cent

The Pocahontas region shipped 5¼ per cent in 1909 and 25½ per cent in 1925.

The Pittsburgh region shipped 50 per cent of the entire Lake port coal in 1909 and only 8 per cent in 1925.

Now, when we come to railroads we find the same story:

In 1909 the Chesapeake & Ohio shipped 7½ per cent of the Lake coal and 38¾ in 1925.

The Norfolk & Western shipped 6¾ in 1909 and 19¼ in 1925.

In this period the Lancaster & Northern increased its shipments from nothing to 14¾ per cent.

The Baltimore & Ohio, which serves the northern West Virginia fields, decreased from 17½ to 10 per cent.

The New York Central lines, including the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie, shipped 22¼ per cent in 1909 and 3¼ per cent in 1925.

The Pennsylvania had 34¼ per cent of the Lake coal in 1909 and only 3½ per cent in 1925.

Now, here are a very few out of many examples which can be cited to explain this astonishing change by which an old established industry in one section was wrecked to build up another much farther from the customers.

Here are some of the freight rates on a Toledo base:

Pittsburgh, 281 miles, $2.39 per ton.

Kanawha, 381 miles, exactly the same, $2.39 per ton.

Pocahontas, 443 miles for $2.64; 162 miles longer haul for 25 cents more in freight charges.

McRoberts district, 476 miles, for $2.39; 195 miles for nothing.

But when we come to seacoast rates we find that the same discrimination exists:

From Pittsburgh to New York, 499.8 miles, the rate is $3.19 per ton.

From Kanawha to Hampton Roads, 524.4 miles, the rate is $2.62.

Kentucky sends coal to Hampton Roads, 612.3 miles, for $2.72.

The Pittsburgh to Philadelphia rate is $2.72 for 415.6 miles and the Pittsburgh to Baltimore rate is $2.65 for 356.4 miles.

CONTEST IN STARVATION

The Hon. CLYDE KELLY, Representative of the thirty-third Pennsylvania congressional district, has this to say of the situation.

This situation has been repeatedly called to the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission, but every time we raise the issue we are reminded by the commisison that wages are higher in the union fields than in the nonunion fields; and are told that wages, and not freight rates, are the cause of our trouble.

A competition in wage slashing is invited by this attitude, but it is not a solution of the problem. Obviously all that would result would be a test of the comparative ability of the miners in various sections to endure starvation.

If the recent cuts in freight rates from the northern fields to Lake ports had been granted 18 months ago, I believe the present state of affairs could have been avoided.

THE RED CROSS HAS BEEN INFORMED

My friends, I could continue and tell you a lot more, but time will not permit me to do so.

Mr. CARSS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY. Yes; gladly.

Mr. CARSS. I would like to ask the gentleman if the attention of the American Red Cross has been called to the misery that exists among the women and children and the conditions which the gentleman has elaborated upon this afternoon.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, let me say in reply to the very proper inquiry of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. CARSS], that has been done, and I rather hestitate to discuss this phase of the situation because of the likelihood of being misunderstood. We all have great respect for the Red Cross, and we should have great respect for it. It has done wonderful work, but I can not afford to be accused of either sidestepping or dodging the question very properly asked a moment ago. I will say in reply to the gentleman from Minnesota, yes; the attention of the Red Cross has been called to this matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mrs. ROGERS]. The Chair wishes to notify the gentleman from Pennsylvania that he has occupied 50 minutes and has 10 additional minutes.

A RATHER PECULIAR ATTITUDE

Mr. CASEY. I thank the Chair.

The attention of the Red Cross has been called to the matter with this result, and I will put the statement in the RECORD. A woman by the name of Flowers in charge of the Red Cross at Pittsburgh was called upon by Lowell M. Limpus, the reporter for the New York Daily News, of whom I have previously spoken. She said, "It is their fault; their fathers could relieve the situation by going back to work." He said, "Their fathers will not work at the mines under the present conditions; they brought it on themselves." She said, "We are not to blame." "Neither are the children," said this man Limpus. "They did not declare the strike; it is not their fault that they are cold and hungry; there is an emergency at your door as serious as the New England flood. What is the great mother Red Cross going to do about it?" Her answer was, "Nothing."

Mr. HUDSPETH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY. I yield with pleasure to my friend from Texas.

Mr. HUDSPETH. I want to state that the statement the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania has just made has made a great impression on one Member of this House, and that is myself. I want to ask the gentleman if there has been any bill introduced in this Congress that would relieve this intolerable situation?

Mr. CASEY. I am talking about a resolution that I introduced in the House for an investigation into this matter. Now, let me answer the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. CARSS]. Unfortunately the Red Cross in our State takes this very unfortunate position: That it makes no difference how many women and children are starving and freezing to death, the men of the house can relieve the situation by going back to scab in the mines, and therefore they will do nothing to relieve the distress that may exist. The Red Cross says let them go to the poor board for relief. Under the laws of Pennsylvania the poor board can only give relief to individuals who have declared themselves paupers. To say the least, it is a rather untenable position for the great Red Cross to take.

THEIR UNION IS THEIR ALL

Let me say to you, my friends, that many of you do not understand what the union means to these men and women. It means more to them than their Government officials, because it is the only thing that they have to rely upon to see that they get justice; they depend upon our great Government and their union working together to protect them from the injustices that have been heaped upon them, as I am trying to explain, and that is why they love the union. Notwithstanding their love for their children, notwithstanding their love for their women, notwithstanding they love their country, many of them would rather see their women and children die from hunger, lying on the hillsides of western Pennsylvania, their bones bleaching in the sun of the coming spring than to have it said that they were scabs. [Applause.]

Now, let me give you a typical illustration of how these men feel about the question of scabbing. During the strike in the soft-coal fields when the late President Harding was in the White House he undertook to force a condition of mining coal with bayonets. He forgot that you have to have miners to mine coal. So they went into western Pennsylvania with the soldiers and they put Old Glory on top of the mine tipple. While the miners were holding a meeting of their union one morning word came to the president of the local, who happened to be a man who served with honor and distinction in the World War, that the soldiers had arrived and placed the United States flag on top of the mine tipple. He said, "Brothers, we will adjourn the meeting and go down and see what is going on."

WILL STARVE BUT NOT SCAB

He organized the march, and they went to the mine tipple; when they got there he said, "Uncover," and every man uncovered. He said, "Salute the flag, eyes right," and then this man speaking for his organization said, "Old Glory, we love you. Old Glory, we are willing to fight for you. Yes, Old Glory, we love you so much that we are ready to die for you; but, Old Glory, we will not scab for you." [Applause.]

That is the attitude of these men. They are willing to serve; they are willing to do anything for their country or their flag; they are ready to die for our flag and our institutions; but they are unwilling to be called a scab. There is no word in the vocabulary of the American people that is so distasteful to them.

Let me say in conclusion, and I hope the Chair will be patient and lenient and look the other way from the clock for a minute, that I may say a word about this field of unrest.

I hold in my hand a pamphlet prepared by the United Mine Workers of America, pointing out the activities of communistic and bolshevistic Russia and how she has financed its propaganda within the labor organizations of the United States.

My time is about up. I will not have time to read what it contains. Under leave to extend I will insert it in the RECORD so Members may read it.

UNION BULWARK AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

Let me say there is no organization in this country that has done more to hold back the false philosophy of communism and bolshevism than the great United Mine Workers of America. [Applause.] At every convention of this organization they have their fights with the bolshevists and communists. Not only every convention, but every night of the week they have these fights, because at almost every local union meeting these people are in there with their false propaganda trying to undermine the institutions of our great country, trying to poison the minds of these men who are so terribly persecuted.

This country and this House owe to the United Mine Workers of America a debt of gratitude that we will never be able to repay for the service they have done along this line. You may not know about it, but they have done a wonderful service for this country.

But what about this situation? The bolshevists and communist organizations have their trained agitators out in the coal fields of western Pennsylvania spreading the seeds of dissension, trying to get it into the hearts and the minds of these people that their leaders, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Murray, and Mr. Kennedy, and other officers, are squandering their money, that they are the ones who are responsible for their hardships, their privations, and their distress. This is done to try and get control of this great organization so they can carry on their damnable work of destruction.

THE GRAVE QUESTION INVOLVED

What will be the result if they succeed, God alone knows, but let me say to you that if they ever succeed in destroying this great organization of the United Mine Workers of America, or if they ever succeed in destroying the great organization, the American Federation of Labor, then God Almighty help the people of the United States and God Almighty help the institutions of our beloved country.

You have a sample of it in Russia. Do you want it here? Do you want the working class to be a disorganized mob, a fertile field for all kinds of seed of poison and treachery, or is it better to have them organized, well disciplined, with confidence in their leaders, confidence in their Government and its institutions, with leaders who believe in and preach the doctrine of the Constitution—government such as the United States. Gentlemen, I say to you, in conclusion, that we have a very grave question before us. [Prolonged applause.]

Following is the pamphlet above referred to:

(This series of six articles was prepared by the United Mine Workers of America, disclosing the attempt that is being made by the red forces, under the direct supervision of Moscow, to seize control of the organized labor movement of America and use it as the base from which to carry on the communist effort for the overthrow of the American Government. These articles are the result of an independent searching investigation on the part of the United Mine Workers of America which led directly to original sources.)

THE AMAZING SCHEME

ARTICLE I

The United Mine Workers of America with this article begins an exposé of the communist revolutionary movement in America, as promoted and fostered by the Communist International at Moscow, and dealing with it as it involves the welfare of the miners' union, and other similar labor organizations, and the interests of the American people as a whole.

The purpose and object of the United Mine Workers of America in bringing to the attention of the American people the far-reaching and intensive activities of the communist organization in this country is twofold. The United Mine Workers of America wants the public to know what this thing is. It wants the public to know something about the fight which the miners' union is waging to stamp it out. First, it desires to reveal and make known the sinister and destructive groups and elements attempting to "bore from within" its own ranks and membership and to seize possession of the organization, and, through such seizure, to later gain possession of all legitimate trade-unions; second, to inform the American people of the scope and purport of the hostile and inimical movement being carried on within their midst.

Imported revolution is knocking at the door of the United Mine Workers of America and of the American people. The seizure of this union is being attempted as the first step in the realization of a thoroughly organized program of the agencies and forces behind the Communist International at Moscow for the conquest of the American Continent.

The overthrow and destruction of this Government, with the establishment of an absolute and arbitrary dictatorship, and the elimination of all forms of popular voice in governmental affairs, is being attempted on a more gigantic scale, with more resolute purpose, and with more crafty design, than at any time in the history of this Nation.

The communist régime at Moscow, bent on world conquest, is promoting and directing one of the best organized and most far-reaching campaigns in America that any country has ever been confronted with. The communist organization on the American Continent is composed of more than 6,000 active leaders and lieutenants, and approximately 1,000,000 members adherents and sympathizers, scattered in every State and Province of the United States and Canada, and who are actively or tacitly promoting the scheme to import bolshevism and sovietism to this side of the Atlantic.

This campaign affects the people of the Dominion of Canada as much as it does the United States. The revolutionary agents of Moscow are working as actively and energetically among the people of the one country as they are among the people of the other. Proof

of this statement is found in the recent red outbreak among the misguided miners of Nova Scotia, where armed revolution was preached; where an illegal strike occurred and the red movement was only broken by the vigorous and forcible action of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America.

The major points in this revolutionary program of the communists as aimed against the United Mine Workers of America and other legitimate trade-unions and the people of the United States and Canada are:

1. Overthrow and destruction of the Federal, State, and provincial Governments, with the elimination of existing constitutional forms and foundations.

2. Establishment of a soviet dictatorship, absolute in its exercise of power, owing allegiance to, and conceding the authority only of the communist, or Third International, at Moscow, as a "governmental" substitute.

3. Destruction of all social, economic, and political institutions as they exist at this time.

4. Seizure of all labor unions through a process of "boring from within" them, and utilizing them as a strategic instrument in fulfillment of their revolutionary designs upon organized and constitutional government.

5. Invasion of the United Mine Workers of America, with the ouster of its present officials and leaders and the substitution of a leadership of communists, that it may be used as an instrumentality for seizing the other labor unions of America, and for eventually taking possession of the country.

6. A well-organized movement is being promoted within the 4 railroad brotherhoods and 16 railroad trade-unions to amalgamate all railroad workers into "one departmentalized industrial union," controlled by a single leader of communist principle and affiliation, and owing allegiance to the communist organization.

7. Seizure of the American Federation of Labor, with the ouster of its officials, and through such seizure gaining control of all its affiliated units and trade-unions.

8. Conversion of all craft trade-unions into single units of workers within an industry known as industrial unions, with coordination under a super-soviet union owing allegiance to, and accepting the mandates of, the Communist International and its subsidiary, the Red Trade Union International at Moscow.

9. Through conquest and subjugation of the labor unions, and conversion and mobilization of farmers and other related groups, the overthrow of existing institutions, and the creation of a condition similar to that which now prevails in Russia.

The data and the facts set forth in this and the following articles represent months of careful independent research among original documents and records covering the whole of the communist movement in America and Europe, particularly as it has been injected into the ranks of the United Mine Workers of America, the American Federation of Labor, and labor organizations in general.

The movement has been traced back to its original purposes and intents and followed in all of its phases to its present status in this country.

Manifestos, programs of action, communications, and revolutionary documents have been examined and compared. Through these factors it has been possible to weigh and gauge the design and purpose of the communist movement, examine its scope and range, and to determine the extent to which it has entered into the American social, economic, and political fabric, as well as to chart the major outlines of its immediate future program of action.

The menace of bolshevism in America—the United States and Canada—is not a figment of imagination or an invention of hysteria. It is not a passing fancy or a deceiving mirage. Nicolai Lenin and his group of associates at Moscow are waging a definite contest for the subjugation and seizure of the United States and Canada. They would destroy the present Governments, destroy the sovereignty and independence of the people, and, in their place, enthrone the idols and fallacies of bolshevism.

Millions of dollars are being spent in this contest. Much of the money is coming from continental Europe and the remainder is being collected through organizations and committees created for that purpose or by donations and contributions of sympathetic or well-intentioned people in the United States.

Immediately before the start of the miners' strike on April 1, 1922, the sum of $1,110,000 was sent into the United States, by way of Canada, from Moscow, for the purpose of enabling the communist agents to participate in the strike. Behind this move was the scheme to overthrow the leadership of the union and then convert the strike into an "armed insurrection" against the Government of the United States.

The massacre of the strike breakers at Herrin, Ill., was engineered by these communist agents "boring from within" the miners' union. According to their own statements, they were engaged for seven weeks beforehand in their preparations for a tragic occurrence of this kind at some point in southern Illinois as a means to "arousing the workers to revolutionary action." Details of this incident will be disclosed in a subsequent article of this series.

In the coal fields of southwestern Pennsylvania, where the strike started by orderly process, mine plants, tunnels, and power-transmission lines were blown up, the homes of miners were wrecked, and men were beaten or injured by these communist agents in an effort, under the instructions of Gregory Zinoviev, president of the Communist International to arouse "the revolutionary spirit of the workers and prepare them for the coming revolution in America." All of these things show what American employers would have to deal and contend with if the communist plans were to succeed and the present legitimate American labor movement were weakened or destroyed.

Three times in three years the bolshevik leaders at Moscow have attempted armed insurrection and revolution in the United States. The first instance was in connection with the steel strike in 1919. The second was in the "outlaw" switchmen's strike in 1920; and the third was in the railroad and coal strikes in 1922. In the strikes of 1922 these communist agents were arrayed as much against the leaders and officials of the miners' and railroad unions as they were against other loyal citizens of the Nation.

In each of these strikes the communist agents, working under instructions which originated at Moscow, have sought to turn them into revolutionary uprisings that would accomplish the overthrow of goverment in America and establish in its place a proletarian dictatorship that recognized and accepted only the mandates of the Communist International.

It may be stated, incidentally, that the growth and effectiveness of the communist movement in America has been handicapped and limited by the immutable policy of the Communist International that its chosen representatives must control everything of which they come into possession. Exercise of this control is the definite aim, and always the major consideration, in every amalgamation, reorganization, or new enterprise with which they are associated, whether it be in the seizure of a labor union or in the promotion of the aspirations of a candidate for political preferment. They recognize no voice except their own.

The "thesis of tactics" adopted by the Third World Congress of the Communist International at Moscow says:

"From the very first day of its establishment the Communist International has distinctly and unambiguously devoted itself to the purpose of participating in the trade-unions and in the struggles of the laboring masses, and of conducting this struggle on a communist basis and of erecting during the struggle great revolutionary communist mass parties, waiving the idea of the formation of small communist sects for the attainment of influence upon the working class solely by agitation and propaganda."

Demand by the communist "inner circle" of leaders, consisting of a dozen men, for supreme authority for themselves has been the obstacle that has prevented the actual realization of their plans several times to seize organizations in this country. It was this demand that caused the minority communists to split from the majority communists in the early stages of their movement in this country, resulting in a dual movement ever since. Because of their essential revolutionary purpose and design, these communists have not believed that the control of any enterprise or agency which they might need later as a revolutionary medium could be trusted to the keeping of anyone who was not of their chosen inner circle, amenable to their discipline, and servile to the mandates of the Communist International.

This phase of policy is in keeping with their principle that the soviet dictatorship, when once established, is absolute and does not recognize in the conduct of its affairs either the voice or the representation of the people. Indeed, their conception of the individual is that he is of no consequence to the general scheme of human affairs; that only the masses are to be taken into consideration, and they directed by the superauthority and "wisdom" of a soviet dictatorship.

Wherever possible in conducting their activities in America the communists have attempted to "bore from within" organizations already existing and to utilize them for their ultimate ends and purposes. They have been particularly active in trying to "bore from within" the United Mine Workers of America for the reasons that it is the largest single labor organization in the country, includes a larger number of races and nationalities among its members, and is the nearest approach, in their opinion, to a "one big union," which is their ideal conception of a labor union and their objective for all labor unions. In this attempt these communists have met with the determined opposition of President Lewis and other strong leaders of the miners' union, who are determined that the union shall not be converted into a bolshevik institution.

The same tactics have been used continuously for four years to seize and control the American Federation of Labor, the railroad labor organizations, and various other trade groups. The communists have declined to establish rival or competing organizations to these federations as long as the possibility existed that they might eventually take possession of them and annex them to their revolutionary movement in America.

Trade-unions have been regarded by the communists from the very outset as their first objective, and their eventual stronghold, in overthrowing the Government and seizing the country.

In these unions they have recognized an opportunity to get in close contact with the labor masses, establish relations and connections with them, and imbue them with hatred and hostility toward the existing order of things. For this reason, the Communist Party of America, with its allies, the Workers Party of America, the Trade Union Educational League, and the Friends of Soviet Russia, under the instructions of the Communist International and its subsidiary, the Red Trade Labor Union International, is using all of its industrial contacts to segregate and restrict the control and management of the trade-unions in the hands of its leaders and official groups.

That this design may be more easily carried out the members of these communist parties are constantly becoming members of trade-unions, thus acting in accordance with the prearranged plan of their central executive committees that they shall enter these unions, and, acting in concert, gradually absorb them as a part of the communist revolutionary movement.

The program of action of the United Communist Party, which was accepted and affirmed in slightly diluted form by the Communist Party of America in the convention at Woodstock, N. Y., in 1921, and later accepted with slight variations by the Workers Party of America, known as the "legal branch," says:

"The United Communist Party considers as one of the most serious and immediate problems the question of the best method of breaking up the bureaucratic control and transforming the union structure into a machine of revolutionary action. The United Communist Party confirms the present necessity of militant workers remaining with the large mass of organized workers, regardless of the reactionary aims of the unions, and, by determined and coordinated strength, turning these unions to the revolutionary cause. The United Communist Party section of the Communist International is the instrument for that coordination of the revolutionary work within the unions."

Compulsion and force is to be applied to industrial workers to move them to become communists, according to the doctrines of the Communist Party of America. Its adherents are told:

"Obviously, many nonrevolutionary workers must be taken into the most revolutionary of unions, even compelled to join against their wills."

Conducting and promoting the revolutionary campaign in the United States is a secret party organization, directed and controlled by representatives of the Communist International. This is the Communist Party of America. It is purely a revolutionary organization and makes no pretense at legality. It boldly proclaims to its members that it is the "illegal" party, and designates itself as such. Technically it is known as the "underground" party. This party has at its head the supreme executive revolutionary committee in America, responsible only to Lenin, Zinoviev, and other officials of the Communist International. It does not recognize any superior power or agency in the United States. Its work is done secretly; the identities of its officials and leaders are concealed behind assumed names. Its letters and records are in code letters and numerals. Its members are accepted only after investigation and examination, and remain on probation for a period of six months before they are received into full membership. Its meetings are held secretly with the participants gathering at a preliminary rendezvous and proceeding to an assembly room known in advance only to the leader.

On the surface, working partly in the open, is another revolutionary organization, known as the Workers Party of America, and created, under instructions from the Communist International, by the Communist Party of America. It is known as the "legal" party. Its primary purpose is to shield the "underground" or "illegal" party and conceal the revolutionary activity of the real soviet agents in America. The mission of this party is fundamentally the same as that of the Communist Party of America, i. e., to overthrow the Government of the United States and establish a bolshevik régime.

Joined with these two revolutionary parties and assisting them as one of their direct subsidiaries is an alleged labor-union movement, "boring from within" the American Federation of Labor, and seeking to seize and destroy it and enmesh the trade-unions of the United States in the bolshevik movement and conquest of the United States. This organization is the Trade Union Educational League, headed by William Z. Foster, with headquarters at Chicago.

This league is cultivated and promoted by the organizers and agents of the Communist and Workers Parties and is the direct instrumentality of Lenin and Zinoviev of the Communist International, and Losovsky, of the subsidiary Red Trade Labor Union International, for amalgamating the labor unions into the world revolutionary movement of the communists.

Through this organization the revolutionary leaders in America are making a nation-wide attempt to obtain control of the American Federation of Labor, reorganize the craft unions on the basis of "one big union" in an industry and weld them into the central revolutionary agency in America.

Working in conjunction with the two communist parties is another politico-industrial instrumentality, the Friends of Soviet Russia, an organization whose aim is to give free lectures to disseminate and propagate communistic and disloyal doctrines, designed to undermine the American Government, destroy the confidence of the people in its principles and foundation, and prepare the way for a soviet, or "proletarian," dictatorship.

The Friends of Soviet Russia is purely a communistic enterprise, reorganized from the American Labor Alliance, and through the latter agency controlled and directed by the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America. It has been, and is, one of the effective agencies of the communist groups distributing disloyal and revolutionary doctrines and propaganda among the immigrant masses in America, promoting labor unrest and discord, and seeking to induct the foreign residents of the country into the Trade Union Educational League, the Workers Party of America, or other revolutionary agencies and instrumentalities under the control of the Communist Party of America.

Active among the "intellectual" classes of the country, and posing as a champion of the "liberties of speech, press, and assembly," is the American Civil Liberties Union at New York. This organization is working in harmony and unity with the communist superstructure in America, engaged in the dissemination of radical utterances and propaganda, and conducting a nation-wide campaign for the liberation of bolshevik agents and disloyal agitators who have been convicted under the war-time laws, or the syndicalist laws of different States, for unpatriotic or revolutionary activities. It is the successor of the American Union Against Militarism, which consistently opposed the military draft act during the war and gave comfort and assistance to the conscientious objectors who resisted military service.

While offering aid to scores of individuals who have been arrested or convicted for violation of national or State laws, it has not in a single instance come to the assistance of a man or woman who did not profess radical sentiments, or who was not allied with the communist, the anarchist, the revolutionary, or the radical movements in America.

Fifty-two persons, holding a total of 325 directorates in 45 organizations, are in control of the radical and revolutionary campaigns now being waged in this country. A systematic examination of the directorates of these organizations reveals the fact that they interlock into almost a single whole. While the ultraradical and discreet "liberal" groups meet occasionally, there is no real gap or breaking point, and in their general aspects they are fused into a united effort, giving mutual support to each other in their numerous activities. It is in this interlocking arrangement and mutual cooperation that the most insidious and dangerous aspect of the communist movement in America is found.

The key to the ultraradical movement in America, as promoted and fostered by the communist leaders at Moscow, is found in this interlocking arrangement. Through this mechanism these communist groups interlock also with the Communist International and the Red Trade Labor Union International at Moscow, so that the revolutionary movement in America is the direct offspring and agency of the communist régime in Russia, for the purpose of seizing and possessing themselves of the American Continent through the mediumship of revolution inspired and conducted from the stronghold of bolshevism on the other side of the Atlantic.

The details of this interlocking arrangement, together with the details of the communist activities in this country as they relate to the United Mine Workers of America and to other labor organizations, will be set forth in the succeeding articles.

ARTICLE II

The United Mine Workers of America, in presenting the second article exposing the activities of the communist revolutionary organization in America, calls attention to the fact that this movement is centered chiefly around and within the productive efforts of the country, and that its advancement is being sought through the encouragement of industrial strife and the breeding of distrust and misunderstanding between employers and labor unions.

In carrying out this design the communists are as much the foe of the trade-unions as they are of the employers. Their underlying purpose is to take possession of the unions as a step toward the ultimate realization of a soviet dictatorship in America.

There are persons who charge that the United Mine Workers is a red organization and that it works, sympathizes, and cooperates with and is dominated by communists and communist influences. But this is not true. The United Mine Workers of America has no sympathy with the communist movement in any of its phases. In fact, communists recognize the miners' union as their strongest and bitterest enemy in America. That is the reason why the Moscow masters put forth such a tremendous effort to cripple and seize the organization.

The possibility that the United Mine Workers of America would not be successful in the spring of 1922 in renewing the existing wage agreement with the coal operators, and that a suspension of work at the coal mines would take place on April 1, was realized by the Communist International, and the communist superorganization in America, more than eight months beforehand. Keenly alive to the

peculiar relations that existed between the operators and the miners, they foresaw the eventuality of a cessation of work.

The coal operators had carefully watched the trend of the open-shop campaign, and it had been apparent for some time, even to the uninitiated, that as soon as this movement was sufficiently intrenched in industry an effort would be made to cripple the miners' union in the hope that there might be a lower labor cost within the coal industry.

Generally speaking, a strike does not injure a coal operator. Coal in the ground does not deteriorate, and losses caused by a strike can be added to the price of the coal when it is finally mined. Consequently, the coal operator has nothing to lose, and possibly much to gain, when a strike is precipitated.

Officials of the miners' union had known for a long while that the time was approaching when the strength and cohesion of their organization would be sorely tried. It was recognized by them that if a condition arose before April 1, which made it seem reasonably likely that a strike would wreck the miners' union, it would not be unwelcome to some of the nonunion and other interests in the coal industry. In fact, if responsibility for the upheaval could be shifted to the shoulders of the union, they might quietly agitate matters so that a strike would result.

Some of the coal-producing interests were chafing under the existing agreement with the union, and it was manifest that they would welcome any move that promised to put them on an open-shop basis.

These facts were well known to the officials of the Communist International at Moscow, and to their American advisors and emissaries who were visiting them frequently for purposes of consultation about industrial and political matters in America.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Gregory Zinoviev, president of the Communist International, secretly instructing his American agents early in 1922 to foster and encourage the threatened breach between the operators and the mine workers. With the strategy of a field marshal Zinoviev sent the following instructions from Moscow to communist agents in the United States a few weeks before the start of the miners' strike on April 1, 1922:

"The central executive committee of the Communist Party of America must direct its particular attention to the progress of the strike of the miners of America.

"Agitators and propagandists must be sent to the strike regions.

"It is necessary to arouse striking coal miners to the point of armed insurrection. Let them blow up and flood the shafts. Shower the strike regions with proclamations and appeals. This arouses the revolutionary spirit of the workers and prepares them for the coming revolution in America."

These brief instructions contain the whole communist attitude toward the strike. They show that the prime purpose was to bring about disorder, violence, and riot which could be charged up against the United Mine Workers of America.

Into this troubled situation the communist group of America, under Zinoviev's instructions, were to thrust in their entire organization, and to create a condition within the strike which would eventually eliminate the officials of the miners' union, and enable them to extend the strike into a great industrial upheaval, involving, as they hoped, all labor unions and all industry. Thus the United Mine Workers of America was attacked by an underground enemy and had that enemy to fight at the same time that it was engaged in a tremendous contest with the coal operators. It was a significant coincidence that the two elements should attack the miners' union at the same time.

As the breach between the operators and the miners' union widened and it became apparent that a strike would not be averted, Zinoviev sent more specific instructions to America, directing that agitators and propagandists be sent into the coal region; that the towns and villages be showered with proclamations and appeals; that mine shafts be blown up and flooded; and that, as he said, "the revolutionary spirit of the workers be aroused for the coming revolution in America."

Participation of the communists in the strike started with their going quietly into the coal regions and pretending to cooperate with the officials of the union until it was manifest that the cessation of work was complete. Then they started broadcasting these regions with incendiary and inflammatory circulars, many of which were designed to breed distrust and suspicion of union officials among their followers. The more revolutionary of these documents originated at Cleveland, where the communist organization had concentrated the sum of $1,110,000, sent into the country by Zinoviev and his associates, for the purpose of financing the participation of their agents in the strike.

Other circulars were issued in Chicago and New York. Some of them were reprinted at Pittsburgh and Uniontown, Pa., Wheeling, W. Va., and Bellaire, Ohio. In every instance they were distributed to the miners by the district, section, and local organizers and agents of the Communist Party of America and the Workers Party of America, and who acted under the direct instructions of the central executive committees of these parties.

As far as was feasible the communists fitted their plants to the program of the United Mine Workers. Uninvited and unwelcome though they were, they worked within the union, and not as a dual organization. Only by secrecy and stealth did they launch their hostile and vicious campaign. Suspicion and distrust of the union officials was spread gradually among the rank and file of the miners, largely through whisperings of attempted or prospective betrayal, or acts of bad faith on their part.

They did not want a settlement of the strike by orderly process. They wanted a continuation and enlargement of it, with themselves in control, that would finally engulf the whole American industrial structure.

Late in 1920 the communist coterie at Moscow decided to launch a new movement in America to capture the trade-unions. Their effort through their political branches to bring about an uprising in conjunction with the steel strike in 1919, and the "outlaw" switchmen's strike in 1920, had resulted in failure. Samuel Gompers, with stinging denunciation, had driven back the wave of communism in the unions. In only one industry, the so-called needle trades, had the communist movement met with any degree of success, but these organizations were isolated from the rest of the labor movement.

It was therefore manifest that victory in America could not be achieved solely through the mediumship of the existing communist political units. A readjustment was necessary, and it was made. A separate organization, fashioned as a national labor movement, intended to work within the unions as a part of them—employing the process of "boring from within"—was put into the field. Samuel Gompers, they hoped, would be overwhelmed by it, for it was apparent that with his unyielding opposition the American Federation of Labor could never be seized or controlled by them as long as he remained in it.

With these objects in view, Zinoviev, Losowsky, and Lenin proceeded during the next 12 months to organize the Trade Union Educational League. This project was put under the control of, and made amenable as far as its work was concerned, to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, and it remains so to-day. William Z. Foster was selected to lead this movement. In the spring of 1921 he went to Russia, and the understanding was that he went there to get his instructions for the organization of the Trade Union Educational League, gather facts about the communist work in Soviet Russia, the functioning of communist ideas and theories, and learn how the officials of the Communist International wanted these ideas and theories applied in America through the Trade Union Educational League.

In Moscow Foster was officially designated, according to Lenin's confidential messages to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, to lead the new "boring from within" movement in America. Their object was twofold. The communist "drive" against the labor unions in America would be fortified and strengthened, and they would be put on a more practical and effective basis for taking advantage of a coal strike, if it took place in the spring, to bring about "the armed insurrection" than they had been in the steel and switchmen's strike.

Foster began to exploit the Trade Union Educational League immediately on his return in November, 1921, saying that its purpose was to "assist in hastening the natural evolution of the labor movement from a craft to an industrial basis." He said that the purpose of his new venture was to lay the foundation for the reorganization of all labor unions into an industrial "one big union."

Foster called his first meeting of the Trade Union Educational League in Chicago on October 31, 1921, and there presented the mandate of the Red Trade Labor Union International, empowering him to form "a strong political revolutionary union in the United States, promoted through the agency of the shop steward committees." This plan is diametrically opposed to the policy of the American labor movement. His activity, he said, would not be confined to general communist propaganda, but to "special work in the formation of the activities of the American section of the Red Trade Labor Union International." He announced that he would launch a new revolutionary publication in the English language to aid him in his work.

Foster's first official announcement, a revolutionary document attacking the craft union idea, and calling for the formation of a new movement to supplant existing craft unions with "industrial" unions, or a "one big union," was issued on February 10, 1922. One week later Foster issued a second letter, with a "Call to action." He said that existing unionism is obsolete and backward, and that "militants must definitely and finally rid themselves of the dual union secessional movement that has negated their efforts for so long," and further, that "they must thoroughly organize themselves within the trade-unions for the effective application of their boundless energies and dynamic programs." He said that the Trade Union Educational League proposed to develop craft unions from "their present antiquated and stagnant

condition into modern, powerful labor organizations capable of waging successful warfare against capital."

When the miners' strike started on April 1, 1922, Foster and his coterie were ready to inject themselves into the situation and start their "militant" campaign as it had been outlined in Moscow, and developed in detail by himself and the communist organization in this country. Foster was now the great industrial organizer of the communist movement in America, with direct connection and contacts with the Communist International and its field general in command of the campaign to capture the American unions.

Loyal assistance was forthcoming from the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America. Instructions sent out on the eve of the coal strike were:

"In view of the threatened strike of the miners, the central executive committee has worked out the following plan of activity for the organization: The national industrial organizer has been placed in complete charge of all phases of the coal situation. He is to utilize to the fullest extent all his open connections in the union with the view of uniting all the left elements for coordinated support of the miners in the event of a strike. In this emergency the national industrial organizer has authority to appoint assistants without waiting for the confirmation of the CEC (central executive committee). All party channels are at the disposal of the industrial organizer for this purpose. All district organizers must carry out instructions without delay. Through our legal organ we will wage a campaign to win the railroad workers to the idea of refusing to carry scab coal. Throughout the struggle all our papers in No. 1 (Communist Party) and No. 2 (Workers Party) will be kept fully informed of the activities and developments of the situation. The national industrial organizer is preparing a leaflet and a detailed plan of operation for all our nuclei."

As a means of facilitating their campaign in the coal regions the communists divided the country into two sections. The eastern section, with headquarters at New York, included the anthracite region in eastern Pennsylvania and the bituminous fields in the remainder of the State, as well as the coal fields of Maryland, West Virginia, southeastern Ohio, and eastern Kentucky.

The western district covered the coal fields of Illinois, Indiana, and northern and central Ohio. Headquarters were at Chicago.

Major headquarters for general supervision of the strike work in these districts were maintained both at Chicago, the home of Foster, and at Cleveland, the home town of C. E. Ruthenburg, executive secretary of the Workers Party of America.

Agents from New York and Chicago, as well as Cleveland, poured into the coal fields. The New York headquarters was located in the national offices of the Workers Party of America, and specifically in the office of Carlo Tresca, anarcho-communist and political refugee from Italy, who was sentenced to the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta for violation of war time laws. Tresca was the "field supervisor," who executed the "boring from within" plans in the eastern district as they came to him from the communist "inner circle."

Cooperating with him and giving him all possible assistance were James P. Cannon, chieftain of the Workers Party of America and member of the "inner circle" of both the Workers and Communist Parties; William F. Kruse, assistant secretary of the Workers Party of America and dominating factor in the Friends of Soviet Russia; J. Lewis Engdahl, editor of the Worker, one of the official communist organs; Ludwig Lore, member of the executive committees of both communist parties and one of the interlocking links between them, as well as editor of the revolutionary Volks Zeitung at New York.

Cannon, whose party alias is "Cook," was in constant communication with the agents sent into both the eastern and the western districts. Lore, or "Young," provided much of the propaganda that was circulated in these districts.

Southwestern Pennsylvania from the very start was the center of the strike whirlpool. The affected area here extended from Pittsburgh and Johnstown on the north to Fairmont and Wellsburg, W. Va., and Bellaire, Ohio, on the south and west.

The Chicago headquarters were largely under the direction of John Carney, editor of the communist organ, Voice of Labor, and his business manager, Nick Dozenburg, as well as Arne Swabeck, a member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party.

Assisting them and acting as their chief field agents were T. R. Sullivan, communist organizer at St. Louis; Norman Tallentire, a communist organizer at Chicago; and Gus Fraenckel, an agent working among switchmen and railway employees in the Chicago district. Swabeck, Sullivan, and Tallentire were later arrested in the raid on the communist convention at Bridgman, Mich.

At about the time the strike started, Peter Poscal Cosgrove, of Boston, a well-known communist agent, returned from Russia, saying that he had arranged with Lenin for the organization of the miners of America on communist "one big union" lines, and that he would cooperate with Foster to this end.

Immediately after Cosgrove's return, James P. Cannon joined Alfred Wagenknecht, alias "Martin," alias "Duffy," member of the executive committee of the Workers Party and alleged correspondent for communist newspapers, who was recently expelled from the anthracite miners' convention at Scranton, Pa., and both of them departed for Russia for further conference with Lenin and his associates.

Jay Lovestone, alias "L. C. Wheat," executive secretary of the Communist Party of America, went to Berlin to get funds for strike promotion purposes that had been left there by Russian agents.

As the communist emissaries from New York swarmed into the coal fields of Pennsylvania, they attempted to gain the confidence of the officials of the union and to ascertain their plans for the conduct and management of the strike. In a number of instances they succeeded in this purpose, and did make their way into the councils of local groups of the union, a situation which afforded enemies of the union an excuse for unjustly charging against it all of the crime and disorder which followed.

Everywhere that they went violence, disorder, and trouble, clashes with the police, dynamiting, incendiary fires, and injured and maimed men were left in their wake.

The New York Volks Zeitung, in its issue of April 10, said:

"Right after the outbreak of the strike in the textile and coal industries the Workers Party sent its most able organizers into the strike zone to carry on their work in the sense of the party principles. Three district organizers, 5, 6, and 10, dedicate their entire energy to this task."

William F. Dunne, labor editor of the Worker, went into the Pittsburgh and Ohio regions as the chief emissary of the New York headquarters. Dunne carefully and closely examined the field and looked for the weak points in the ranks of the miners that were most susceptible to attack by the communists. Dunne made a tour through Pennsylvania and Ohio, uttering inflammatory speeches as he went, and rendering confidential reports to the higher communist officials of his work and of the conditions that he found.

In the raid conducted recently by Prosecuting Attorney Gardiner and Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Myers, of Pittsburgh, on the headquarters of Fred Merrick, duplicate copies of the reports sent by Dunne to New York were uncovered. These documents are now in the possession of Mr. Gardiner. Merrick is under indictment for violation of the Pennsylvania antisedition act, and at liberty under bail of $10,000. While in Pittsburgh, Dunne occupied the same living quarters with Merrick and made use of the facilities of the Workers' Party district office.

Soon after arriving at Pittsburgh, Dunne said that he, Merrick, and other leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties felt that the effort to organize the southwestern Pennsylvania coal fields "was being made not because of the efforts of the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, but in spite of them."

He said that while matters continued to progress as they were then doing, he and the other organizers of the Communist and Workers' Parties would not interfere in any way, or concentrate very much on the mine workers, but that as soon as the organizers of the United Mine Workers of America had completed their work there an intensive campaign would be started in the ranks of the miners' union to spread the strike to other industries.

"Naturally, as soon as this campaign is under way, more speakers will be brought in," said Dunne. "The officials of the United Mine Workers of America are being watched very closely for any treacherous action on their part toward the rank and file, and should any such action be attempted they will immediately be exposed."

Tresca made his appearance in the region on May 6, when the strike was one month old. Soon after the coming of Tresca and his associate, Emilia Coda, violence started on a major scale. Miners' houses were dynamited; power transmission lines were blown up; highways were mined with bombs, and automobiles were blown to fragments. One small car was reduced to splinters by a bomb hidden under a bridge, but the occupants escaped with slight injuries. Reports of threatened dynamitings were a daily occurrence. Families of mine officials and workers alike lived in constant terror. A state of hysteria and terriorism spread over the strike region.

The communists concentrated their activities in the vicinity of Uniontown, New Salem, Brownsville, Charleroi, and Avella. In the center of this district is the so-called coke region, where practically all of the mine workers were foreign born or aliens.

From their stronghold at Avella, and cooperating with the communist group at Bellaire, Ohio, these communists engineered the raid in July on the nonunion mine at Cliftonville, near Wellsburg, W. Va., in which lives of the sheriff and a number of their own men were lost. Previous to this raid plans for its execution were made by the communist agents at Avella, Canonsburg, and Pittsburgh. This occurrence was one of the outbreaks through which the communists expected to take possession of the strike, spread it to other industries, and bring about a general "armed uprising."

The American Civil Liberties Union, acting on the pretext that "free speech, free press, and civil liberty" was menaced by the efforts to suppress the violence, disorder, and trouble stirred up by the communist agitators, sent a delegation of its own to southwestern Pennsylvania to also "work from within" the strike. This organization

proclaimed that it was exerting its efforts in behalf of the United Mine Workers of America, and that it was trying to help "win the strike." Records seized by District Attorney Gardiner in Merrick's office at Pittsburgh include an extended correspondence between Merrick and Roger Baldwin, directing secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union. This correspondence reveals that the principal effort of the American Civil Liberties Union in this section was to provide legal means for obtaining police permits for street meetings at which communist speakers would appear, and under the guise of assisting the miners' strike spread their communist propaganda and revolutionary doctrines.

The relations between Baldwin and Merrick are shown to have been intimate and friendly. Not only were the communist problems of the district discussed in their letters to each other but there is also frequent reference to the activities of Baldwin and of the American Civil Liberties Union in the correspondence that passed at that time between Merrick on the one hand, and William Z. Foster, James P. Cannon, William F. Kruse, H. E. Keas, C. E. Ruthenburg, Charles Baker, and a dozen others of the most active of the communist and revolutionary agents who were connected with the scheme of "boring from within" the strike.

The American Civil Liberties Union is shown by the correspondence at the time to have been concerned primarily in keeping the communist agents out of the jails and prisons of southwestern Pennsylvania after they were sent in there by the revolutionary organization in this country.

Careful scrutiny of the letters that passed between the communist agents and their superior officers in New York does not in any single instance show where they sought to establish an open or frank contact with an official of the United Mine Workers. On the other hand, these letters furnish adequate evidence that when they did establish contacts with union officials it was for the purpose either of inveigling them into the communist movement or placing them in a compromising status where suspicion and distrust of them and of the union could be aroused in the minds of the rank and file of the miners and they be forced to relinquish their positions.

The communist group in this region constituted an "inner circle" working in accordance with instructions from Lenin and Zenoviev to seize control of the strike and to make certain that there was no settlement until the officials of the union were thrown out; the trouble spread into other industries, and a general uprising of workers precipitated throughout the country.

In the next article of the exposé of the communist revolutionary movement in America the United Mine Workers will reveal the conspiracy that brought about the uprising in Herrin, Ill., resulting in the death of more than a score of men.

ARTICLE III

The United Mine Workers of America, in continuing the revelations of the communist revolutionary movement in America as it relates to the miners' union and other labor organizations, presents here the facts in the conspiracy which caused the loss of the lives of 22 men at Herrin, Ill., on June 21, 1922.

The United Mine Workers of America, as an organization, has been mercilessly attacked and condemned for the Herrin massacre when, in fact, the miners' union was in no manner responsible for what took place. This revolting, inexcusable, terrible crime was fomented, promoted, and caused solely by communists. It was a carefully planned affair, schemed with all of the diabolic cruelty and disregard for law that characterizes the activities of the communist movement.

Participating in the events which led to the slaughter of these men were 67 members—virtually all of them of Lithuanian nationality—of the local chapter, in the town of Herrin, of the Communist Party of America, together with 19 other communist agents and organizers, who had been sent in from Chicago by the communist organization for the purpose of arousing the local communists and precipitating an attack upon the strip mine of the Southern Illinois Coal Co.

All of the 67 local communists, as well as the 19 imported agents, were members of what is known as the Bolshevik Lithuanian branch of the Communist Party of America. They accept the decisions of the Communist International, proclaim allegiance to the Communist Party of America, and adhere to its mandates and party principles.

For more than seven weeks preparations had been in progress in Franklin and Williamson Counties, in southern Illinois, to bring about the attack upon the strike breakers and armed guards who were at the strip mine after the coal strike started on April 1. Violence, disorder, and trouble were rampant in southwestern Pennsylvania. Communist groups in New York, Cleveland, and Chicago were active in their efforts to cause the strike in southwestern Pennsylvania to expand and grow into a great revolutionary movement, in which the original causes for the cessation of work in the mines would be lost sight of, and an armed insurrection, having for its purpose the establishment of a Bolshevik régime or dictatorship in this country, and enforced recognition of the Russian dictatorship and the Communist International would be brought about.

The plan was to have simultaneous uprisings in southern Illinois and, if possible, in the vicinity of Bellaire, Ohio, which was also a hotbed of communist agitation and propaganda, and in the region surrounding Uniontown, Pa.

A telegram sent to the local union officials at Herrin by President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, placing the workers of the strip mines in the category of "strike breakers" was shrewdly twisted and distorted, according to the boast of the communist leaders at Chicago, into an "invitation" to attack the strip mines and the workmen employed there.

Officials of the United Mine Workers had no intimation that an attack upon the strip mines was contemplated or that a conspiracy within the Communist Party of America existed at the time to precipitate a tragedy such as took place on the day after the telegram of President Lewis was received.

Headquarters for the participation of the communists in the miners' strike in Illinois, Indiana, and northern and central Ohio was at Chicago.

William Z. Foster was the dominating figure in the situation. Through the medium of the strike he proposed to gain a strong foothold in the miners' union for the recently organized Trade Union Educational League, and to convert the miners' union into a "one big union" center around which would gradually be mobilized the trade-unions of America, reorganized in accordance with this idea.

Foster's right-hand men in the movement in Illinois were Earl Browder, editor of his official organ; Thomas R. Sullivan, communist organizer at St. Louis; and Norman Tallentire, a communist organizer at Chicago.

Jack Carney, editor of the revolutionary Voice of Labor at Chicago, and his business manager, Nick Dozenburg, were active figures in the organization. The chief field agent was Arne Swabeck, member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, while other agitators associated with the "boring from within" work in the strike were Oscar Larson, of the Young Communist League; Nels Kjar, who had been convicted in the Cook County courts for conspiring against the Government and the country during the war; Gus Fraenckel, an agent among the railway employees; and Charles Krumbein, a district official of the communists.

Carney was instrumental in the preparation and printing of communist circulars and dodgers for distribution in the strike region and designed to undermine the leaders of the miners' union and throw the organization into the hands of the communists.

The program was not confined to Chicago—it was the program of the Communist Party all over America. For two years the communists had searched for a way to seize control of the miners' organization, and the strike was being taken advantage of as the supreme opportunity in this direction. If they succeeded, the miners' union would become the foremost revolutionary agency in the country and "militancy" among labor unions for the overthrow of the Government would become an established fact.

Foster and his group, through the Trade Union Educational League, adopted the policy of urging the miners to resist any settlement of the strike by the recognized leaders of the union and to spread propaganda and misleading information through the ranks of organized labor that President Lewis and his associates were engaged in a deep-laid scheme to betray the members of the miners' union.

At the same time all communist agents were actively working to expand the strike into a revolutionary uprising, starting in a few localities and gradually spreading to other labor unions and developing into a nation-wide outbreak of organized labor.

Such was the Herrin affair, and such was the purpose behind it.

On April 4, 1922, Swabeck mailed from the office of the Voice of Labor, in Chicago, 60,000 copies of the inflammatory leaflet, Miners, Strike to Win. Throughout this strike this office was one of the major points from which the communist campaign among the miners in southern Illinois was carried on.

Swabeck went personally into Franklin and Williamson Counties, visiting the towns of Christopher, Zeigler, Sesser, Marion, Herrin, and other points where large numbers of miners were idle.

In Franklin County he was joined by Sullivan, of St. Louis, and Tallentire and Fraenckel, of Chicago, as well as other individuals who had been imported to spread communist propaganda among the miners.

Early in May the boast was made in the office of the Voice of Labor that the Illinois coal fields would soon be dominated by the members of the Communist Party, as the membership of the United Mine Workers was being steadily fed with communist propaganda and it was bearing fruit. Many communist groups had been started among the miners, it was stated, and all of them were acting in the capacity of recruiting units for the "illegal" or Communist Party.

The intent of the communists in the strike was established in a meeting under the auspices of the Workers Party of America in the Ashland Auditorium, at Chicago, on March 26, where Swabeck and Krambein were the speakers. Swabeck said that "armed insurrection will be forced upon the workers to use in this strike." Krumbein asserted that "solidarity" would be used as the motto of the com-

munists in the coal strike. Solidarity as used by the Communist International and the Communist Party of America means "mass action for revolutionary purposes."

Kjar's task was to mobilize the various organizers and agitators of the Communist Party for work among the miners. In this he was assisted by Krumbein and Larson.

Carney went into southern Illinois about May 20, posing as a correspondent of the Federated Press, but for the real purpose of urging the miners there not to make a separate agreement with the operators until, as he said, a complete settlement of the strike could be affected. The aim of the communists was to keep the strike going until their seeds of revolution could sprout sufficiently to prevent any settlement of the strike being reached.

Another agent of the communists who went into southern Illinois was Browder, who, in a speech at a communist gathering in Christopher early in May, accused the officials of the miners' union and the American Federation of Labor of treachery. He said that "the miners' salvation is in an organization which will be unified with all the industrial workers of the world, and aiming at social revolution and the workers' republic." Browder was followed on the stage by Sullivan, who made a speech for solidarity, and urged the miners to become members of the revolutionary parties.

This agitation under the active efforts of the communists continued during May and June. The strike area in southern Illinois was carefully examined, and the points where riot, violence, or armed insurrection might be started were charted and catalogued. In the list of these places were Christopher, Zeigler, Sesser, and Herrin.

Continuation of work in the strip mine at Herrin had been a source of irritation to the striking miners in that vicinity. The communist agents were quick to realize this situation and to seize upon it as a means of propagating their doctrines and increasing their influence with the idle miners.

With the local Lithuanian miners as a nuclei, a Communist Party chapter was organized in Herrin, holding its meetings secretly in the Lithuanian language, but taking its instructions from the agents of Dozenburg in the office of Carney at Chicago. Quietly and stealthily they worked among the idle miners at Herrin, preaching insurrection and armed attack upon the strip mine, where coal was being produced.

Swabeck and Fraenckel were spending most of their time in the vicinity of Herrin, returning to Chicago each week end for conferences with the communist leaders there.

In June a query as to the status of the men employed in the strip mine was made President Lewis. He replied to this query, classifying the situation as one of strike breaking. This telegram was immediately pounced upon by the communist agents in the vicinity and distorted into an excuse for an armed attack upon the strip mine.

The workers there were captured, and under the leadership of the 19 communist agents who, according to Dozenburg, had been imported for the purpose of starting armed insurrection and revolution, the men were shot down.

It is certain that there always will be some form of organization of labor in America. Employers may well ask themselves whether they would prefer to deal and negotiate with labor in its present organized form or with labor organized and controlled by those who are capable of doing what was done at Herrin.

That night and the next day there was rejoicing in the office of the Voice of Labor in Chicago. The armed insurrection that had been carefully planned was at hand—it had actually started. Dozenburg proclaimed that the new communists at Herrin had proven that they were real communists, and that now the revolutionary work must be spread to Indiana and Ohio.

Very clever tactics had been used by communists in assisting rioters, and the next step must be to shift responsibility from the men who committed the crime and put it "on the slain men," and to prevent the punishment of any of the men who were implicated in the massacre.

Dozenburg expressed confidence that no one would be punished for the crime, for the communist grip was strong in Herrin, and "our people working among the miners used clever tactics in assisting them and are using the party tactics to influence the public officials."

"Our great advantage is," said Dozenburg, "that the head of the mine workers, Lewis, sent a telegram there. This was used as an opportunity by our people by which they easily could be covered in their action."

Dozenburg then went to the center of the affair.

"We have 67 members of the Communist Party in Herrin," he said. "They are all Lithuanians, besides the 19 sent down from here. The 19 sent down from here represent the Lithuanian bureau of the Communist Party. They are all members of the Lithuanian federation of the bolshevik faction of the Communist Party."

Amalgamation of the coal miners, railroad workers, marine transport workers, and farm workers into a single organization for a general strike was the program of the communists at the outset of the strike. Lenin's instructions, when he sent $1,110,000 into the country for strike-promotion purposes, called for this kind of an amalgamation. And from the outset of the coal strike the communists were as actively "boring from within" the ranks of the marine transport workers, railroad workers, and farm workers as they were among the coal miners. Communist elements in all of these unions received instructions from the central offices in Chicago and Cleveland to join in a united effort to promote and stir up a general strike in all industry. The magnet used to attract union members to this program was the "one big union" or "militant union" idea. The emissaries among farm workers preached "cooperative" effort in production and marketing, which, as taught by the communists, means eventual confiscation of the land of the man who fails or refuses to join in the communist "cooperative" scheme.

The movement for general amalgamation was specifically in charge of the Trade Union Educational League, and throughout the miners' strike Foster concentrated his efforts on its promotion and furtherance. Foster did not confine himself simply to the coal union during the strike. His function was to extend it to all unions, if possible, and bring about a general strike that would eventuate into armed uprising.

The marine transport workers were already organized as a "one big union," so that additional communist effort in this direction was not necessary. The coal miners were considered sufficiently mobilized in a "one big union" if the organization of the United Mine Workers could be captured.

But a different condition existed among the railroad workers. Four brotherhoods and 16 unions were established there. In order to control them as a unit and mobilize them into the Foster "one big union" scheme, a plan for a single "departmentalized industrial union," since known as the Minnesota plan, was evolved.

With the impetus and fresh courage given to the communist agents by the Herrin massacre, their efforts among the railroad, marine transport, and farm workers were redoubled. Some of their ablest agitators were withdrawn from among the coal miners and sent among the railroad workers. One agitator among farmers, at Washington, was sent into California to work among the agricultural interests there. Invariably the work among the railroad workers was designed to shake their faith in their officials and recognized leaders and turn them to Foster and his Trade Union Educational League. The Herrin massacre had demonstrated that the miners were capable of armed uprising. The plan was to bring about in some quarter, preferably an important railroad junction point like Chicago or Pittsburgh, a similar outbreak among railroad workers. Communist papers and publications teemed with propaganda designed to further the general idea of armed uprising. It was recognized that if an uprising came about it would not be supported by the legitimate officials of the affected unions and that thus the communist agents would have the opportunity to slip into places made vacant by ousted officials.

The idea to forcibly seize the memberships of the unions had not yet made its appearance among the communists. That came later, in November, after they had failed in all their efforts during the summer. They only proposed then to undermine the union officials by winning the rank and file of their members from them.

Later, however, they decided to throw out by any means possible the leaders of the unions and forcibly to seize records, offices, and positions, and that is the plan on which they are working to-day.

The convention of the agents of the Communist International and leaders of the Communist Party of America, at Bridgman, Mich., last August, constituted one of the greatest conspiracies in the history of the United States. The raid upon that convention by the sheriff of the county in which it was held was one of the greatest blows that the communist organization in America has ever received.

Intent upon promoting the general uprising of all coal mine, railroad, marine transport, and farm workers, and carrying their aim to a successful realization before the coal and railroad strikes could be settled, their revolutionary sittings were suddenly cut short by the appearance of the Michigan sheriff, who confined them in the local jail and compelled them to shift their activities from the promotion of industrial revolution to the raising of money for bail purposes and preparing a defense in an effort to escape imprisonment under Michigan's criminal syndicalism law.

But the matter did not end there. The coal strike was settled soon after the Bridgman raid, despite every effort on the part of the communists to prevent a settlement, and the miners returned to work.

In November, however, they were busily plotting for another strike of the coal miners on April 1, 1923, supported by a railroad strike brought about by the "one big departmentalized union" of railroad workers.

Plans for this strike were being actively laid, emissaries were hurrying to Moscow for consultation with Lenin, Zinoviev, and Losowsky. "National" conventions were being arranged for at Chicago and Cleveland. A national farmer-labor party to draw together the farm workers and the industrial workers was being promoted by Foster, funds were being sent into the country from abroad, or raised by so-called national defense committees, labor defense councils, or miners' relief committees.

Among themselves, the communists were confident that the United Mine Workers would not be successful in making a new wage agreement with the operators to go into effect on April 1. Their party

press was filled with propaganda designed to close the ranks of the communists for the coming crisis on April 1.

A new contract between the United Mine Workers and the operators was effected, however, in the New York conference in January, and with it went glimmering the hope of another industrial upheaval in 1923.

Half-hearted efforts were made by Foster and his followers in the railroad unions early in November to precipitate a general strike of the railroad workers. It was decided, however, to abandon this attempt and to call a convention in Chicago on December 9 and 10 for the purpose of organizing an independent "one big union" movement among the transportation workers.

G. H. Kennedy was chosen as president of the new organization, which was brought into existence at the Chicago convention. O. H. Wangerin was selected as secretary-treasurer. Headquarters were established at St. Paul, from which place the campaign is being carried on now.

In the succeeding story the United Mine Workers of America will present the details of the efforts that have been made by the communist organization since January, and are being made at this time, to seize possession of the union and attempt again to put through the program which failed in the miners' strike last year.

ARTICLE IV

Collection of money from the American people for the promotion of the revolutionary movement in this country has become an organized industry in the last two years.

The sum which is being annually derived in this manner runs into millions of dollars, with only an approximate idea as to its aggregate. In addition, millions of dollars are being sent over from Moscow and other bolshevik centers in European capitals.

The United Mine Workers learns from an authoritative source that the money from abroad is coming in through the usual international banking channels, originating in Moscow, Berlin, or Stockholm, and that it is distributed to the accounts of various individuals in different banks after it reaches this country.

Part of the money with which the communists have attempted to get control of the United Mine Workers has been collected from the miners themselves in the belief that it was to be used in the upbuilding and strengthening of their organization, and for entirely legitimate purposes.

One such collection agency as this is known as the Miners' Relief Conference, a communist enterprise that has been operating in the Pittsburgh region since last August. The conference has been one of the most important channels through which money had filtered into the communist organization for destructive work within the miners' union.

Efforts of the communists to get control of the United Mine Workers have continued without interruption since the strike of last year came to an end with the agreement at Cleveland. In the first two months of this year these efforts centered on the proposition of bringing about an "outlaw" strike on April 1; later, to drive a wedge into the United Mine Workers through advocacy of the expedient of Government ownership of mines.

The strongest efforts of the communists to get control of the miners' union have been exerted in the last eight months. William Z. Foster, industrial organizer for the Communist International, has been at the head of the enterprise. The principal scene of action has been in southwestern Pennsylvania. The vehicle of the movement has been the Miners' Relief Conference, and the magnet for attracting the miners has been that of Government ownership of the mines.

The United Mine Workers have not approved or adopted any plan for nationalization of the mines. At the international convention two years ago a committee was appointed to make a study of the subject and submit a report, with recommendations, at the next convention, to be held next January.

Notwithstanding the fact that the miners' union is seeking to reach a conclusion on this proposition in an orderly way, the communist organization has concentrated all of its resources to the end of forcing the union to acknowledge it as the chief objective of the mine workers of this country.

The "drive" this year for the absorption of the miners by the communists was launched by Foster and his associates at Pittsburgh on February 10. A conference was held there at that time, which was attended by Foster, with Fred Merrick, communist organizer at Pittsburgh; Thomas R. Sullivan, communist organizer at St. Louis; Norman Tallentire, communist organizer at Chicago; Freeman Thompson, of Springfield, Ill., and delegates from mining fields in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The purpose of the conference was to extend the communist movement into all of the districts and locals of the union and engulf it in a wave of ultraradicalism.

Two delegates from the anthracite region were present, and they gave assurances that the hard-coal mines would be shut down on April 1 in connection with the proposed strike. But this proposed "outlaw" strike did not occur.

Three things were decided upon at this conference:

1. Establishment of headquarters for organizing activities at Pittsburgh, and the carrying on of an aggressive campaign to reorganize the miners' union in accordance with communist doctrines.

2. An effort to bring about a general strike on April 1.

3. The holding of a convention of miners' delegates of the United States and Canada in Pittsburgh during the first week in June, and launching a new international organization within the union which would gradually absorb it and eliminate its international and district officials.

Foster said at this conference that "wonderful progress" had been made among the miners in the Pittsburgh region, and that with the international convention in June he expected to arouse sufficient support in the union to enable him to control the policies of the next biennial convention in January, and establish himself as the dominant factor in the union.

Although a working agreement for the coming year had been made by the union and the operators two weeks before in a wage conference at New York City, plans for an "outlaw" strike on April 1 were frankly discussed by Foster and his associates at the conference.

"We must have no settlement of this strike until an agreement can be negotiated, under the charter of a new union having one of our own men as its leader," said Merrick.

The scheme by which it was proposed to set this strike going was to induce President Lewis to reestablish the strike of 1922 in the coke-producing region of Pennsylvania. Under the agitation of the communists it would be spread to the other coal fields by April 1. Behind this plan was a scheme of Foster's to spread the strike to other industries and bring about a general tie-up of industry during the summer.

Simultaneously with the conference at Pittsburgh the communist publications started a campaign to discredit President Lewis among the miners of the union, and to force him to reestablish the strike in the coke region as a means of protecting his influence with the miners there. J. Louis Engdahl, member of the central executive committee of the "legal" Communist Party and editor of the "legal" communist organ, the Worker, said:

Every militant trade-unionist must stand aghast at the tyrannous measures used by the high officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America in driving the Fayette County strikers back under the slave whips of the Standard Oil Co. and of the United States Steel Corporation."

Nationalization of the mines was decided upon at the conference as the principal issue of the communists in driving their wedge into the miners' union. In the official platform which was adopted there nationalization was made the chief issue. On this question the platform says:

"To meet this situation of demoralization a radical change must be made in the coal industry. There is only one solution at this moment that is possible, and that is nationalization of coal mines.

"Against this plan will be marshaled all the forces and resources of plutocratic America. The capitalist press and its journalistic hirelings, together with any army of retainers composed of the intellectual and political prostitutes of Wall Street, are flooding the country with an avalanche of lies, slander, and misrepresentation against nationalization. Corrupt and reactionary labor leaders are also opposing this plan, and every honest trades-unionist who espouses the cause is marked for persecution.

"In advocating nationalization of coal mines, the progressive coal miners mean the operation of the coal mines under the direction of competent union miners, and not under a commission composed of the usual lawyers, bankers, and politicians. A political bureaucracy sitting at Washington as directors of the coal industry would be a monstrosity worse even than the abortion known as the railroad labor board, and would never be tolerated by the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America.

"Nationalization of coal mines, as a political program, will be a failure unless it includes genuine democratic management of the mines. Since the efficient operation of the coal mines is only possible by those who have had experience in digging coal, we demand that the program of nationalization of coal mines shall provide for the operation of the mines entirely under the direction of union miners, who alone are possessed of the technical, mechanical, and manual skill necessary for the successful operation of the mines."

Foster and Merrick started their campaign in southwestern Pennsylvania with a bang. Alexander Howat, deposed president of the Kansas miners, was brought into the region as the chief speaker and missionary. Meetings were held in Fayette, Westmoreland, and other counties in the interests of the movement. Speakers appeared before local unions, and under the pretense of reorganizing them along "militant" lines, a communist nuclei was established in many of them.

Efforts were made also to extend the movement to Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, central and eastern Pennsylvania, and to Nova Scotia and Alberta. Contacts were established with local union officials and State board members in Illinois; with H. E. Keas, a

communist agent, in Ohio; E. R. Fay and R. P. Alcock in Alberta; and with J. B. McLachlan, Alexander McKay, and Angus McLennan in Nova Scotia.

Arrangements were made through McLachlan and McLennan for Howat to invade Nova Scotia in April and May to promote a communist organization there in conflict with the authority of the international officials of the United Mine Workers. McLachlan sent $200 to Merrick to defray Howat's traveling expenses, but Howat insisted on Thomas Myerscough, an aid of Merrick, accompanying him, and McLachlan was asked to contribute $600 more.

Howat failed in his efforts to gain entry into Canada because Canadian immigration authorities kept him out, and he returned to Pittsburgh. There he continued his campaign to overthrow the leadership of the miners and to carry out the program of the conference of February 10.

In the files in Merrick's office, which were seized at Pittsburgh, was a letter written by E. R. Fay, of Newcastle, Alberta, Canada, wrote to Myerscough, asking for a program of the insurgents, "and all necessary information to start the ball rolling to get rid of John 'Liar' Lewis and his gang of skunks." Fay said, "He acted on the recommendation of Tim Buck, the national industrial organizer of the Workers Party of Canada."

Merrick's first move for the seizure of the miners' union at Pittsburgh was to initiate a demand for a recount of the votes in the district election on December 12. He described his faction as the "progressives" and announced that "it has been decided to circulate petitions at once to recall all of the present officials of District 5 for improper conduct, especially in connection with the Fayette strike."

When the strike was settled at Cleveland last fall the communists bent their efforts to persuading the miners in southwestern Pennsylvania to refuse to return to work. The miners' relief conference was organized early in the fall on the pretext that it would provide a means of subsistence for the men and their families who refused to go back to work. J. A. Hamilton, a former school-teacher, was selected as secretary. Hamilton had direct business connections with Foster, and was known as his representative in the Pittsburgh region.

Scores of miners in southwestern Pennsylvania followed the prompting of Merrick and his aids not to return to work. Limited sums of money were supplied to them by the miners' relief conference, although an examination of such records as were kept show that in virtually every instance the relief donations were confined to miners who were either communists in principle or were agents in their neighborhoods for the communist organization.

Inspection of the records of the conference fails also to show even the simplest forms of bookkeeping in accounting for the moneys and supplies that were received. While considerable sums of money were contributed by sympathetic men and women who heeded the appeals that were broadcasted over the country, the records of the contributions are either on scraps of paper or found in the original letters of the donors.

The kindly heart of Mrs. Sarah Hyams, 252 West Seventy-sixth Street, New York City, responded to the "touching" appeal of Hamilton for money, and on October 9 she sent her check for $500, saying:

"I had some money which I had made up my mind to use where it would do the most good. When your letter came I felt that this is where it should go. It does not seem possible that the condition stated by you and by so many others could exist in a country as rich as ours, or that people could be so heartless. I only hope that you will get all of the help you need, so that some of this awful poverty may be relieved."

Hamilton sent Mrs. Hyams a statement on November 3, which purported to cover the expenditure of $126 of the $500. He explained that $50 had been given to George Lutz, an idle miner at Republic, Pa. Lutz was one of the most active agents of Merrick and Hamilton in that region, and recognized as aiding them in their movement.

Miss Maude Tollefson is a teacher in a private school at Peekskill, N. Y. She was the recipient also of one of the "touching" letters of Merrick and Hamilton, and on November 7 sent in a donation. Hamilton in his reply so impressed Miss Tollefson with the worthiness of this enterprise that she appealed to her friends to join with her in making contributions. In writing to Hamilton on November 16, she said:

"By the middle of next week I will have some clothes collected from the teachers here, and possibly from friends in New York City. Will you let me know whether to send them to you, or to J. M. Geisel, whose picture you sent me with the address on the back. Also, I have sent word to my mother in South Dakota to send what she can find. I am sure she will do so."

Hamilton was the recipient also of considerable sums of money from Louis Gruss, alias "Willard," formerly of the Friends of Soviet Russia, and secretary of a so-called miners' relief committee in New York. Gruss sent to Hamilton, according to the records of the latter, a total of $1,450; but later begged Hamilton for a loan of $100 to defray the expenses and hall rent of a meeting in New York City where Howat would speak.

Appeals were sent by these communists to local unions of the United Mine Workers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and West Virginia, asking that arbitrary assessments for "relief" purposes in the coke region be laid on the memberships, and the money remitted to Merrick and Hamilton. Some of the local unions were induced to do this, with usually an assesment of 25 cents a member. Local unions in Franklin and Williamson Counties, in Illinois, and in the vicinity of Bellaire, Ohio, sent sums of as much as $300 each.

The relationship between Merrick and Hamilton and the communist organization is shown in their connection with the labor defense council at Chicago. A few days after the raid upon the communist convention at Bridgman, Mich., last August, the national defense committee, a communist agency, was reorganized into the labor defense council.

The council launched on the task of raising $200,000 for bail purposes at Bridgman, and to employ lawyers and provide funds for the trials of the individuals who had been caught in the sheriff's dragnet. Explicit instructions were sent to every communist agency in the country to "get busy" at the task of raising money for this purpose. Organizers and district officials were told by the communist central organization to give unqualified support to the demands of the labor defense council. As far as possible donations were to be sought from the labor unions on the claim that the raid on the revolutionary gathering at Bridgman imperiled the cause of organized labor in this country.

Moritz J. Loeb, secretary of the labor defense council, wrote to Merrick and Hamilton, on December 6, as follows:

"Comrade Ruthenburg has assured us that the Workers Party organizers will be held responsible for activity toward the organization of labor defense councils in their districts. We have seen a copy of the letter at the national office of the workers' party sent out in this respect. It is our understanding that you are the district organizer of the Pittsburgh district and we would very much like to have you take responsibility toward organizing the labor defense council in your district, seriously."

A week later Loeb wired to Merrick, as follows:

"Five men remaining in Berrien jail can all be released for $15,000. Exert every effort. Raise everything possible, cash or Liberty bonds. Send us what you have immediately. We must get men out by Christmas. Put on small drive. Do your part and we succeed."

Early in January the labor defense council sent Tom Tippett, business manager of the Federated Press, into the Pittsburgh district as its special agent to assist in the money raising. Merrick and Hamilton were told to give their support to making the Tippett meetings a success. On this point Loeb said:

"Please do not be too economical in your advertising of the Tom Tippett meeting. We are particularly anxious that you should get out a good crowd, even though the financial returns on the investment are not of the best."

Advertising matter was sent to Merrick by Loeb which stated that—"the reporter for the labor press on the Herrin trial will come to Pittsburgh to tell of the nation-wide attack on labor, the open-shop drive of which Herrin, West Virginia, and the Bridgman raids are only the outstanding examples. No better representative of the working class can tell this story, as Tippet has been an actual observer of the major campaigns which have been calculated to destroy the labor movement."

The extent to which money was diverted from the miners' relief conference at Pittsburgh into the coffers of the labor defense council for use at the Bridgman trials or into other communist channels can not be definitely ascertained from the records in the office of Merrick and Hamilton. However, Hamilton, in a letter of January 7, said:

"This relief work has succeeded much beyond expectations, as we have sent into Washington, Allegheny, Westmoreland, Fayette, and Greene Counties nearly $9,000 worth of various kinds of relief. Besides we have thrown some hot shot into the contemptible official circles, and in this way helped considerable in getting the union to give what scanty support it is giving to the Fayette County men.

"This sort of activity is what makes me satisfied with my affiliation with the Workers Party as I have never been either a member of the Socialist Party or as unaffiliated. The W. P. is endeavoring to day by day take part in the struggles of the working class in such a manner as to assist most in the final overthrow of capitalism."

The data at hand show that Merrick's and Hamilton's work for the miners' relief conference was so intimately associated with their work for the labor defense council that it is difficult at times to distinguish between them. Hamilton gave as much time and effort, according to his own reports, to the promotion of the labor defense council, purely a communist enterprise, as he did to the miners' relief conference.

The correspondence shows that while Merrick and Hamilton were appealing to the people of the country for money for the relief of "starving miners" they were also holding mass meetings in the same region to collect money from these "starving miners" to remit to the labor defense council at Chicago.

When Merrick declined to approve the suggestion that another agent of the labor defense council be sent into the Pittsburgh region he gave as his reason that they were then collecting all the money from these "starving miners" which he believed it was possible to do.

Merrick in carrying on his work maintained close contact with Ruthenburg, William W. Weinstone, James P. Cannon, J. Louis Engdahl, William Z. Foster, and William F. Kruse, of the communist organizations, and with Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union. Merrick was in frequent correspondence with Ruthenburg during last winter and spring concerning the details of the communist campaign in the miners' union. Ruthenburg was irritated at the resistance offered by the United Mine Workers to the distribution of radical literature by Merrick, and on February 10 he wrote to Merrick as follows:

"Certainly we can not agree with your viewpoint in regard to the defense nor with the action of the district executive committee in ordering the discontinuance of the distribution of the program in the Pittsburgh district. There has been distributed by the communist movement in the United States literature that was considered even more radical than the program could be, and ways and means have been found in which to make the distribution. Certainly we should not, because of attacks of the authorities and the arrest of three of our members, permit that to interfere with the continuation of our work. That is not the communist attitude. The communist viewpoint is to continue the work of the movement irrespective of what the authorities say or do in persecuting our party. This does not mean that you need to make the distribution in such a manner as to expose the members to arrest, but certainly you should not allow such a little thing comparatively as has happened in your district to interfere with the continuance of the work."

The American Civil Liberties Union was called upon by Merrick to give assistance in freeing the radical agents and emissaries who were arrested in the Pittsburgh region. A small loan was made to Merrick in one of these cases from the Garland Foundation fund. In writing to Baldwin for a renewal of the note covering this loan on January 13, Merrick said:

"Due to the terrific fight that developed in the election campaign in district 5 of the U. M. W. of A., we are compelled to go to the miners for every cent we can get to carry on the fight of the progressive miners. As a result of it, have won the election. While the machine, one of the most corrupt in the U. M. W. of A., claims victory by a small margin, we have proof that they were defeated and will carry it to the international executive board."

Baldwin replied that the board had agreed "with pleasure to extend your note for 60 days."

In writing to C. E. Ruthenburg on August 10 Merrick said, with reference to Roger Baldwin, managing director of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Garland Foundation:

"In answer to my letter to Baldwin concerning the $2,000 to the Garland fund I got the information that the money has already been voted to be used exclusively in district No. 2 in central Pennsylvania. I can not blame Baldwin, for Brophy, the president of the organization, is a fine fellow and has cooperated with the Civil Liberties Union all along, while the district officials here have refused to help at all."

Baldwin was also called upon by Merrick for a loan to finance the election contest in the Pittsburgh district against the officials of the United Mine Workers. The board of the Garland Foundation fund refused to make this loan, however, and Baldwin advised Merrick to this effect.

Merrick's relations with James P. Cannon, known as "the paymaster" of the communists, during the eight months' "drive" have been equally intimate and businesslike. Cannon was the individual directly responsible for sending William F. Dunne into the Pittsburgh region at the start of the miners' strike in 1922. In writing to Merrick at that time concerning Dunne's prospective visit, Cannon said:

"We fully appreciate the importance of the Pittsburgh district in the present coal situation and want to help you in every way possible to make the most of the possibilities offered."

In the next article dealing with the communist revolutionary movement in this country the United Mine Workers will present the facts concerning the "boring from within" campaign as it relates to all trade-unions and labor organizations in the United States and the interlocking directorates and the mechanism by which these organizations are found together and conduct their work virtually as one departmentalized unit.

ARTICLE V

The Communist Party of America was created for the purpose of taking possession of the United Mine Workers of America, the American Federation of Labor, and the labor unions of the country, and, through them, overthrowing the Government of the United States.

This has been its continuing purpose since the days in May, 1921, when it was brought into existence on the top of Overlook Mountain, in the Catskills, near Woodstock, N. Y.

The decision of the Communist International to organize a secret or "underground" party in America was due to the fact that its manifestoes and communications to this country, as well as the program of action of its political units and groups, advocated the overthrow of the Government by force, violence, and armed insurrection, and made its members subject to prosecution in many of the States or to deportation at the hands of the Federal Government.

The courts of the country had judicially held that the purpose of the Communist International, on its own declarations, was to overthrow the Government, which made membership of an alien in the Communist Party grounds per se for deportation.

The United Mine Workers of America is in possession of original and authenticated copies of the manifestoes and communications that were sent to America by the Communist International at the time the Communist Party in America was brought into existence. These documents establish clearly what the purpose of the party was. And the manifestoes and communications that have been received from Moscow since that time show that its intent and purpose has continued to be the same that it was when it was organized.

Seventy communist leaders, representing the two factions of the Communist Party, and the United Communist Party, gathered in the ancient hotel on the top of Overlook Mountain on the morning of May 15, 1921, to compose their differences and unite in a single group, to be known as the Communist Party of America. This assembly was not only at the command of Lenin and Zinoviev, of the Communist International, but it was accompanied with the threat that if the factional differences were not put aside and a united front presented for invading the labor unions of the United States, no more money would be forthcoming from Moscow for financing the revolutionary movement in this country. Up to that time Moscow had contributed money to both of these factions, but had decided that their hostility to each other was neutralizing the results of their work.

Charles E. Scott, member of the Pan-American Bureau, or supreme communist agency in the Western Hemisphere at that time, appeared at the convention as the personal emissary of Lenin and Zinoviev. Scott possessed the power to break deadlocks and force an amalgamation of the two factions.

Scott was essentially a fighter. He was a practical man, and a man of few words. There was nothing of the theory propounding radical about him. He wanted action in America rather than words, and his mission at Overlook Mountain was to see to it that the two communist factions established themselves on a basis for aggressive action.

Scott had been a resident of the United States and Canada for more than two years. He was then making his home in Boston. The other members of his bureau were Sen Katayama, alias "Yavki," an elderly Japanese then living in Mexico City, and Louis C. Fraina, who was spending his time in Berlin as an agent for the American communists.

Scott's real name was Jakor Davidovitch Janson. He had formerly been a representative of the communist commissariat for foreign affairs at Irkutsk. He saw military service on the Polish front in 1919 and fought with the Bolshevik forces in the Caucasus early in the same year. From August, 1920, to the beginning of 1921 he was chief of the eastern department of the Soviet régime in Russia, and was sent to China early in 1921.

Silent and taciturn in his bearing, Scott met the 70 delegates in the vicinity of Kingston. They were conveyed to the foot of Overlook Mountain in automobiles. Guards saluted them as they passed along the road. For more than two weeks these guards has been stationed in the vicinity of Fort Montgomery, Tannersville, Saugerties, and Kingston. Trains arriving at these towns were observed by sentinels. A guard remained behind the delegates to watch the village marshal in Woodstock. Other guards were scattered around the country as farm hands. There were guards also in the Grand Central Station in New York. Scott broke his silence to say that the prospective convention could only be raided by a squadron of cavalry, and that, with his guards on the alert, its presence would be known when 30 miles away.

Alighting from their automobiles, the delegates climbed in single file up the mountain. Other guards were encountered along the trail.

When they reached the Overlook Mountain Inn, on the top of the mountain, they were assigned two in a room. Two of the delegates were women. A steering committee forbade anyone to go beyond 200 feet from the hotel unless they were going to the meeting place of a committee or of the convention in the woods. The delegates were all searched, and every scrap of paper or other evidence that would be incriminating if the place was raided was taken from them. They were forbidden to write letters or to make notes unless they were in the committee or convention room, and then only for the purpose of speaking on the question under discussion. These scraps of paper were to be given to the committee as soon as the delegate had finished his remarks. Twice each day the persons of the delegates were searched, as were their rooms.

As night approached guards could be seen signaling each other with flashlights from the mountain tops that all was well.

Sixty of these men were representatives of the Communist Party and of the United Communist Party. The remainder were communist leaders in the United States and associated with Scott. There were delegates from all of the communist districts, including Minneapolis and Duluth. The Pacific coast was represented by L. E. Katterfield, a young communist who was born in Kansas and graduated from a

Wichita college. James P. Cannon, chief fiscal agent of the Communist International, was present, but left the convention several days before it adjourned to go to Kansas City to attend his trial on a charge of sedition. Robert Minor, said to be the son of a circuit judge in San Antonio, and a former newspaper cartoonist at St. Louis, was present as the representative of the Communist International in propaganda matters.

For three days the factions caucused separately, and then at a spot in the woods, with the delegates seated in a natural amphitheater, the convention was called to order by Dr. Jacob Hartmann, alias "Swift," connected with the Russian famine and medical relief at New York. Hartmann used a bowlder for a platform desk.

Here the Communist Party of America was brought into existence. the important decisions were that it should be an "underground" or secret organization, with its existence manifest only through related and subsidiary organizations; that the central executive committee should exercise supreme discipline and control over all communist groups in the United States, including the language federations; and that it should determine and voice the policies of the communist movement in this country—in accordance with the mandates and instructions of the Communist International.

On the point of control of the language federations the Russian delegates made bitter objection, but a radiogram came from Moscow saying that the delegates of neither party would be received at the World Congress of the Communist International in July unless both parties were fully united.

The central executive committee of the United Communist Party announced that the communist leaders at Moscow had sent a special contribution of $135,000 to this country to finance the unity project, but that to date only $50,000 had been actually received on this side, which had been equally divided between the Communist Party and the United Communist Party. It was decided to tax the party membership 50 cents each to defray the expenses of the convention there.

When the convention came to a close on May 29 Minor and one other individual were chosen as delegates to go to Moscow and inform Lenin that communist unity in America had been achieved. Two days later Minor was on the high seas.

An indication of just what party unity meant was shown a few days later when a Russian branch of the old Communits Party at Akron, Ohio, was found to have $1,000 in its treasury. There was a grand and glorious feeling in the district headquarters of the new party in Cleveland when this discovery was made, and the money was promptly confiscated under a decision of the Overlook convention that no group or local unit could have more than $15 on hand for its personal use.

The central executive committee of the new party was chosen from among members and leaders of various organizations of the country. These included the Friends of Soviet Russia, the Russian Medical Relief Society, the Industrial Soviet League, the People's Reconstruction League, the Farmer-Labor Party as it then existed, the Industrial Workers of the World, the World War Veterans, and later the Workers Party of America and the Trade Union Educational League.

A few months after this convention was held the Workers Party was organized under the specific instructions of Lenin at a communist convention in Brooklyn as the "legal" branch of the Communist Party of America.

The program of action adopted by the Overlook Mountain convention was in its essential aspects the same as had already been proclaimed by the United Communist Party. It called for mass action by the workers, seizure of labor unions, and converting them into "militant" enterprises, "boring from within" the American Federation of Labor, and, in particular, the seizure of the United Mine Workers of America.

The chief aim of the Communist Party of America, as developed in the Overlook Mountain convention, was to put the control of the revolutionary movement in America in the hands of a definite group of leaders, functioning as one committee, and exercising authority over all communist activity in this country through a specific grant of authority from Lenin and the Communist International. It is interesting, therefore, to find that when the Workers Party was organized nine of the members of the central executive committee of the Communist Party were named as members of its central executive committee also.

These nine were Jay Lovestone, alias "Wheat," executive secretary of the Communist Party; Earl Browder, alias "Ward" and "Dixon," editor of the organ of the Trade Union Educational League; James P. Cannon, alias "Cook," chairman of the Workers Party; Ludwig Lore, alias "Young," editor of a communist organ in New York City; Robert Minor, alias "Ballister," representative of the Communist International in America; A. Bittelman, alias "Raphael," communist organizer in New York; Alexander Trachtenberg, communist writer and author in New York; William W. Weinstone, alias "Lewis," national official of the Workers Party; and C. E. Ruthenburg, alias "Damon," executive secretary of the Workers Party.

When Delegate Tyrosowsky, alias "Stepan," alias "Wallace," returned from the Congress of the Communist International early in 1922, he appeared before the central executive committee of the Communist Party and made a report concerning the Workers Party and the work in America, which was quoted to the communist leaders by the committee in the following language:

"During the Congress the greatest leader of the Comintern (Communist International) held an interview with the whole American delegation. In his opinion the American comrades do not utilize all of the opportunities of the struggle. Among other means of utilization of opportunities for legal communist work Comrade L. (Lenin) advised us to take the necessary steps to establish a legal communist organization. The legal organization should be the camp in which the revolutionary workers who can not very well be admitted to the underground will be mobilized."

There are 200 organizations in the United States actively engaged in or sympathetic with the communist revolutionary movement as directed and conducted by the Communist Party of America. Some of them are local in their scope and work, others are nation-wide. Forty-five of these organizations of either "pink" or radical structure are engaged in the communist effort to seize control of the labor unions in this country and convert them to the revolutionary movement. In virtually every instance these organizations have direct contact through the mechanism of interlocking directorates with the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America or with its "legal" branch, the Workers Party of America.

Fifty-two persons hold 325 directorates in these 45 organizations. A study of the interlocking arrangement shows that all of these organizations are fused into a single whole. The extreme radicals are promoting the revolutionary movement, and a dozen intermediate degrees of "liberal" radicals and "parlor pinks" are cooperating with them intimately and closely, so that the contact is complete from end to end of the scale. There is no gap or breaking point. Ten of the directors appear in radical as well as "liberal" groups, and at the same time among the "civil liberties" or "intellectual pink" groups.

Illustrative of this arrangement is the executive committee and the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, at New York, posing as the champion of free speech and civil liberty, but serving as a forerunner and trail blazer for the active and insidious activities of the communists among labor organizations. Harry F. Ward, born in London in 1873, and chancellor of the Union Theological Seminary, is chairman of this organization. The managing director is Roger Baldwin, who served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County jail, in New Jersey, in 1918 and 1919.

Other members on the national committee include Norman M. Thomas, who is connected with six other organizations and who is a clergyman, combining intellectual radicalism with religion; Peter Poscal Cosgrove, of Boston, a Nova Scotian, who has recently been a recruiting agent for William D. Haywood's industrial unit, the Kuzbas, in Russia; Felix Frankfurter, member of the law faculty at Harvard University; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a solicitor of funds for the I. W. W.; William Z. Foster, born in Massachusetts in the eighties, and heading the Trade Union Educational League; John Haynes Holmes, member of the League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners—an enterprise to obtain the release of the potential communist leadership from the Federal and State prisons; Norman Hapgood, a newspaper writer; Arthur Garfield Hayes, a New York attorney; Robert Morss Lovett, former professor at the University of Chicago, and first president of the Federated Press; Judah L. Magnes, head of the Jewish Kehillah in New York City; and Oswald Garrison Villard, a New York publisher.

The major propaganda distributing agency of the communists is the Federated Press. This is an alleged newspaper service with headquarters at Chicago. It has been financed and promoted through the central communist organization, under instructions of the Communist International at Moscow. It serves approximately 200 newspapers, publications, and agencies in America and about 120 newspapers in Europe. It also supplies an "economic service," described by William Z. Foster as "consisting of statistics upon the actual condition of our industrial system," to local labor unions that can be induced to subscribe for it.

When organized in January, 1920, it had eight members. This number increased to 125 before the end of 1921. Practically every revolutionary group in America, including the Industrial Workers of the World, has cooperated with this enterprise. It has established branches in 30 cities, including the National Capital. This agency is the medium through which the great mass of propaganda favorable to the red flag of general destruction in Russia is being circulated in this country.

Robert Morss Lovett, of New York, as president of the Federated Press, sent Bruce Rogers, an organizer of the Communist Party, to the Pacific coast last year to solicit funds for the Federated Press. In a letter to Rogers on April 29, 1922, he instructed him to approach the wealthy "intellectuals" of Los Angeles and certain well-known motion-picture magnates and stars at Hollywood with requests for donations, saying:

"These men are with us. They helped us before and they will do it again. Present the situation strong, and don't let them off easy, for we need the money, and need it badly."

Rogers sought life-membership subscription in the Federated Press "pink" circles of Los Angeles, where he confided that:

1. The Federated Press does not represent the viewpoint of the great mass of organized labor because it is "too far advanced," and "too revolutionary" for the conservative American workingman.

2. No enterprise was ever financed by passing the hat, and the small contributions being received from organized labor are not sufficient to keep the Federated Press going.

Robers sought life-membership subscriptions in the Federated Press at $1,000 each. He raised more than $20,000 in Los Angeles alone.

Francis Drake, editor of the Citizen, a labor publication in Los Angeles, challenged the statements of Rogers as to the purpose of the Federated Press and informed him that the Citizen would not print the "news" distributed by it because "it is communist propaganda, and colored in the interests of disruptionists like William Z. Foster, Alexander Howat, and Curley Grow."

National committees are a favorite mechanism with the communists in their organizations. These committees are nothing more than an interlocking arrangement, ranging from communist parties to apparently harmless welfare enterprises, through which the communist central group are attempting to take possession of the labor unions, with the American Federation of Labor, in this order: First, the United Mine Workers of America; second, the four railroad brotherhoods and 16 railroad unions; third, the textile workers, including knit-goods workers, loom fixers, silk weavers, hosiery workers, and wool sorters; fourth, the steel and packing-house workers; and fifth, the farm workers.

The purpose of the Communist Party of America as the central contact of all communist enterprises is found in the official organ, the Communist, for July, 1922:

"The purpose of the underground organization of the Communist Party of America is to function adroitly within a solid body of cells for secret and illegal activities, and as a caucus for the purpose of controlling the open movement and keeping it along correct lines. * * *

"We must correlate the struggles of our workers with the struggle of the Russian workers by so coordinating our fight for such immediate needs as unemployment relief, with the demand for recognition of and unrestricted trade relations with Soviet Russia.

"We must wage the fight directly through the activities aimed at strengthening the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International.

"Without a proletarian army the Communist Party of America will accomplish nothing. The proletarian army that the Communist Party of America must guide and lead is the organized labor movement of the country. The organized labor movement contains the great masses of the workers who have fought against capitalism for their immediate interests, and are prepared to do so over and over again. The bulk of the organized workers in America are in the American Federation of Labor.

"The historic rôle of the Communist Party is through its leadership to marshal the working classes against the capitalist class, conquer and destroy the State power, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The assault to seize the American Federation of Labor started five years ago with the organization of the United Communist Party and has continued with unchanging persistence ever since. The platform of the United Communist Party contained the first unqualified attack upon the Federation and the labor unions affiliated with it. This document said:

"The United Communist Party must systematically and persistently familiarize the working class with the fact of the inevitability of armed conflict in the proletarian revolution. The United Communist Party must prepare the working class for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action, by which the workers shall conquer the State.

"The conquest of the State and the annihilation of its governmental machinery becomes the immediate object of the struggle. Consciously to direct this inevitable development and to lead the working class in the final conflict is the historic mission of the United Communist Party.

"The class struggle, which so long appeared in forms unrecognizable to the millions of workers directly engaged in it, develops into an open combat, civil war.

"The United Communist Party confirms the present necessity of militant workers remaining with the large mass of organized workers, regardless of the declared reactionary aims of these unions, and, by determined and coordinated strength, turning these unions to a revolutionary course. The United Communist Party, section of the Communist International, is the instrument of that coordination of revolutionary work within the labor unions.

"Members of the United Communist Party will form the revolutionary group in each union, regardless of what kind of union it may be. The United Communist Party caucuses with the union shall have the power to discipline, to compel communists regularly to attend union meetings. They shall by discipline regulate the activities of the communists on the floor and in voting in the union assembly. Upon every important question affecting the welfare of the union and labor in general, the caucus shall formulate a policy and all members shall strictly adhere to the decision.

"The workers' revolution can not succeed without the support of the great bulk of whatever labor organizations may exist at the time. For these reasons the United Communist Party can not be satisfied with the formation of a few new unions of declared revolutionary purpose, but of small membership and slight relation to key industries."

The efforts of the communists are not confined to taking possession of trade-unions. They have a systematic program also for entering legislatures and municipal assemblies, and with the declaration that their members in those positions are amenable to the same discipline as in the trade-unions. They aim also to enter the Army and the Navy. Bukharin and Berzin, of the executive committee of the Communist International, in a manifesto to the communists of America two years ago, said:

"We consider one of the most important tasks before you is the organization of communist groups in the Army and Navy, which should carry on energetic propaganda in favor of soldiers' and sailors' soviets, and denunciatory agitation against officers and generals.

"Act centrally. Do not fall asunder. Organize conspirative revolutionary headquarters."

Local chapters of the Trade Union Educational League have been established in every industrial city in the country for the purpose of carrying on the campaign against the trade-unions. Foster's greatest success at the outset in promoting this enterprise was on the Pacific coast, especially around Los Angeles and in central California. A larger volume of pernicious ultraradical activity is centered around Los Angeles than any other city in the United States with the single exception of the metropolitan district of New York. Revolutionary radicalism is profitable around Los Angeles because it is made so by the wealthy "intellectuals" there who are dabbling in it.

Funds which Foster and his group are spending in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and other places to seize control of the United Mine Workers are to an unusual extent being derived from wealthy residents of Los Angeles, Pasadena, Altadena, Long Beach, and other places around Los Angeles. Revolutionary agents coming direct from Moscow are received in homes there and tendered dinners by so-called "intellectual clubs."

Pernicious and revolutionary propaganda distributed among the coal miners in the strike of 1922, and intended to arouse them to violence and "mass action," was, in a number of instances, turned out by so-called popular authors and novelists in Los Angeles who are receiving from $600 to $800 a month from the "intellectual pinks" of that vicinity for doing that sort of thing. Foster's first and chief foothold for the Trade Union Educational League in the first 12 months that he promoted it was in and around Los Angeles. Even the Communist International has learned that the most appropriate spot for launching new revolutionary movements and organizations is Los Angeles.

When A. Plotkin, a representative of the Communist International, started his work in this country in September, 1922, to seize the railroad unions as the communists were attempting to seize the United Mine Workers, he went straight to Los Angeles as the initial point. Later he carried on his work in other parts of the country with money donated to him at Los Angeles.

New efforts and activities of the communists in the coming months, indicating the nature of their program for the future, will be outlined in the next article of this series.

ARTICLE VI

The bolshevik movement in the United States would have sapped its own energies and disintegrated, or have degenerated into pure anarchy, if it had not been for the support and assistance that it has constantly received from the so-called "parlor bolsheviks" and "pink revolutionists" in America. They have served the function of keeping it alive and on an active footing, when otherwise the efforts of Lenin and the Communist International would have failed.

Investigation by the United Mine Workers of America into all phases of the communist efforts has clearly disclosed the fact that the funds of wealthy men and women, flattered by the glamor of pseudo "intellectuality," has instilled new energy and given new leases of life to the communist movement, and enabled its agents and organizers to multiply to proportions which, at this time, gives them and their activities an aspect that challenges the attention not only of the labor unions but of the whole country.

The dangers that lie in the future are in the seemingly harmless and innocuous expedients with which the communists have learned to cloak and conceal their true aims and purposes. One of these is the plot to compel recognition of Soviet Russia by the Government of the United States, with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

No greater victory short of the overthrow of the Federal Government itself could be won by the communist organization in this country than to bring about recognition of the soviet régime in Russia by this Government. Experience has demonstrated that wherever the Soviet Government goes, it goes for propaganda. If diplomatic relations were established with this country, the soviet régime would be the sole beneficiary.

A recognized government is entitled to a consulate in every city, and a consular staff may be as large as desired and may do about what it wants to do. In the light of their past activities, the first thing that the soviets might be expected to do in the United States, if accorded recognition, would be to establish "consulates," with large propaganda staffs, in all of the leading cities. The present "underground" revolutionary organization centered around the Communist Party of America would then be able to come to the surface and start its work with renewed impetus in the open.

With the diplomatic doors opened to them the soviets could bring in men and money in such numbers and sums as they desired. While the possibility of their overthrowing the American Government is not to be conceded, one of the major lines of defense against them and their revolutionary designs and purposes would be removed; they would be afforded unlimited opportunities for their revolutionary work, and energies that are sorely needed for constructive effort in America would be diverted and dissipated in fighting the serpent in the house.

Establishment of diplomatic relations with the communists, with consulates in whatever cities they wished to put them, would give them unlimited opportunities for attacking the labor unions and trade organizations, and create an active recognized revolutionary machinery in this country against which the unions and the Government would have little or no protection.

Every effort has been exerted by the communists in the last five years to get control of the labor unions. With Soviet Russia given diplomatic recognition the unions that have so far successfully combated their inroads would be placed virtually at their mercy, and made doubly vulnerable to the assaults and attacks of the red hosts at Moscow.

Deportations of alien communists would be halted, and the red agents of Moscow when arrested in this country would demand the "protection" of the consulates and diplomatic emissaries of the Communist International.

The communists have a strong organization in the vicinity of Bellaire, Ohio, from which much of their revolutionary activity is being carried on. A soviet consulate could be established there. They have boasted that they instigated and carried out what took place at Herrin, Ill. They could establish a consulate at Herrin. They have used dynamite and shotguns in southwestern Pennsylvania. They might have consulates at Pittsburgh, Uniontown, Connellsville, and Johnstown. They might establish a "consulate" in every industrial center in this country.

Another phase of the communist movement in America at this time that commands attention is the demand for the release of "political" prisoners who are confined in the Federal and State prisons. This is a phase of the revolutionary movement that goes hand in hand with the demand for recognition of Soviet Russia. The center of the communist movement is an outgrowth of, and to a certain extent, a continuation of the German espionage system here during the war. Some of its methods and practices, such as its system of "underground" activity, with camouflaged organizations on the surface, are essentially the same as were employed by the German espionage and propaganda agents during the war.

Germany had an excellent organization in the United States, conducted and managed by astute and skilled leaders. The higher agents were sent into the country from abroad, but they were told that the rank and file of their units and groups must be recruited from among the malcontents and disloyalists in the United States. As a result of this program, large numbers of anarchists, syndicalists, agitators, would-be revolutionists, enemies of the Government, and individuals who had been convicted of crime were enlisted in the German service. In no other strata could recruits be found in such numbers as were needed. An "underground" organization, as well as a "surface" one, was established by the Germans.

After the armistice the various units that the Germans had created continued to exist for mutual benefit. None of these units had any particular love or respect for the other, but they were all working in some measure together. They had been brought into direct contact with each other for the first time, had formed acquaintances, been under discipline, and had learned to cooperate without fomenting factionalism among themselves.

When the flow of German money into the country stopped, these agents and units turned to the bolsheviks, who had seized Russia, and through the plunder of banks and estates were in a position to finance a revolutionary movement in America. The bolsheviks had the money to spend for propaganda, and they had come to a realization that if their dictatorship in Russia was to survive they must engage in an extensive campaign of world propaganda and revolutionary activity.

The American units were successful in their overtures to the Lenin régime. Indeed, Trotsky was in some measure their emissary. They held out the prospect to the bolsheviks that with proper cultivation and intensive effort the revolutionary units already existing in the United States could quickly mobilize the labor unions and trade unionists for an armed uprising, with seizure and overthrow of the Government, and the establishment of a soviet dictatorship responsible to and maintaining allegiance to the Communist International.

It will thus be seen that from the very outset the trade unions of America have been the first and chief objective of the communists and the instrumentality through which they have expected to accomplish their ends.

To-day the bolshevik organization in America is better systematized, more coordinated, and has a larger range of activities than it ever had before. These activities are expanding and spreading in scope. The communist organization is not as elastic as it was in the hands of the Germans, and it is not as well financed. It is, nevertheless, very real and very effective, and from a skeleton organization created by the Germans has multiplied many times in strength and scope of action, and to-day has ramifications that reach into virtually every labor union, every industry, every community, and most of the phases of American life.

The movement for the release of "political" prisoners goes back to the days when the Germans were in control of the organization. Many of the German agents were convicted of violation of the wartime laws and confined in Federal penitentiaries. To effect their release and give the Moscow communists the benefit of their entire potential leadership in this country the campaign has been carried on for the release of political prisoners. The claim has been made that it has been intended to secure the release of conscientious objectors. The communications of the Moscow leaders to the red leaders in this country show that the real purpose has been to quietly obtain the release of the imprisoned communists under a hue and cry for the release of conscientious objectors.

The communist movement is feeding in a large degree on the demand for a resumption of trade with Russia. There are no obstacles to export and import trade with Russia except those handicaps which they have imposed upon themselves through the dissipation and exhaustion of their own economic resources, and their interference with the productivity of the Russian people.

The chief obstacle to the resumption of normal trade relations with Russia has been in the fact that foreign trade has remained in the hands of soviet agents, so that American exporters had to deal solely with them, and were not granted an opportunity to ship their goods into Russia for sale to Russian individuals. A second obstacle has been in the fact that the monetary reserves have been exhausted. With production reduced, the soviets have had nothing to resume trade with.

Even if Russia were given diplomatic recognition, and the soviets removed the restrictions they have imposed upon foreign trading, there could not be a normal exchange of goods until the soviets provided guaranties for the security of the goods sent into the country. The handicap of the soviets having little or nothing to exchange would still remain. In all probability such recognition would furnish an excuse for the bolshevik propagandists launching an agitation in the United States for a foreign loan to the soviets to resuscitate the wrecked and ruined industries of their country, and incidentally to finance their own activity in this country.

During the next 12 months the communists will bend greater efforts than at any time in the past to effect the seizure and control of the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers of America. Their recent correspondence contains renewed demands that the "boring from within" campaign shall be carried on more energetically, and that there shall be larger results than in the past. They adhere to the belief, as set forth in their communications, that if they can seize control of these two organizations, and gradually absorb the remaining large labor unions, they can do what they like with the Government and the rest of society, as they have done in Russia where there are no bona fide labor unions.

They are systematically working to exploit every unusual situation or disturbance in furtherance of their revolutionary aims. They are in readiness to seize upon every opportunity offered by national industrial or political conditions to further their program. They are hopeful of controlling the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in October, and are carefully working now to control a majority of the delegates that attend it. They are hopeful that a nation-wide strike of the coal miners will take place next April, which will afford them an opportunity again to attempt the seizure of the union through revolutionary methods, as they attempted in the strike of 1922.

Revolutionary agents are working among the miners in a half-dozen States—Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia, and the Southwest—and in Nova Scotia and Alberta to force a strike in April. They believe that the coal operators will refuse to make a new agreement with the miners' union, as they refused in 1922, and that the miners will have no other option than to cease work.

They are working also among the State federations of labor. William Z. Foster, head of the Trade Union Educational League, speaking at the communist gathering of miners in Pittsburgh, on June 2, declared that the "one big union" idea has already been adopted by 13 State federations of labor, and that the federations in other States give promise of immediately following in their wake.

Foster has organized a group in the Pittsburgh district known as the "Progressive Miners International Committee of the United Mine

Workers of America" to conduct the preliminary work in anticipation of a general miners' strike next April. He has carefully explained that this committee is not a dual union movement, but that it seeks to "reform" the United Mine Workers. He says that it proposes to establish a "radical bloc" in the United Mine Workers. Similar "blocs," he declares, exist in the needle, marine, transport, metal, and building trades, and among the railroad workers.

"The purpose of these blocs," it is explained, "is to educate the rank and file of workers to seize control of their respective unions and then when that is accomplished amalgamate under the one big union idea."

Foster drew up the resolutions that were adopted when the "Progressive Miners International Committee" was organized, and they were put through the convention with the assistance of his son-in-law, Joe Manley. At the same time plans were devised for holding the next meeting of the committee three days before the international convention of the United Mine Workers of America, at Indianapolis, Ind., next January, when plans would be devised for attempting to seize control of the convention, the organization, and official positions of the miners' union.

Loyal union members have known little or nothing of the designs of the communists on the labor organizations. In each instance the communist agent has posed as a "friend" of labor. In many instances these agents have been foreigners, attached to one of the foreign language federations of the Communist Party of America. The propaganda and revolutionary doctrines have been spread through different languages, and through newspapers and publications established in this country for that purpose. One of these newspapers last year cleared a profit of $20,000 for the communists, in addition to furnishing them with their circulars and leaflets free of charge.

Whether the major communist organizations go forward or slip backward, the leaders of the movement in the country are prepared to stand behind the chief idea and push it through the labor unions. With a foothold in the unions they are prepared, if necessary, to abandon the major organizations they have established in this country.

Names of these organizations are changed frequently. This is in accordance with the suggestion of Lenin, himself, who believes that when the stigma of communism is definitely attached to a "surface" organization, it should be merged into a new group. In this manner the members of the old organization are retained and new members more easily obtained.

Money in great sums is coming into the country to finance these efforts. It is not merely to pay the expenses of propaganda and revolutionary effort among the trade-unions, but is intended to enable the communists also to keep in close touch with the affairs of the National Government at Washington. A half dozen agents are on the job in Washington all the time, whose duty it is to watch each movement and gauge the political effect of each action taken by the Government.

More than a million dollars for the communist movement was raised in this country under the guise of Russian famine relief. This money was deposited in banks in New York and Chicago in the name of relief committees, and eventually found its way, after passing through various other bank accounts, into the hands of the real communist emissaries in the United States, the most prominent of whom at that time was Dr. Jacob Dubrowsky, of New York, successor of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, self-styled soviet "ambassador" to this country.

Heavy sums of money were sent into the country at the time of the disarmament conference at Washington. In December, 1921, the communists sent Doctor Dubrowsky the sum of 100,000 crowns, with which he was to go to Washington and follow the proceedings of the conference. Another sum of 50,000 crowns was sent to agents of the Young Communist League, at Philadelphia, to carry on propaganda efforts while the conference was in session.

The objective of the communist in this country is to be gathered from the "constitution" of the new Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, at Moscow, which was adopted July 6, 1923. This union, while using the name "Socialist" as descriptive of the member republics, corresponds to the system that exists in Soviet Russia, and by which the country is managed. This "constitution" says that every law and court decision in a member republic shall be subject to annulment or abridgment by the edicts of the supreme executive authorities of the "union."

Section 18 of article 4 of this "constitution" defines the authority which the soviets at Moscow propose to exercise over the foreign countries that are members of the "union." The section says:

"All decrees and ordinances that determine the general rules of the political and economic life of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and also those that in principle alter the present practices of the state organs of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics must absolutely be laid before the central executive committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for revision and confirmation."

Under this section the laws and ordinances enacted by the legislative bodies of the United States would be subject to "revision and confirmation" of the supreme council of this "union," sitting in Moscow. Section 20 of this "constitution" says further:

"The central executive committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has the right to annul and suspend the decrees, ordinances, and dispositions of the presidium of the central executive committee of the union, as well as those of the soviet congresses and the central executive committees of the federated Republics and of other authorities working within the territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

Under this section, acts of Congress and the State legislatures, if they continued to exist, would become subject to review by the supreme council of the "union."

As a means of strengthening the revolutionary work in the various countries a "supreme court" of the "union" is established. Its purpose is stated in section 43 of article 7, as follows:

"In order to strengthen the revolutionary code of laws in the territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics there is established in connection with the central executive committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics a supreme court."

This court, it is stated, is to have power to impart explanations of legislation and examine laws and decisions of national assemblies and courts. Under this arrangement a small revolutionary minority established in control of the Government of the United States, or in any other country, would be supreme in that its decisions and laws, if objected to by the populace, would be referred to the "supreme court" at Moscow, which could revise and confirm them as it wished.

This sort of thing is exactly what the communists in America are aiming at, as demonstrated by their manifestos and communications that have been pouring into the country virtually since the armistice. It is the specific aim and objective of the communist groups that are "boring from within" the United Mine Workers of America and seeking to obtain control of the American Federation of Labor. A world-wide communist organization of miners is being promoted by the communists for this purpose. In the program of action adopted by the communist conference of miners at Pittsburgh on February 10, and presided over by Foster, the following plank was inserted:

"We demand the closest affiliation of the United Mine Workers of America with the organized miners of the world."

This platform also called for the organization of a communist political party, which would amalgamate the farmers and workers into a single unit. That movement is being industriously promoted this year.

The communist movement in the next 12 months will be conducted along more intensive lines than it has at any time in the past. The labor organizations will meet their greatest assaults and attacks, and the communists will make greater efforts than they have at any time in the past to get possession of them. The movement is aimed not only at the labor unions but at the entire industrial, social, and political structure of the country, and with the single aim of eventually establishing a soviet dictatorship in the United States, and converting the country into a vassal colony of the Communist International at Moscow. It is a situation that challenges not only organized labor but every employer as well. This is one occasion when labor and the employer might very well join hands and fight together instead of fighting each other.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. ROGERS). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] for one-half hour.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Madam Speaker and Members of the House, I do not come from a mining district. I have no miners living within hundreds of miles of my city. I have made several investigations in the course of the past 23 years that I have been in public office. I have sought always to approach an investigation with an open mind. I candidly state now that, after personally seeing the conditions so graphically described by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CASEY], who just addressed us, I became partial. Therefore I shall endeavor to state the facts as impartially as a partial observer can state them.

This is a battle of statistics against human life. This is a test between the theories of a new school of coal economics and everyday living conditions of men and women. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CASEY] stated the cause of the disturbance, which dates back to the breaking of the so-called Jacksonville agreement, which was effective on April 1, 1924. Mr. Lesher, of the Pittsburgh Coal Co., frankly admitted to me last Saturday that his company broke the agreement before its termination. I do not believe that this is a local question in any sense of the word.

A study or investigation of the coal industry must necessarily take into consideration not only western Pennsylvania but central Pennsylvania, Kentucky, West Virginia, Indiana, and Ohio. I conferred with miners of the union on strike, with nonunion miners, as well as with the representatives of some of the largest coal companies. Taking for granted all that the conditions described by the coal-mine companies are exactly as they state them, still I fail to find justification for the present low rate of wages and the determination to keep these wages down at their present impossible low rate.

According to the statements made to me by the mine owners with whom I conferred and from their attitude, unless the Government intervenes this strike is going to be a long and

bitter drawn-out affair, costly and disastrous. The owners justify their attitude and wage reduction on what they call sound economics. I have yet to see a case where figures could not be used to prove either side of the question. Figures and mental experts are always available for both sides of a controversy. I will concede that the soft-coal industry is unstable, that there is keen competition, and that the capacity of the mines of the country is greater than the present needs for soft coal. All that being true, what the mine owners are seeking to do is to take the cost of an unstable industry, of cutthroat competition, and of overproduction out of the wages of the mine workers. In other words, they expect to make the workers digging the coal pay for the deplorable conditions existing in the industry which they, the owners, have brought about. This is, indeed, a new school of economics. To illustrate the mathematics of this new school of coal economics, let me give you the formula on which the present and future wages of the mine workers are to be fixed: They take the return on capital invested, plus profit, plus all overhead expenses, plus depletion, plus depreciation, plus transportation, add them together, subtract it from the present competitive market price of coal, and the remainder is taken as the standard to pay the mine workers. To make it clearer, the actual cost of living and the bare necessaries of life of a miner are entirely disregarded and he is to bear all of the burdens of a demoralized industry and doomed to work for starvation wages. To continue along the lines of the coal economics, in figuring the return on capital investment, interest is computed for 365 days of the year, while the miners are expected to live on a measly pay for only 160 days out of the 365 days. When these coal economists will find a way to make it unnecessary for a miner, his wife, and children to eat the 200 days that he does not work, they will justify their formula, but not until then.

Under the Jacksonville agreement the average earnings of a miner range between $1,050 to $1,200 a year. Under the present wage scale, which incidentally has been reduced three times since the breaking of the Jacksonville agreement, the highest earning will range from $600 to $750 a year, and no family can live decently on that amount in this country.

The factors which have created the unstable conditions in the coal industry must necessarily be charged to the owners of the mines and in no way can the miners or the miners' union be held responsible. The cutthroat competition which prompts this organized and systematic campaign of wage reduction is entirely the fault of the operators themselves. The question of production is likewise due to the waste and bad business management of the coal industry.

Ninety per cent of mining coal is human labor. An industry that can not pay its workers a decent living wage has no right to exist. [Applause.] Efficient operation, economic production, and stabilized prices would provide the mine workers of this country a proper wage scale, permitting them to live decently and happily.

Whether in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, or West Virginia the terrorism and brutality of mine owners and their agents must cease. The custom of permitting mine owners to uniform, equip, and arm their own police, maintain their own detention pens, and pass summary judgment on the workers is so contrary to the fundamentals of our laws that it becomes necessary for the Federal Government to intervene and put a permanent stop to these outrageous conditions. The mine owners have assumed an extraterritoriality which not even a sovereign State under our Constitution is granted. Sovereign States in our Union are subject to the limitations imposed by the Constitution. These mine owners in their territory recognize no limitations.

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

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Please, not now. This fight is not entirely a union fight. It is an organized, systemized campaign of wage reduction. Since the breaking of the agreement in Pennsylvania the wages have been reduced three times in the Pittsburgh district, so that they are now being paid such a low standard of wage that living is impossible. I have here some statements of wages. The men are paid every two weeks. Just listen to these statements, please, and perhaps you will understand why I became so partial to the miners.

Here is one for two weeks, amounting to $39.58. But from this sum of $39.58 is deducted $2.21 for assignment; 30 cents for sharpening miner's tools, smithy work; $5.50 for railroad fare, this man having been brought in from the outside; 50 cents for doctor; 30 cents for the relief fund; $8.30 commissary; electric mine lamp, 60 cents. They deduct from this man's wages for two weeks, in all, $21.80; they deduct that from the $39.58, leaving him a cash balance for two weeks' work of $17.71.

Here is one of the so-called "three pink kisses" statements: At the end of two weeks when the miner has nothing coming to him, the company indicates that by placing on the statement at the place marked "balance due," three red crosses. This is a typical statement, and it is nothing unusual under present conditions for a miner to receive "three pink kisses" at the end of two weeks' work. This boy H. Gabel earned $31.24 in two weeks. From this amount the company charged him 4 cents for smithing; $1.20 for rent; he was charged $30 for moving, making his debt just $31.24, the same as his earnings, leaving him no balance. This means that the man had to draw from the company's stores the food necessary to keep him and his family alive. Therefore next week he will again be indebted to the company, and may run for weeks and weeks before he gets any cash at all in his pay envelope. Here is another statement: This shows that the miner earned $21.48 in the two weeks, and again he is charged with equal amount by the company, leaving him only the three pink kisses for his pay day. In this instance he was charged $1 for assignments, 10 cents for smithing, $9.69 for his tools, $1.85 for powder, $8.23 for board, and 65 cents for an electric mine lamp. I want the Members to note that the miners are required not only to pay for their tools, but also for keeping their tools in condition—that is the item called smithing—and are charged with the cost of the powder used for blasting in the mine. He must also pay for his lamp and for the upkeep or fuel for the lamp, as the case may be. Here is another statement: Each one of these statements is from a different company. This man's name is Jim Harrison. Jim loaded 1,218 hundredweight of coal in his two weeks' period, for which he was credited $39.58. Against this the company debited him as follows: Assignments, $2.21; smithing, 30 cents; railroad fare, $5.50; doctor, 50 cents; relief fund, 30 cents; board or commissaries, $8.30; electric lamp, 60 cents; total, $21.87, leaving Jim a cash balance of $17.71 for two weeks' work.

Here is another good one: Allen Price worked for another of the companies and was permitted to work two days out of two weeks, or, to be exact, two days and one hour, for which he received $9.56; but out of the $9.56 the company charged him 40 cents for coal, $1.03 for explosives, 10 cents for a brass check, 15 cents for a miner's lamp, totaling $1.68. This, deducted from $9.56, left him $7.88 for two weeks. However, according to the company's subtraction on the statement which I hold in my hand they deducted $1.68 for the $9.56 and get a remainder of $6.08, so that our friend Price lost $1.80 owing to the coal company's peculiar mathematics. How this man or any other man can live on $7.88 for two weeks is beyond me or anybody else in this House. Here is a statement which is one of the best showing and, I dare say, about as high as any man can earn in two weeks under the present scale of wages. He totaled for two weeks $43.51, but against this he was charged $7 for rent, $4.76 for coal, 75 cents for doctor, $2 for explosives. However, this man was indebted to the commissary for food for his family, so they charged the balance to that, and he received nothing at the end of two weeks. In this case, too, the man remained in debt to the company and will continue to be in debt owing to the necessity of purchasing food for his family from the company's stores, and while in debt he is not permitted to leave the employ of the company. If this is not peonage, I do not know what it is.

Now, I ask any Member on the floor to tell me how a family can live on the wages paid workers according to the statements that I have read. I would say that the average pay under the present scale of wages will range from $13 to $17 a week. That is putting it very high. I hold here in my hand, gentlemen, a photograph showing a typical miner's family. Here is the mother with her seven little children, graduating in size from, I would say, 1 year to about 10. They stand next to their poor belongings, which have just been thrown out of the company's home from which they have been evicted. How can any man support a wife and four or five children on $13 a week?

This wage condition and the dire destitution of the miners who are working under the present wage scale is not only prevalent in the western district of Pennsylvania but in other sections of the country where soft coal is mined. Let me pause just long enough from Pennsylvania to read a letter received from a miner in Eckman, W. Va.:

ECKMAN W. VA. *Feb 6th 1928*

Mr LA GUARDIA.
Congressman from N. Y.
Washington

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN

having seen in the paper what you are doing for the Penna coal miner and know that your heart is in the right place, I am just wondering if you would think that I was trying to over do matters by asking you to considire the situation of southwestern West. Va. The situation here is almost as critical as in the Pennsa coal fields, tho there is no strike here "only strife" One or two days per week is

all the time a workman generly gets, I am a coal miner and thirty five dollars is as much as I have been able to make in any two weeks for a long time, and to prove to you just how tight they are in this part of the country, at one time just before Christmas I was out of mens had nothing whatever except three cars of coal that was standing at the tipple waiting to be dumped, I ask the store manager if he would credit me to one pound of lard and he very rudely refused me, and this same man some time since then short changed my seven year old boy for 25 cents these are a few of the things that a coal miner faces in Mcdowell County W. Va. I am employed by the Eureka Coal & Coke Co, of Eckman * * * one thing more, the coal operators here are so organized that a man cant get a letter to Washington or any where else if it looks the least bit suspicious.

Thanking you I remain,

Yours Very truly W. C. AUSTIN

Now, so much as was said by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CASEY] as to the coal and iron police, I need not repeat, but I simply want to state that there is nothing in the origin of the law under which they operate which gives these men the authority which they assume. They were uniformed; they wear military uniforms, Sam Brown belts, armed with an automatic revolver and a club, and this [exhibiting] is one of the badges which they wear. They are paid by the mining company, they are commanded by the mining company, and they are under absolute orders from the mining company, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting property, and are responsible to no one else. I have ascertained—and it is a matter of daily and hourly occurrence—that they do not limit their activities to the protection of the mining property. They do not remain on the mining property, but they go out on the highways of the State and there they apprehend these men who have left the company and are indebted to the company. They exercise a brutality that I have never heard of in the United States or any other country, either now or in the past history of the world; and that is covering a lot of territory.

Now, gentlemen, this condition exists all through the coal-mining States—Kentucky, West Virginia, Indiana, Ohio—so that it becomes necessary for a Federal investigation to seek to coordinate these various sections and to seek to stabilize this industry.

Now, not only are these men being exploited, but here is a picture of a typical strike breaker that they have imported from the South. These colored men—these poor boys—are now kept in a veritable state of peonage. They are charged with their railroad fare and with their board and with their expenses. They are kept indebted to the company, and they are not permitted to leave. They are kept on the property by sheer force of the private police.

A MEMBER. That is a violation of the peonage law?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Yes. I am relating these conditions in this connection for that very purpose. I am seeking to show that it is a violation of the peonage law and therefore within the province of a congressional investigation.

Mr. QUIN. May I ask the gentleman if the public is being robbed in the price of coal?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman from Pennsylvania stated that the passenger rates on railroads were based on the cost of coal mined under a decent wage scale, and that now the railroad companies are paying one-half of what they had been paying for their coal, and yet the previous price of coal is reflected in the present cost of freight and passenger transportation.

Now, gentlemen, not only are the strike breakers being worked and paid a disgracefully low rate of wages, but the conditions under which mine companies permit them to live is degrading and debauching. Conditions in these strike breakers' mining camps are anything but wholesome and healthful. All of this is tolerated by the mining companies. Gentlemen, the worst kind of poison hootch is sold to these strike breakers and United States Government officials are compelled to wait the pleasure of the private police—these coal and iron police that we are talking about—before they are permitted to enter the company's property and go to the places where the law is being violated. Needless to say that by the time they get there everything has been cleared away and everybody gone. On pay nights carloads of unfortunate degraded women, black and white, are taken to the camp. I have here photostatic copy of the record of one of the squire's courts. It shows the conviction of two unfortunate women who pleaded guilty to keeping and maintaining a disorderly house. The significant thing is that their fine was paid by the iron and coal police of the companies representing the coal-mine company. Here, gentlemen, are the two photostatic copies of the court record.

Here is a photograph of a family being evicted loading their poor belongings on a truck to take to the strikers' barracks. A great deal has been said by the companies about the eviction of the union miners. During my visit in the coal district of Pittsburgh I noted that the officials of each company were particular to emphasize that it was the other companies who were brutal and heartless. Each charged the other. In that respect I think they were correct. Two of the companies with whose officers I conferred ask me to distinguish each of the companies in relating or recording abuse of miners in eviction or sale of furniture. I regret that I can not do that. Time would only permit me to look at the situation as a whole, taking the miners on one side, all of the coal operators and the strike breakers, and treat the subject as whole. However, the photographs which I have and my memoranda will enable proper identification of the misdeeds of the various companies at any time that it should be required.

Here is a photograph showing that not only were miners evicted, but that their furniture, their household furniture, was levied and seized by the constable and sold at public auction. Let me read this notice of a constable's sale which I now hold in my hand. The plaintiff in the action is the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Co. The defendant is Alex Renish. The constable's notice of sale is dated Mount Lebanon, Pa., December 6, 1927. All the property of this unfortunate defendant, Renish, the notice proclaims, was seized and taken in execution by the constable. The sale was scheduled to take place on the 12th day of December, 1927, at 2.30 p. m., at 207 House Coverdale, Pa. This is what the company seized from their former employee and sold at public auction: 1 stove, 1 cabinet, 1 table, 1 sewing machine, 3 chairs, 1 Maytag washer, 1 heat stove, 1 upholstered living-room suite, 1 chiffonier, 6 chairs, 2 beds, and—please note this—"all other salable goods on the premises." In my State, and I dare say in the majority of the States of the Union, such necessary household furniture is not subject to levy and execution. And there are very few even hard-hearted landlords who would go to such an extreme. Lest it should be said that this is an exceptional case, I have here in my hand a photograph of a large tree in the Pittsburgh coal district on which are posted no less than six notices of such constable's sales of seized furniture levied on execution at the instance of the mining companies. During my tour of the various towns my attention was called to scores and scores of such notices plastered on the walls, on trees, and everywhere.

Here is a photograph, gentlemen, showing how these imported strike breakers are quartered in some of the mines. This apparently is an old abandoned day coach converted into sleeping barracks for colored strike breakers.

Talking about the colored strike breakers, I want to relate an instance which I gathered from witnesses who have talked to these men. One night some 25 of these colored strike breakers attended a union meeting. Word got to the camp, and when they returned they were met by the coal and iron police, handcuffed, and then beaten. They were then detained in one of the private jails of the coal companies until the "judge" arrived, the judge being no judge at all, but the superintendent of the company, acting in the capacity of a judge. Just think! Their own private police, their own private jail, and their own private judge. The judge proceeded to question these men and then asked one of the coal and iron police officers to pull out his gun. The judge asked these men collectively if they knew what it was. Oue big colored boy stood up and says, "Yes, sah; I knows what it is. I's learned what it was in the A. E. F., and what's more, I's going, and you can shoot me down, but I's going," and he went. Outside he was met by Mr. McCory, of the New York Daily News, and told his story. The man was then bleeding and bruised from the beating he had just received. And if there is an investigation, Mr. McCory can testify to this incident.

Here, gentlemen, is an instance where the company did not evict. They could not evict, it seems. They wanted to get the striker out of the house, so what did they do? The photograph I hold here will show that they built a scaffold and ripped part of the roof over the bedroom right out. This other photograph that I have will show you the inside of the room, with the roof torn out and the rain leaking in. Needless to say the family moved out.

Here, gentlemen, let me show you this photograph. This picture indicates an elderly man evidently in his sixties—surely not a husky—and his face would indicate that the many, many years of coal mining is telling of its hardships; and here is another picture of this same man showing his skull cracked by the famous iron and coal police.

Gentlemen, not only have they brought down to a disgraceful rate the wages, but these men are degraded in living conditions.

Mr. BOWLING. Are the squires on the pay roll of the company, too?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. It is no court at all. They have their own private detention camps.

Mr. BOWLING. The gentleman said something about somebody holding court.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Some of them, of course, are controlled by the mining companies; one or two are independent, fearless, and honest.

Mr. CASEY. Let me add, without fear of contradiction, that these squires are on the pay rolls of the companies.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Now, gentlemen, as to the injunction referred to by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I do not know whether he mentioned it or not, but the injunction not only restrains them from defending themselves in court, retaining attorneys, or paying strike benefits, but restrains them from collecting on the lots of churches and restrains them from singing hymns.

Mr. CASEY. Will not the gentleman place in the RECORD the name of the minister, because so much has been said about these men being a lot of aliens and anarchists. The minister's name is Reverend Phillips, of the Magyar Presbyterian Church.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I thank the gentleman. Now, gentlemen, we have this condition. It is conceded there is too much coal production; it is conceded, gentleman, that there are too many miners, yet we are creating a condition wherein the operators are bringing into the field some 45,000 or 50,000 more miners. With this system of peonage and this system of wage reduction, naturally that is going to reflect all through the labor markets of the United States. I repeat that the American standard of living is entirely disregarded. Gentlemen, you can not imagine a more pathetic sight than that which I saw. On one side of the road the houses of the mining company vacated and boarded up, and across the street, where the miners were compelled to lease ground, the dismal barracks in which each miner's family is living in two rooms. Yet you go into these dismal barracks and you will find them immaculately clean. These men are not fighting for a whim; these men are not fighting for any false idea. Gentlemen, they are simply fighting to get enough to eat for themselves and their children.

What will be the far-reaching result of this mine condition? The time is not distant when every self-respecting railroad man will refuse to operate a train that burns the coal mined under such disgraceful conditions. [Applause.] This is going to branch out; this has ramifications; it can not endure; no American family can live on $13 or $14 a week.

I spoke to one old man there who came from Tuscany, and had been working in the same mine since 1888. On the day I was talking to him, last Friday, it was the second anniversary of the death of his son, who had lost his life in an explosion in that mine. Those men belong to the mine; they have invested their life in the mine; they have as great a vested interest in that mine as any bondholder or stockholder has. [Applause.] Their very life is invested in that mine; they have an attachment for it, and yet it is sought to take their places by placing others to be exploited and made even more miserable.

I want to pause just a minute to give credit to the New York Daily News for furnishing this documentary and photographic evidence. I want to say that the Daily News, published by the owners of the Chicago Tribune, is not by any means a radical paper. When they went to the mines they went there with an open mind, and they found the conditions so intolerable and so incredible and have frankly so stated. They have rendered a great public service to the American people by exposing the facts. [Applause.]

Now, just one more case. I want to point out that even the unfortunate strike breakers are living under intolerable conditions. One family was brought there, a man, wife, and children. He was charged, I think, some $45 for his railroad fare; he worked there weeks and weeks and finally they stopped his credit at the commissary, or the company's store, because he had not earned enough, and on the 24th of December, on Christmas Eve, when he went home his wife said to him, "John, they have stopped our credit again," and they had nothing to eat on Christmas Day, after working several weeks as a strike breaker. These may seem sentimental or some may call it sob stuff, but I tell you, gentlemen, it grips one and makes any red-blooded man indignant.

Ordinarily a labor dispute is so localized in one State that it is not the province of the Federal Government to intervene. In the case of the soft-coal strike, however, there are many compelling reasons which make either a House or senatorial investigation imperative to be followed by necessary governmental intervention. It is no longer a matter of adjustment between the workers and employers; it has become a national problem and must be treated accordingly.

The arming and equipment of private police officers under absolute control and orders of mine owners, acting and exercising authority beyond the private property of the mines, making arrests, bringing them into privately owned places of detention, is not only contrary to law but to the Constitution.

Whether union workers or strike breakers, it is a matter of national concern that these men should be enabled to live decently and enjoy the freedom which the Constitution of this country guarantees to them.

It is a matter for congressional investigation to investigate the charge that a system of peonage now exists in the soft-coal regions in the various States. The statutes of the United States provide that—

> The holding of any person to service or labor under the system known as peonage is abolished and forever prohibited in any Territory or State of the United States—

and it is declared that any agreement made for services to liquidate any debt or for compulsory continued service is null and void. I am not reading this from the by-laws of the United Mine Workers, but from the Revised Statutes of the United States. Let me read another section of the United States laws, which, it is charged, has been violated:

> Whoever shall knowingly and willingly bring into the United States any person inveigled in any other country with intent to hold such person so inveigled in confinement or to any involuntary servitude shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than five years.

A large number of Mexicans were actually inveigled down in Mexico and brought to these coal mines, and only through the intervention of the Mexican consul were they released and sent back home. An offense against the Federal laws has been committed which justify Federal investigation and intervention.

Here is another one: The strike breakers are kept on mine territory. If they seek to leave, they are pursued by the coal and iron police out and beyond mine property, taken from the public highways, arrested, and brought back, all in violation of section 444 of title 18 of the United States Code, which provides:

> Whoever holds, arrests, returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any manner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage shall be fined and imprisoned.

This is a daily occurrence in the coal districts that I visited. Now let me read you this one:

> Whoever obstructs or attempts to obstruct or in any way interferes with or prevents the enforcement of the antipeonage law commits a felony and is subject to fine and imprisonment.

Yet these private, uniformed, and armed army of the mine owners are daily doing this very thing, and when a local officer issues a warrant against any of these agents of the mine owners the mine owners simply refuse to produce them. That, I submit, is another reason justifying an investigation.

The present railroad rates have been fixed on the basis of coal cost, based on a decent living wage to the miners ranging between $2.20 to $2.40 a ton for coal. Under the present peonage system of mining, in which the railroads have taken a very important part, they are now paying $1.60 to $1.75 a ton, although the former American rate of wages continues to be reflected in freight and passenger rates.

It is a matter of national concern that the soft-coal industry be stabilized until Federal intervention can coordinate the mines in the various States and bring about the required stabilization.

The life and existence of a million people comprising the mine workers and their families located in five or six States of the Union is naturally a matter of concern for the Federal Government.

Gentlemen, this can not endure. I have said and will repeat and will close by saying that these miners are a great deal different from some of us. They are attached to the place where they have worked all their lives. They do not migrate. They have not the diversified interests that people generally have. They are different in almost every way from us except that they, too, have a natural love for their children, just as much as we have and just as much as the directors of the mine companies have. They are simply putting up a game fight for the lives of these children.

Oh, I have heard it said many times that we should not bring the children into it. You can not take the children out of it. The mine operators have taken away their homes. They have taken away their jobs. They have taken away the morsel of bread from their mouths, but the miners have retained their

souls. I appeal to you, gentlemen, to put aside statistics, to put aside returns, and to rally back of a resolution to give these people some help and the assurance of a square deal. [Applause.]

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Speaker, the next item in the Army appropriation bill is one in which all of the Members are interested to some extent. It has been delayed for a considerable time. I want to be assured that all have an opportunity to hear the discussion, and while I regret to inconvenience Members, I nevertheless call attention to the doubt of whether there is a quorum present, and I demand the presence of a quorum.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman withhold that a moment? I want to ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes, and I am willing to accept the membership we have here now. If the gentleman will withhold his point until after I get through my remarks, I will appreciate it.

Mr. SPEAKS. If I am entitled to press my demand for a quorum later, I will yield to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Ohio withhold his point of no quorum?

Mr. SPEAKS. I withhold it, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

COTTON

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, we are informed through the columns of the daily papers that the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, responding to the pressure of the farmers of the Southern States, has unanimously passed a resolution asking the Congress of the United States to investigate the New York Cotton Exchange and to put a stop to those iniquitous practices which are now depriving the cotton farmers of the products of their toil.

Mr. Speaker, the cotton market is one of the most sensitive elements, I will say, in American life. Go into the New York Stock Exchange and to the average American it looks like a bedlam. Around a circle a great number of men are scrambling and bidding and offering cotton for sale. Finally, when a man makes a deal with another, the noise is so great it can not be transmitted by word of mouth, but a man standing in the well with a white glove on his hand will transmit that message to a man on the platform who delivers it over a telephone to the man who is checking it up on the board.

Suppose a sale is made of 1,000 bales of cotton at 17.45. The moment that figure is checked up on the board, it is flashed on to the board of every cotton exchange in America, and possibly throughout the world. At that moment that becomes the price and goes out as the price cotton is selling for at that particular time on the New York market. Certain manipulators whose names will be developed before this Congress adjourns have recently concentrated in New York between 140,000 and 200,000 bales of low-grade cotton. Just why the New York Exchange would permit these men to offer on the exchange cotton that is not really spinnable, and does not measure up to the standard is a mystery to me.

A man comes in who is a spinner, we will say, a man who is legitimately engaged in the cotton industry. He goes on to the exchange to buy 10,000 bales of cotton. Cotton is selling, we will say, at 20 cents a pound, but to his surprise, a man rises up over here and says, "I offer for immediate delivery 10,000 bales at 19½ cents." The speculator who is on to the particular firms that have this low-grade cotton and are using it on the New York exchange to manipulate the price does not bid, but the innocent purchaser, the spinner, if you please, who is interested, says, "Here is a good chance for me to get my cotton," and he buys it; but when he goes to sample that cotton he finds he can not use it. What does he do? He is bound to come back on the exchange and retender that cotton at a reduced price in order to get rid of it, so that he may purchase cotton from some one that is offering spinnable cotton for sale.

Whenever the time comes that it is necessary to depress the price of cotton to carry out their iniquitous scheme, these manipulators offer more of this unspinnable cotton for sale.

A Member of this House received a few days ago a letter from a firm in his State, or a man in his State, giving this astounding information: One of these firms controlling this great bulk of low-grade cotton wrote and asked how much cotton was on hand in that locality, what were the conditions of the people who were holding it, and how much it would be necessary to depress the market in order to wring it out of their hands.

This has been going on since January, 1927. They have depressed the price in such a way as to rob the cotton growers of hundreds of millions of dollars, and have driven it from 23 cents a pound down to about 17 cents a pound, and are now gloating over their exploit.

I am going to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a statement on this proposition that I want every Member of the House to read. If every man in the American Congress understood what is going on in the manipulation of the price of cotton we would have no trouble in carrying out the request of the members of the Legislature of the State of Mississippi to investigate the New York Exchange and to investigate those who have entered into this iniquitous conspiracy to destroy the price of American cotton.

I am not going to take up any more time of the House if I may have consent to extend my remarks by inserting in the RECORD this statement, which goes into details on this proposition, and in that way give the facts to the Congress and to the American people. [Applause.]

The statement is as follows:

The acceptance of undesirable spinning character on contract serves to equip the manipulator with his most effective bludgeon for depressing prices, and not only enables him to prosecute his large straddle operations to a successful and profitable conclusion, but also on account of the custom of country merchants in the South of selling cotton during the active crop-moving period to a considerable extent to the agents of the large manipulators on what is known as "on call" or "sliding scale terms" basis future quotations and the buyer having the option to call or fix the price, the buyer naturally exercises this option to his decided advantage during period of depression in contract prices, many of which are engineered by the manipulative activities of the buyer himself.

Appended hereto will be found a statement of "cotton classed at New York from August, 1926, to January, 1928," including "transfers," prepared and furnished upon request by the Department of Agriculture. This statement shows both the amount of cotton certificated locally in New York as well as cotton certificated in other contract markets, principally in New Orleans, and transferred to the New York market and known as "transfer" cotton during the period described.

It will be seen that there was a total of 139,276 bales of "transfer" cotton shipped to New York during the entire period in question, and that the bulk of this cotton arrived in New York between the 17th day of September, 1926, and the 25th day of March, 1927, inclusive—viz, approximately 125,000 bales. It will also be seen that before these shipments commenced the New York stock had declined to about 23,000 bales but that within six months thereafter, or by March 25, 1927, it had been increased to about 195,000 bales, or total certifications, including local certificates, of about 170,000 bales, of which all but about 45,000 bales consisted of "transfer" cotton shipped mostly from New Orleans.

That these shipments of transfer cotton to New York were intended purely for manipulative purposes will be clearly seen from observation of the dates upon which it was received in New York, and the relative price at which the near position in the respective future markets of New York and New Orleans were trading, as shown:

	Total receipts, transfer cotton	Price New Orleans	Price New York
1926			
Week ending—	*Bales*	*Cents*	*Cents*
Sept. 17	1,074	October 16.10	October 16.12
Sept. 24	10,429	October 14.30	October 14.34
Oct. 1	8,152	October 13.60	October 13.90
Oct. 8	6,988	October 12.25	October 12.60
Oct. 15	6,169	October 12.42	October 12.85
Oct. 22	3,058	December 12.18	December 12.19
Oct. 29	1,462	December 12.05	December 12.00
Nov. 5	113	December 12.26	December 12.17
Nov. 12		December 12.26	December 12.10
Nov. 19		December 12.48	December 12.42
Nov. 26		December 12.42	December 12.34
Dec. 3	1,394	December 11.65	December 11.90
Dec. 10	4,854	December 11.57	December 11.85
Dec. 17	4,877	December 11.82	December 12.08
		1927	1927
Dec. 24	67	January 12.23	January 12.15
Dec. 31	20	January 12.52	January 12.42
1927			
Week ending—			
Jan. 7	945	January 12.50	January 12.45
Jan. 14	2,341	January 12.80	January 12.74
Jan. 21	1,603	January 13.20	January 13.16
Jan. 28	4,798	March 13.14	March 13.17
Feb. 4	5,678	March 13.22	March 13.23
Feb. 11	10,513	March 13.67	March 13.68
Feb. 18	7,715	March 13.68	March 13.65
Feb. 25	7,572	March 13.66	March 13.69
Mar. 4	12,798	March 14.00	March 13.97
Mar. 11	14,120	March 13.91	March 13.85
Mar. 18	7,207	March 13.60	March 13.51
Mar. 25	1,887	March 13.81	March 13.71
Total	125,834		

From the above tabulation it will be noticed that during the period of the heaviest transfers the New Orleans market ranged at a slight premium over and above the New York market, and that only during a few weeks during October and December, 1926, was there any premium in New York over the corresponding position in New Orleans, the widest premium during these few weeks being only 35 points, whereas it requires a shipping parity of 85 points between the two markets to ship and deliver on New York. As already pointed out, the great bulk of this transfer cotton was shipped to New York when the differences were approximately even to a slight premium on New Orleans over New York, nevertheless this cotton was shipped at an average obvious loss of 85 points, or $4.25 per bale. Why would anyone deliberately ship cotton and sustain such a loss except for the purpose of manipulating and depressing the market to which it was shipped, as is evidenced by the fact that practically all of this cotton still remains in the New York stock and has been dumped and redumped on the market there during the past 10 or 12 months?

The following are some extracts from an address delivered during April, 1926, as reported in the April 10 issue of that year of the Cotton Trade Journal, which address was made at the second annual convention of the American Cotton Shippers' Association at Atlanta, Ga., on April 9, by one of the star manipulators of the cotton market, the object of which address was to justify the ethics of a "squeeze" which had been conducted by the manipulator in question on the March position of the year before:

"To those members of the cotton trade who have kept well informed on the subject, reference to the 'manipulators' of March New York is practically equivalent to the publication of my firm's name as the principals in that operation.

"During the summer and early fall of last year, March New York, under the shadow of a very large stock which the trade anticipated would be attracted to New York by the December operation, was sold heavily by speculators and by straddlers and hedgers, with the result that this position for many consecutive weeks ruled much below a proper parity with spot cotton in the South, and within 10 to 20 points off March New Orleans, whereas a shipping parity is about 85 points.

"Why should anyone sell March New York at 15 points over March New Orleans, when it costs about 85 points to make delivery? The only answer is to be found in the general assumption that some one had already planned to attract to New York so much cotton on December that nobody could afford to receive it on March except at a discount under May, and at an attractive level under southern values.

"The October-December operation last season is a concrete example. October, 1924, when practically all cotton was tenderable, went to a premium of about 100 points over December and attracted a stock of 175,000 bales to New York; and under the weight of this cotton, December sold at 40 to 50 points under December New Orleans, whereas the normal parity should be 75 to 85 points over December New Orleans. It also sold at a low parity with Liverpool and with spots in the various southern markets.

"No one complained of manipulation that year, except a few daring ones who stayed short of October too long, because it was the brand of manipulation that nine out of ten traders depend upon for supplying New York with an ample stock to make safe their speculative short sales, short hedges against stocks of spot cotton, and straddle operations with the short end in New York and the long end in other future markets.

"Does anyone fail to see that this choice gives an enormous advantage to any firm placed in the position of exercising it?

"We must be excused if we fail to feel any sense of commercial perversion in continuing to play the game according to the rules."

The following is an extract from an article on the New York cotton market, published under date of October 19, 1927, by the cotton editor of the New York Journal of Commerce:

"The extraordinary spot basis stands out in sharp relief. New York contracts at $6 per bale under the price for middling seven-eighths of an inch cotton in the Atlantic markets have a strange look. New York, for some reason inscrutable to many, is to all appearances the cheapest market in the world. Such an anomaly is regretted by some reflective people. They fear that it may make New York a target for criticism."

It is evident from this that this journal which reflects the sentiment of the members of the New York Cotton Exchange was fearful of the exchange being placed in an embarrassing position as a result of this glaring manipulation.

MANIPULATORS DISLODGE SOUTHERN HOLDERS OF COTTON

The foundation of the bear campaign of the past four months in the cotton market was laid during the winter and spring of 1926–27 by the accumulation during that period of a large stock in New York, approximately 200,000 bales, consisting principally of soft and wasty and generally undesirable character cotton, commonly known as "punk." The bulk of this cotton, or, to be specific, about 140,000 bales, were classed and certificated in New Orleans and shipped to New York, in spite of a loss in doing so of about $5 per bale; the shippers and deliverers on New York incurring this loss deliberately, with the confident knowledge that the cotton was so undesirable as to constitute, together with its bulk, one of the most effective weapons of pressure that the New York market had seen for a number of years, and it was calculated by the manipulators that the delivery of this cotton in New York would readily justify the loss involved in its shipment, whereby keeping it intact there as long as necessary the purposes of these operators would be effectively served.

That the great bulk of this stock is composed of undesirable character and virtually despised by spinners is amply evidenced by the fact that this stock has remained in New York for over a year, in spite of the cotton in question being the cheapest in the world, apparently, viz, available for export to Europe for quite a period at a price as much as $6 to $7 per bale below spot values of the same description of cotton in the South, and at no time less than $2.50 to $3 per bale in favor of New York versus the southern value, although during the period in question the world's consumption of American cotton was establishing new high records. Therefore, during this entire period of over a year this stock in New York served absolutely no other purposes whatsoever than fitting or dovetailing completely and most effectively into the schemes of the manipulators.

Last fall, when the approximate size of this season's production became generally well known, it was announced by several of the admittedly best schools of economists of the country that cotton this season, giving due consideration to the production and the carry-over—that is, the total supply in relation to the world's indicated consumption—should command a price between 20 and 32 cents, and, theoretically speaking, the forecast of these economists were entirely reasonable; the only element of error in their calculations was that, owing to the peculiar technique of the market, they overlooked the size of the stock in New York and the heavy preponderance of undesirable cotton it contained and, hence, could not visualize or foresee what an important factor of depression this stock constituted. But the overwhelming depressing influence of this stock in what is generally admitted by all odds to be the greatest future trading market in the world was clearly foreshadowed during last fall, when, in spite of a distinct tendency on decreasing crop prospects simultaneously coupled with constantly increasing consumption (during September to December, 1927, consumption establishing new high world's records), prices, as reflected by the New York exchange were exhibiting a continually sagging tendency and since September have shrunk over 8 cents per pound, or some $40 per bale, and about $20 per bale below what the reputable economists foresaw as the approximate intrinsic value of middling cotton this season. In other words, all logical and even scientific deductions as to proper intrinsic values which cotton should have commanded this season have been utterly defied and made to look ludicrous by the operations of the manipulators using this large stock of spinner-despised cotton as a sledge hammer for unsettling and depressing prices.

During the past week these great manipulators have played in the dual stellar rôle of manipulator and accumulator. Until recently, all through the severe decline in prices, the farmer or his agents, the cooperatives and country merchants had bravely and tenaciously held on to their cotton in what appeared to them the justifiable hope that the decline would long since have culminated and prices rise again to reasonable levels; but the decline has become so severe and searching, by reason of the pressure brought about by the manipulative accumulators, these holders have become unnerved and panicky, and the banks financing their cotton have admonished them to sell, fearing still lower levels, with the result that their cotton has been wrested from them at the bottom of the decline, whereupon the manipulators have stepped in, playing the rôle of accumulators, and taken hundreds of thousands of bales off their hands, the final result of which program is that not only has this cotton been dislodged from the farmers' hands at ruinously low prices, and for his efforts and determination in holding the farmer is further punished by becoming the inheritor of all the charges of carrying this cotton for five or six months. Below are quoted several extracts from the news of the day bearing on this subject:

From the New York Journal of Commerce, issue February 4, 1928:

"The technical position was better here and the spot situation at the South is said to have been relieved this week by heavy sales by the western cooperative associations. There was even a story that they had sold something like 100,000 bales to Houston interests."

Further, from the Dow, Jones ticker, date of February 3, 1928:

"Lines of 'call' cotton bought from merchants and farmers considerably reduced since Monday, January 30."

It will be noticed in the above quotation reference is made to "call" cotton bought from merchants and farmers. The cooperatives and country merchants in the South are accustomed to selling or making contracts during the active crop-moving period to a large extent with the agents of the large manipulators on what is known as "on call" or "sliding scale" terms, based on New York future quotations, the buyer securing the option to call or fix price whenever possible, and therefore the buyer, viz, manipulator, through the depressive influence exercised by him via the large stock of undesirable cotton in New York controlled by him, often manufactures, so to speak, the level of price at which he fixes the price of his "call" contracts with the coopera-

tives and country merchants, an instance in point being clearly demonstrated during the past week.

Cotton of seven-eighths inch length in staple, and of fair average to good spinning character constitutes the great bulk of our cotton crops. It might be said that the proportion of this description of cotton contained in the average crop bears the same relation to the total production as the proportion of the "common people" in the country bear to the total population. Therefore, this cotton has come to be known generally in the trade as "bread-and-butter" cotton; for just as bread and butter is the principal food of the common people, so this sort of cotton furnishes the "food" of the majority of the world's spindles consuming American cotton.

It would hardly be any exaggeration to state that the supply of and demand for this kind of cotton represents about 85 per cent or more each, respectively, of the United States Cotton Belt's productive capacity and the world's consumptive requirements. Therefore, the characterization of it as "bread-and-butter" cotton would seem very appropriate as fittingly descriptive of its predominant function in the world's trade.

Is it not therefore entirely consonant with the best economic principles that the cotton trade in seeking to establish a suitable standard to represent staple and character to act as the basis of value for the futures contract markets, should select a type or standard as truly representative as possible of the staple and character of the great bulk of the cotton produced in the average crop? Not only so that future contracts may reflect as closely as possible the intrinsic value of that kind of cotton which constitutes this great bulk and avoiding abnormal disparities in the relationship between spot values as reflected in the cash markets in the South and future contract values as expressed by the quotations prevailing on the exchanges, but for other important reasons as well.

The manufacturing element in the trade, on account of the great supply of this so-called "bread-and-butter" cotton, has educated the consuming world by reason of its relative price advantage in consideration of quality furnished, to demand cotton goods manufactured out of this cotton.

The remaining odd 15 per cent contained in our cotton crops is represented largely by staple length of fifteen-sixteenths inch and better and of character equal or superior to that shown in the supply of seven-eighths inch already described, while the supply of cotton below seven-eighths inch and of undesirable spinning character in most crops is really insignificant, probably seldom exceeding 3 to 4 per cent, sometimes less.

There seems to be current in some sections of the Cotton Belt the belief that by demanding only such cotton as will meet a certain minimum standard of character and staple desirability, a hardship is visited upon those communities that may happen to produce a disproportionately large quantity of this undesirable spinning quality—in other words, disfranchising this cotton; but from a broad viewpoint of the situation in its entirety and from the standpoint of conserving the best interests of by far the large majority of producers and others concerned, this is a dangerous economic fallacy. For example, the New York market rarely, if ever, absorbs for delivery on contract, even in years of large production, more than 125,000 to 200,000 bales maximum, many seasons much less, as it has been ascertained by the large interests who invariably manipulate the New York market, that a contract stock of the dimensions described above, provided it contains, which it usually does, a sufficient percentage of undesirable character cotton commonly known as "punky" staple and "wasty" character, is ample to protect the interests of these manipulators, as they have long since found that there is a very close mathematical relationship between the following factors:

(a) The size of the New York stock in bales of certificated cotton.

(b) The percentage of undesirable character contained in this stock.

(c) The extent to which the basis middling price—i. e., the current contract quotations as expressed on the New York figures—can be depressed.

These big manipulators have the equation worked out to almost mathematical precision. Almost identically to the same extent that the New York stock is saturated or polluted with this undesirable cotton through the temporary prevalence of fictitious values on New York for that particular description of cotton, subject, of course, to minor variations from time to time as to the degree of undesirability, there is and unfailingly must be a compensational adjustment or depression of contract values on this New York Exchange, resulting in debasement of contract values there, which on account of the enormous amount of purely "in-and-out" trading in futures on this exchange, unfortunately and unjustly set the price standard for the entire cotton crop, or at least the 85 per cent already referred to, and constitutes an organized form of robbery of the producer on a wholesale scale. This is an economic truism that can not be effectively disputed.

This process is further augmented and abetted by the large interests who control the policy of this exchange by various ingenious schemes and devices adopted into the by-laws and rules of said exchange, such, for instance:

By the rotating device or system of tendering and constantly retendering certificated cotton through notices of delivery between themselves, comanipulators, and brokers acting as their agents, the effect of which is to bring about repeated forced sales of the entire New York stock over and over again, the depressing and unwholesome effect of which practice upon price levels is not hard to estimate. Likewise by the enactment of rules in the exchange of other devices calculated to create a reluctance on the part of would-be receivers, especially nonmembers, to "take up" cotton on these contracts, viz, imposing prohibitive spot commission which must be paid by anyone receiving this contract cotton—i. e., a spot commission of 15 points or 75 cents per bale, which is in addition to the original commission charged by the brokers for buying and selling futures. On all confirmations of executions rendered to their clients by these commission houses the following clause is distinctly stipulated:

"All orders for the purchase or sale of cotton for future delivery are received and executed with the distinct understanding that actual delivery is contemplated."

The object of this clause naturally is intended to convey that the transaction in question is a bona fide purchase or sale of actual cotton for the purpose of giving the contract the necessary validity to make it enforceable in the courts and remove any possibility of stigmatism of a gambling nature or interpretation being placed upon the contract in question.

Now, as the commission house charges, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the exchange, an original commission of 5 points or 25 cents per bale for the round transaction of buying and selling, and, as their understanding between themselves and their clients is to the effect that an actual delivery will take place, nevertheless, inasmuch as they are compelled to charge an additional commission of 15 points or 75 cents per bale in the event the buyer elects to receive or take physical delivery of the cotton purchased, these commission houses in effect being compelled to say to their clients as follows:

"We have bought this cotton for you in accordance with your instructions, and, although the contract contemplates an actual delivery, if you elect to liquidate the obligation by a corresponding sale before delivery date or maturity of the option, the commission shall only be 5 points or 25 cents per bale; but, on the other hand, should you elect to take delivery as the contract contemplates, we shall be compelled, in order to keep within the rules of the exchange, to penalize you by making an additional charge of 15 points or 75 cents per bale; in other words, if you dare to demand delivery of the actual cotton, you must pay a fine of 75 cents per bale in addition to the original commission for buying of 2½ points, or 12½ cents per bale, or a combined charge of 17½ points equals 87½ cents per bale."

The above is not intended as any reflection upon the commission houses themselves as attempting to extort an exorbitant commission, but merely to demonstrate the effect of the commission rule in question as adopted into the rules and maintained there by those who control the general policy of the exchange; as a matter of fact, on account of the general antipathy toward this contract cotton itself, and the prohibitive charges involved in receiving this cotton by nonmembers of the exchange, the extent to which these commission houses benefit by these exorbitant commission charges is practically negligible, and a full statement to the above-quoted effect on the confirmation of execution issued by these commission houses would not have a wholesome aspect, hence they assiduously refrain from any remarks as to the commission involved in the transaction, and merely state that "it shall be in strict conformity in all respects to the rules, regulations, and customs of the New York Cotton Exchange, the United States cotton futures act," etc.

This in spite of the fact that involved in the actual delivery of contract cotton, no additional service is performed on behalf of their clients, other than the partial financing of the cotton for which all interest charges are for account of the receiver, and the mere exchange of documents necessary to accomplish the transaction and some trifling clerical work entailed in calculation of the other fixed charges, such as warehouse, insurance, inspection, classification, etc., all of which are also for account of the receiver, in addition to the commission and penalty (so-called spot commission) for receiving the cotton, the same having already been classified and certified by the United States Department of Agriculture, thus relieving said commission houses of any expense, responsibility, or service of consequence whatever as ordinarily associated with the necessary classification of cotton when purchased and taken up in the spot markets in the South.

This spot charge of 75 cents per bale, in addition to the buying commission of 12½ cents per bale, unescapable by all nonmembers who may receive or contemplate receiving cotton on future contracts, constitutes a burden and obstruction upon interstate commerce and provides the manipulating element with an additional strangle hold on the certificated stock in that market, while the manipulator by reason of his membership in the exchange and equipment for handling this cotton has the distinct advantage of escaping this unjust so-called "spot commission." No such commission charges are imposed on the Chicago Board of Trade for receiving grain against future-delivery options.

* * * * * * *

With further regard to the exclusion of undesirable cotton from delivery on contract, while this may at times exert a trifling hardship upon a relatively few producers as affecting or disfranchising only an almost insignificant quantity of the total production, the admission of delivery of this undesirable quality through its depressing influence on the basis middling value serves to severely penalize millions and millions of bales of desirable cotton.

[NOTE.—Congress has legislated that manipulating is illegal in primary commodity markets (see United States grain futures act, September, 1922) and the Supreme Court has duly affirmed the constitutionality of such legislation on the ground that manipulation is inimical to the national public interest, which is preeminent.]

For what good reason has cotton, one of the major primary commodity markets, been neglected or rather allowed to remain unprotected from manipulation, as the consideration of national public interests are surely equally true of cotton as of the grain markets?

This being the case, the cotton exchanges should be so regulated as to effectively prohibit manipulation or attempted manipulation, so that the operations of such exchanges shall not come into conflict with the said national public interest as they are doing at present.

Private institutions, operating as cotton exchanges, where the self-interests of their own memberships naturally predominate, can not be seriously expected, without suitable controlling legislation, to properly conserve the rights of the public.

The way is clear. Apply the principles of the Capper-Tincher law to the cotton exchanges, thereby expressly prohibiting manipulation.

The enactment of the United States grain futures act of September, 1922 (Capper-Tincher law), was followed about a year later by one of the most active and largest bull markets ever witnessed during peace times, and also a bull market with great activity the succeeding year, although prices were of somewhat more moderate proportions, proving, however, that the enactment of this legislation against manipulation in no way interfered with the normal activity of the market.

The national public interest is at stake and should not be permitted to be frustrated by the existing system in cotton, so that those who have spent their life's energies in the industry, whether farmer, spinner, or merchant, may not continue to pay toll to the manipulators and be cheated out of their birthright and results of honest efforts and investments.

W. L. C., *April 10, 1926.*

Why should anyone sell March New York at 15 points over March New Orleans when it costs 85 points to make delivery?

OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, 1926 (by same token).

Why was cotton received on October and December (1926) New Orleans at prices even with to a premium of 25 points over October and December New York and shipped and delivered on New York when it costs 85 points to make delivery, showing an obvious loss of $4.50 to $5 per bale in the transaction?

The March, 1925, option in New York ruled at shipping parity with southern spot values, because the stock in New York at that time was nil, normal parity temporarily prevailed, proving that large stocks in New York, containing large percentages of undesirable spinning character, viz, punky staple, do seriously depress prices and distort parities, while in other years even where stocks in New York have been relatively large, but the percentage of poor or undesirable staple and character small or negligible, these large stocks have not had a similar depressing effect, because lower rates of ocean freight and marine insurance from New York have tended to offset the increased toll or cost of delivery in New York against delivery in southern port.

January 12, 1928: Basis middling seven-eighths inch staple is bringing the price of March New York contracts f. o. b. interior Georgia-Alabama points to-day, and there is reported to be an active demand at this basis, especially for export to Germany. How does this basis compare with the price at which New York contracts basis middling can be received on contract and shipped, for example, c. i. f. and 6 per cent terms to Bremen:

Shipment from Georgia-Alabama interior points:	
Cost f. o. b. interior, price of March New York, say	$0.1900
Inland freight from interior to southern port	.0055
Ocean freight to Bremen	.0060
Insurance, marine, etc	.0025
	.2040

Plus 6 per cent tare—94 divided by 20.40 equals 21.70 cents cost, insurance, freight, and 6 per cent. Bremen from Georgia-Alabama interior points.

Shipment from New York certificated stock:	
Cost price of January New York contracts terms	$0.1900
Cost to place f. o. b. ship side	.0040
Ocean freight to Bremen	.0037
Insurance, marine, etc	.0018
	.1965

Plus 6 per cent tare—94 divided by 19.65 equals 21.21 cents cost, insurance, freight, and 6 per cent. Bremen out of New York contract stock.

Showing a difference in favor of New York of some 49 points, or $2.50 per bale, yet the New York stock fails to move out except in very negligible quantities. Why? Because those engaged in manipulating the market have their interests best served by keeping the New York stock intact and a continuous weight on the value of the contract there until they have taken in their heavy short commitments, preferring to pay the higher prices ruling in the South to provide for their current spinners' requirements, and at the same time discouraging anyone else from receiving cotton on contract and shipping it out by delivering to any would-be receivers only the most undesirable character cotton in the stock, of which this year there is a very substantial percentage. This undesirable portion in the New York certificated stock this year, unhesitatingly and freely described by everyone who has had occasion to see it as punky staple, is the real keynote to the apparent paradox and enables the manipulators to keep the entire stock intact until they see fit to do otherwise, or until they have enjoyed the full benefit of the effect of its weight on prices and the relationship between spots and futures and between the New York market and other contract markets.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *January 28, 1928.*

Hon. MARVIN C. JONES,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: While we were in your office this week you asked us the question why cotton had declined from 25 cents to 18 cents. Others have asked me for an explanation of this seeming economic paradox of prices declining while the crop prospects were also declining.

I think the best way to make this clear to the lay mind is to explain that there has been in effect a grand auction sale conducted on the New York Cotton Exchange from day to day of quantities of cotton of poor, wasty staple, for which there was no demand. This stock of contract cotton in New York has been tendered and repeatedly tendered many times since September last, and this continued forced sale of this poor-character cotton in New York from day to day and from week to week and from month to month has been effected only at a constantly declining price level for the contract. Cotton growers in the South have held tenaciously to their spot cotton, only to see prices constantly lowered by this continued forced sale of poor-character cotton in New York, which has been shipped and held there expressly for that purpose by large manipulators.

If the cotton that is being tendered in New York was all of good character, this grand auction sale would have terminated before the 20-cent level was reached, as domestic mills and exporters would have taken up the cotton. As it is, the large stock of cotton is still there in New York, with no takers even at 17½ cents, which is the price to-day.

By allowing the cotton growers to find a market through delivery on contract for some 80,000 bales of poor-character cotton during the past season an opportunity has been offered and seized upon by large manipulators to destroy the whole price level for the balance of the crop and make an open mockery of the law of supply and demand. Growers of about 5 per cent of the cotton crop who demand an outlet through the contract market for their poor, wasty staple little realize the serious economic consequences that are visited on the growers of the other 95 per cent by admitting their undesirable cotton for delivery on contract.

It is for this reason that we propose to exclude cotton of poor character from delivery on contract in our bill.

Yours very truly,

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point that no quorum is present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio makes the point of order that no quorum is present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Two hundred and twenty-eight Members present, a quorum.

WAR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 10286, the War Department appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. TILSON 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 the bill H. R. 10286, of which the Clerk will read the title.

The Clerk read the title, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 10286) making appropriations for the military and nonmilitary activities of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, and for other purposes.

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the paragraph been read?

Mr. SPEAKS. I understood this was the first business in order this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman ask to return to page 42?

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes. The agreement was that the first paragraph on page 42 should be passed and considered when we reached the item for rifle practice, page 64.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the paragraph passed over.

The Clerk read as follows:

ORDNANCE STORES—AMMUNITION

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, $4,000,000.

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the committee, the purpose of this amendment is to insure that the national matches, so called, and the School for Small Arms, which have been a part of the national-defense program for the past quarter of a century, shall continue annually as originally intended by existing law which has recently been restated and emphasized in a bill which passed the House January 16, 1928.

The national competition has been an outstanding military training event since 1903. For many years these meetings afforded the only opportunity for bringing the various organizations of our national-defense system into close association, and they are credited with being one of the most potent influences in establishing cordial relations between the Army and National Guard and in promoting the "all one army" movement.

Since 1903 the competitions have been held annually with the exception of 1912 and 1916, during the World War, until 1926, when the War Department original estimates failed to request the necessary appropriations. There appears to have been no reason for the omission and failure to provide for the annual events other than the arbitrary decision that they should not be held that year and that in future they should be scheduled biennially.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SPEAKS. I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to make my statement out of order with respect to time, and I promise to be brief.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I shall object to that. That would grant the gentleman unlimited time.

Mr. SPEAKS. I shall agree to confine it to 15 minutes.

Mr. MADDEN. From the beginning?

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Beginning with the first five minutes?

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. I have no objection to that.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to continue for 10 minutes additional. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SPEAKS. The amendment is based upon this particular item for the reason that the reduction could be made here without embarrassing the War Department or in any manner affecting the national welfare adversely or interferring with national-defense activities. Some 550,000,000 rounds of .30-caliber ammunition is now piled up in the reserve storehouses. This ammunition will remain there year after year deteriorating, and each year through deterioration millions of rounds will be declared unserviceable and sold to junk dealers or otherwise disposed of; so Members may understand that the 12,000,000 rounds which we might not purchase by reason of the $500,000 reduction is negligible in connection with the ammunition supply. The committee, on page 12 of their report, states in part as follows:

The committee has made careful inquiry into the foundation for published reports of an ammunition shortage. Much testimony has been taken and illuminating data supplied. * * *

* * * There is no plan prescribed by law. The plans are formulated by the War Department under the general statute imposing upon the General Staff the duty of preparing plans for national defense. The subject is one of constant study and there is a continuing fluctuation by reason of recurring studies of mobilization plans, changes in organization, and the development and supply of new weapons.

* * * The War Department plans to present to the Budget for the fiscal year 1930 a program looking to the gradual elimination over a period of years of the existing deficit and that will meet annual losses through deterioration. With the subject under study and unsolved when the pending estimates were being built, it would seem that this would be the orderly and logical course to pursue. Such recommendations as the War Department may submit must have the very careful consideration of all concerned.

The accompanying bill, in agreement with the Budget estimate, carries $7,393,034 for ammunition for all components. This compares with a sum less than $6,000,000 for the present fiscal year.

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

Mr. SPEAKS. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I want to understand the parliamentary situation. The gentleman has simply offered an amendment now to reduce the amount in line 8, on page 42, as I understand it.

Mr. SPEAKS. That is correct.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That is all that is pending. Some of the Members, I think, do not understand the purpose of the gentleman, and I think it would be well enough to explain he proposes to reduce the amount here and increase the amount for rifle practice at another point in the bill.

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes. I thank the gentleman for his suggestion. My purpose was to first assure the House that there is absolutely no occasion to be alarmed regarding the ammunition supply, and it was my intention to quote the Secretary of War in support of this statement.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Tennessee says that the gentleman from Ohio is to follow this up with another amendment.

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes. A short time ago, Mr. Chairman, the press of the country carried a very alarming statement alleged to come from the War Department, the purport of which was that our supply of ammunition was not sufficient to last for a period of 30 minutes.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not want to interrupt the gentleman, but I would like to be informed——

Mr. SPEAKS. I shall inform the gentleman if he will permit me to continue.

Mr. BUTLER. If the gentleman will tell me what is the object of this, I shall be very much indebted to him.

Mr. SPEAKS. This is an effort to secure funds for carrying on a part of our national training program without increasing the Budget. I want now to quote the Secretary of War relative to the ammunition supply, as shown on page 1015 of the hearings:

Mr. COLLINS. I want to ask the Secretary a question: Mr. Secretary, a very remarkable statement that was attributed to you was carried in the papers about six weeks ago, to the effect that we did not have enough ammunition to last us for 30 minutes.

Secretary DAVIS. I do not think that statement was attributed to me. I agree with you that it was a remarkable statement.

Mr. COLLINS. You disclaim responsibility for it?

Secretary DAVIS. I absolutely disclaim all responsibility for it. It was a foolish statement in the first place, and entirely untrue. It has been attributed to me in comments upon it, and I considered whether it was advisable to pay enough attention to it to even disclaim it. It purported to be a statement that I made to the President but which, of course, I did not make.

This should be sufficient to convince Members that, so far as the reduction in ammunition supply is concerned, if the amendment is adopted there is no occasion for apprehension in that connection.

My next amendment will be, on page 64, after the comma in line 9, insert a new paragraph, which conforms precisely to an amendment prepared by the War Department, to cover the national matches in 1926.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM. Is this for a national match or is it for rifle practice through the different States?

Mr. SPEAKS. This is in accordance with the plan of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, applying to all the States, and the national competition and school presents the final training stage. Practically every State is represented with teams; also from the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, West Point, and Annapolis.

Mr. TABER. What the gentleman proposes is in respect to rifle matches and ordinary rifle practice as provided elsewhere?

Mr. SPEAKS. Competition and instruction; yes.

Mr. McSWAIN. Will the gentleman state the total number of people who participate in the national events?

Mr. SPEAKS. There were about 101 teams at the last match.

Mr. McSWAIN. And the teams average how many?

Mr. SPEAKS. They number about 15.

Mr. McSWAIN. So that there were some 1,500 or 1,700 expert riflemen from all over the country at this last match?

Mr. SPEAKS. The teams came from all of the States. I have here telegrams from the adjutants general of practically all of the States, the National Guard associations of the United States, the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, the American Legion—all of the national-defense agencies of the Nation—supporting this proposition. It is not opposed by the War Department if we can secure the necessary funds outside of the items carried in this bill. The Secretary told me personally that he would not object if we would add to the present bill an appropriation to defray the expenses incurred.

Mr. MAAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes.

Mr. MAAS. The adjutant general from Minnesota is in the city at this time. I have had quite a conference with him, and he is very much in favor of this and indorses it completely.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Are not these matches an incentive to a young man to take a greater interest in them, because the young men have the hope of being selected to represent their units at the national matches?

Mr. SPEAKS. Undoubtedly. The competitions in the States create an interest in rifle shooting that can be accomplished in no other way, and the enthusiasm reaches its culmination in this school and competition.

This program results in developing thousands of expert riflemen who are qualified to act as instructors to the millions of untrained civilians who would be called upon in times of emergency.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes.

Mr. TABER. Why does not the gentleman make an addition to the sum given here for these matches? It is a very good thing. I object to taking this money away from the fund for ammunition. Last year the Secretary of War came before our committee and gave us a very alarming account of the state of our ammunition.

Mr. SPEAKS. I have just read you a statement from the Secretary of War wherein he discounts all such reports and condemns them in the strongest terms. The reason why we are asking for a reduction is to avoid increasing the total amount the bill carries.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am very much in favor of the gentleman's amendment to strike $500,000 from this item and also to that which is to follow, providing $500,000 for these national rifle matches.

Former President Roosevelt said that "A man who can not shoot straight might as well be armed with a club." When we look at this vast appropriation of $399,000,000, of which some $300,000,000 goes for war purposes, we must see that it is absolutely essential in order to expend that money properly and advantageously that our men should be able to shoot straight. The apex of this whole appropriation is the fact that we want to reach the enemy, and if men can not shoot straight they will never reach the enemy, and the ammunition and the great aggregation back of it is all wasted.

Among the men of great ability and of vast influence in our Army warfare is Major General Lejeune, who says:

* * * We put a team in the first annual match, and from that day until the present time there has been an increasing interest in rifle shooting, and rifle shooting in the Marine Corps dates from the beginning of the national rifle matches. Our whole system of training is built up so that the annual rifle match is the apex of the pyramid. * * *

This rifle-shooting program is an annual program and, as I have stated, the national match in September of each year is the incentive and the goal toward which all these men are working.

It would be, in my opinion, a calamity to discontinue these matches; that is, to discontinue holding them each year. The interest would lapse undoubtedly, and the impetus would certainly die out. * * *

The thing that differentiated the American from the foreign soldiers was the ability of the American soldiers to shoot straight and hit an individual instead of just shooting at the landscape. Our men fired at marks, at other men; they fired as individual men, and they did not waste so much ammunition, and they hit what they shot at; just as in the old days rifle shooting was kept up in this country by the woodsmen and the hunters and pioneers, who had to shoot in order to live.

This is followed by the statement of Gen. R. H. Allen, Chief of Infantry, who indorses these matches, and says:

The "national match" is really a misnomer. It is really the national school of musketry. * * *

If we will look at the history of our country and our military operations, we will find that our success since the days of the Indian wars has been largely or primarily due to our ability as rifle shots. * * *

That national asset, marksmanship, which was built up in the early days from the fact that a man shot for his meals and shot to live, is becoming lost, and it is dying out, and unless something is done to foster and keep alive interest in rifle shooting, and to grant the facilities for the citizen to use the rifle and to become enthusiastic in its use, we will not only lose our standing as the leading nation in the world in marksmanship, but with it we are going to lose something that is far more vital to us as a nation; when called into the service, if we ever should be, we are going to lack the aggressiveness and the offensive spirit that were the great features of our success in the past. Therefore I consider that a movement is necessary that will foster rifle shooting that will stir up enthusiasm among the civilians, not in the Army. It is a fine thing for the Army, of course, and it adds an incentive, but if it was simply for the Army that it was wanted, if it was simply the Infantry of the Army that wanted it, I would not be for it.

It is for the civilian public, in the reserve, and the civilian rifle teams, instruction of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and of the citizens military training camps and the civilian rifle clubs.

Colonel Macnab, who is deeply interested and who recommends it strongly, says:

Our present arms and ammunition are due to our present training methods which are due to the national matches. If we give up these matches, 10 years from now we may not have the rifle and the ammunition and the training methods that we ought to have 10 years from now. We do not know. If we had not had these rifle matches in the past we would not have to-day the present rifle and ammunition, and if we give up the matches now we may not have what we ought to have 10 years from now. That is the point on the ammunition and the rifle. There is no doubt about that being correct. I think even the Ordnance Department will admit that. * * *

There are 2,000 rifle clubs alone that are associated with the National Rifle Association, containing a great many more than 100,000 members. All of those men influence their clubs. They are influencing others at home. If the national matches were not held every year, in my opinion these clubs would be reduced greatly in numbers, and the ones that were left would be reduced greatly in efficiency, because the incentive that keeps them going, of these national matches, of going to the matches, the members of each one of these clubs, more than one member from some of them going to those matches, they go back enthused, they have new ideals, they carry the enthusiasm back.

* * * If we stop, if we have this interruption of a whole year without any matches, I do not believe the saving would be commensurate with the harm done.

There are 101 rifle clubs in this country having a total membership of 100,000 members. They are all in favor of this. Some 1,500 of them participate. I think we ought certainly to have the appropriation for this purpose.

I have a letter from Gen. M. A. Reckord, the executive vice president of the National Rifle Association of America, in which he gives me the information that 101 teams participated in the last national matches consisting of—Service, 5; National Guard, 47; Reserve Officers' Training Corps, 9; citizens' military training camps, 9; making a very splendid array of these clubs. General Reckord is a soldier of great ability. He is renowned for his splendid record on the battle fields of France. He is a man of expert rifle practice and a wonderful executive officer. Knowing him and his record as well as I do, and his support of this amendment, there can be no doubt that it is meritorious, necessary, and of great benefit to our country and its national defense.

The Budget has left out entirely an appropriation for these matches, and yet they have asked additional appropriations for 1929 of $29,000,000, and all we are asking for is that $500,000 of that money be allocated to these national rifle matches. This is not a new proposition. It is not a proposition that has originated since the war. We find that these national matches have been going on for many years. I have the list of them here. The national rifle matches were first held in the year 1903 at Seagirt, N. J., and since that time they have been held every year with the exception of 1912; 1918, when the war was going on; and the year 1926. So that it is not a new proposition. The Government has recommended it ever since 1903,

and it has not been until this time that a proper appropriation has not been made for this purpose.

I sincerely trust that you gentlemen will consider the point. The point we are making is that the contest in these rifle matches are bringing together numbers of men who take part in the matches and who become sharpshooters and men who can shoot straight. If there is one thing in the history of the recent war that stands out prominently, it is the fact that America abounds in men who can shoot straight and in men whom we call sharpshooters.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. LINTHICUM. Yes.

Mr. TABER. Does not the gentleman understand that in 1926 there was no appropriation for this and that these matches were not held?

Mr. LINTHICUM. I said they had been held every year, with the exception of 1912, 1918, and 1926, since the year 1903. So it is no new institution. It is something that has been recognized by the Government all these years for some 24 or 25 years. I certainly trust you will give this matter your very serious consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Maryland has expired.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland asks unanimous consent to proceed for one additional minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LINTHICUM. It is not making any new appropriation. It is merely allocating $500,000 for this purpose, which has been done ever since 1903. It is taking practically nothing from the general appropriation, because the general appropriation has been increased $29,000,000; and all we are asking of that is the allocation of $500,000 for what we consider a very vital practice in the military affairs of our country. [Applause.]

Mrs. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. A large standing army is not compatible with our form of government; the people do not want it; Congress does not want it. Therefore when we, as a nation, are forced to back up our rights with something more than words, it is a great citizen army that we must depend upon. For that reason I want to state right here that I am for anything that will increase the efficiency of that citizen army. I believe that every effort made and every dollar spent—whether it be for the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the citizens' military training camps, or expert rifle shooting—toward the training of that great citizen army is effort and money well and wisely invested. Because it is this great citizen army that is, after all, our real line of defense, and because it is these boys and men off the street, out of the shop, out of the office—yes, even out of our schools—who must bear the brunt of war when it comes, it is only fair that they should have this break that the opportunity to gain even a superficial knowledge of military tactics and science gives them. During the late war a large majority of the casualties occurred among young men between the ages of 19 and 21 years. I recall having heard an Army officer recount his experience in sending untrained men—mere boys—out to locate machine-gun nests. Instead of prostrating themselves on the ground and crawling along, they rushed forward, literally on tiptoes, into the very jaws of death. Sheer lack of knowledge as to how to protect themselves was not the least of the reasons for our heavy casualties.

I find in the Republican platform of 1924 these words:

> There must be no further weakening of our Regular Army. We advocate appropriations sufficient to provide for the training of all members of the National Guard, the citizens' military training camps, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Officers' Reserve Corps, and the reserves who may offer themselves for service.

So that we Republicans are doubly bound in this matter.

Mr. Brisbane, in his article in this morning's Washington Herald, had this to say:

> Our State Department has signed an arbitration treaty with France. The treaty recognizes the Monroe doctrine, which is satisfactory. But best and only permanent recognition of that doctrine will be found in adequate defense and preparation.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to extend my remarks by adding resolutions passed by 30 women's patriotic organzations of America at a conference called by the Daughters of the American Revolution and held in Washington last week.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from California?

There was no objection

The resolutions referred to are as follows:

> Whereas reliance by the American people upon the national defense act as a safe defense policy is justified only so far as that policy is carried into effect; and
>
> Whereas the Chief of Staff of the United States Army estimates that 220,000 reserve officers are needed to function the six field Army mobilization plan of the War Department; and
>
> Whereas at this time there are but about 110,000 reserve officers; and
>
> Whereas there are only about 16,000 of these reserve officers trained annually: Therefore be it.
>
> *Resolved*, That the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense indorse the plan contemplated by the national defense act of having trained in peace time a sufficient number of reserve officers to train and command a draft Army on the basis of the War Department's present mobilization plans of six field armies in the event of national emergency.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I want to say to my distinguished colleague from California that I quite agree with her that young men 18 and 19 years of age, who may be called upon to handle a rifle in case of war, should be properly trained, but those young men 18 and 19 years old are not going to receive any benefit from this amendment. This amendment is for the national rifle matches, and let us see just what the exact situation is.

We carry in this bill for civilian rifle clubs $200,000, which is $100,000 more than we carried in the 1928 bill. In other words, we appropriate twice as much in this bill for the civilian rifle clubs as we did for the fiscal year 1928. There are in this country 1,560 civilian rifle clubs with a total membership of about 100,000. We provide twice as much money for their training as we did during the present fiscal year. The only difference is that we make no provision for the national matches at Camp Perry, Ohio. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio proposes to take $500,000 out of the appropriation for ordnance stores and ammunition. That appropriation of $4,000,000 is broken down into 38 different projects; that is, the $4,000,000 will be spent for 38 projects, most of it for ammunition. The largest project under this item is for the procurement of .30-caliber ball ammunition, for which the estimated expenditure is more than $3,000,000. If you take $500,000 out of the $4,000,000 you are going to wreck this set-up for the item of ordnance stores and ammunition.

What are we doing for civilian rifle practice in this country? We are all in favor of civilian rifle practice. The committee is in favor of it and brings in a bill every year with an item in it for civilian rifle training. As I said a moment ago, we have doubled the appropriation this year.

To all of these 1,560 clubs, which have a total membership of about 100,000, the United States Government furnishes free of cost two .30-caliber rifles and two .22-caliber rifles. In addition to that we have a number of school teams throughout the country that engage in rifle practice, and to these school teams the Government furnishes, free of cost and without expense to the schools, up to 100 rifles per team.

We propose to furnish these civilian rifle clubs for home training, which is the real training, 120 rounds of .30-caliber ammunition per man firing—that is, if a man is just an honorary member of a club and is not interested in firing, he will not get any ammunition—but for every man firing the Government furnishes free of charge 120 rounds of .30-caliber ammunition and 200 rounds of .22-caliber ammunition. In addition to that we furnish targets and other supplies for them to carry on this rifle practice. This is all going to be done under this bill to an extent twice as great as they are doing it this year.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Does the organic act upon which this appropriation is based provide for an annual rifle match?

Mr. BARBOUR. No; if I remember the language correctly, it states that there shall be annual estimates submitted of the cost of rifle practice.

Mr. KINCHELOE. I imagined it was not clear, to say the least of it, in view of the fact that the House at this session has passed a bill providing specifically for such matches to be held annually.

Mr. BARBOUR. I will say to the gentleman that the language of the act does not definitely declare that these national matches shall be held every year.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Does this $100,000 extra which the gentleman speaks of for target practice contemplate an annual match?

Mr. BARBOUR. No; that is for the home training of the members of these clubs.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Then the War Department in the absence of this amendment does not contemplate the holding of these matches annually in the future?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to procede for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BARBOUR. It is now contemplated to hold these national matches biennially instead of annually, and the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SPEAKS] will provide for the matches being held annually; that is, it will provide for national matches in 1928. We held one in 1927 and the bill proposes to pass 1928.

Mr. McSWAIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina, if I have the time.

Mr. McSWAIN. It is the program of the War Department to hold the national match every other year?

Mr. BARBOUR. That is the program of the War Department.

Mr. McSWAIN. But if the bill which this House has already passed passes the Senate and is signed by the President it will be compulsory to hold it every year.

Mr. BARBOUR. That would be a different proposition, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. McSWAIN. The House has already passed that bill.

Mr. SPEAKS and Mr. LINTHICUM rose.

Mr. BARBOUR. I will yield first to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SPEAKS. I just want to develop the facts. The fact that the House had passed the bill H. R. 8550, which made it absolutely compulsory that these matches be held annually, was brought to the attention of the gentleman's committee before the committee report was made, was it not?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes; that is true.

Mr. SPEAKS. And the fact that this House again expressed itself after the Judge Advocate General of the Army had held it was compulsory to hold these matches annually, but nevertheless the committee disregarded that.

Mr. BARBOUR. The bill had not passed the Senate and there was nothing for the committee to disregard.

I now yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The present law provides that the War Department shall submit estimates for these matches, does it not?

Mr. BARBOUR. Shall submit estimates for rifle practice.

Mr. LINTHICUM. But the gentleman thinks that through a technicality the law does not direct the committee to do it and it can be evaded.

Mr. BARBOUR. Not by any technicality, but under the plain language of the law. Read the law and the gentleman will see what the provision is.

Mr. LINTHICUM. That is what I have done, and I would imagine from reading it that when the law states they shall submit annual estimates for these matches it was the intention that we should have these rifle matches annually.

Mr. BARBOUR. Not necessarily. It depends entirely on how it may be adapted to the program of the War Department. If I may continue with my statement, I will show just how this fits in with the War Department's program.

Mr. LINTHICUM. What would be the use of submitting the estimates if we were not to have the appropriations?

Mr. CLAGUE. May I explain that just a moment? I think the gentleman from California [Mr. BARBOUR] is mistaken about there being anything in the law with respect to estimates.

Mr. BARBOUR. My recollection is that the law refers to estimates. The gentleman from Minnesota has the law before him, and I will ask him to read just what the law says.

Mr. SPEAKS. While the gentleman is looking for that, will the gentleman from California permit a suggestion?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. SPEAKS. In view of the fact that I shall offer an amendment which will bring that question immediately before the Speaker, I suggest we just pass it over now.

Mr. BARBOUR. The amendment which has been offered opens up the whole subject.

Mr. SPEAKS. There is no question about the pending amendment being in order, but the next amendment to be offered will bring out the question of whether these national matches are authorized by law.

Mr. BARBOUR. I will say to the gentleman from Ohio that I did not bring up that question at this time. It was brought up by questions that were asked.

Mr. CLAGUE. May I read just what the law is?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. CLAGUE. The law is this:

The Secretary of War shall annually submit to Congress recommendations and estimates for the establishment and maintenance of indoor and outdoor rifle ranges, under such comprehensive plan as will ultimately result in providing adequate facilities for rifle practice in all sections of the country.

Mr. BARBOUR. Those are the estimates that I had in mind.

Mr. LINTHICUM. That is stronger than I thought it was.

Mr. McSWAIN. Will the gentleman read that part on the other page where his thumb is?

Mr. CLAGUE. That relates to the trophies.

Mr. McSWAIN. Yes; at the annual matches.

Mr. BARBOUR. Let me go on with my statement. We are not getting anywhere by having this discussion of the law.

In order to have these national matches this year it is going to cost in the neighborhood of $578,000.

Mr. SPEAKS. How much was the estimate for last year?

Mr. BARBOUR. I do not recall definitely.

Mr. SPEAKS. Four hundred and seventy thousand dollars, as I recall.

Mr. BARBOUR. I have not those figures before me, but it is going to cost this year in the neighborhood of $578,000.

In addition to this, there will be the cost of the Army and the Navy teams that will go to the national matches. This year we had 101 teams at the national matches and they averaged 13 men each. So it will cost in the neighborhood of $600,000 to send about 1,300 men to these national matches.

They get their expenses paid from wherever they live. The match last year lasted 29 days at Camp Perry, and they received 5 cents a mile going and coming. They also received $1.20 a day subsistence, and tents, equipment, rifle, ammunition, and all of those things for the period of 29 days.

It is proposed to hold the national matches every two years instead of yearly. It was testified before our committee that the cost of the matches is mounting up each year. There is a larger attendance of contestants each year. They are increasing the number of matches each year, all piling up the cost of the national matches.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I would like to ask the gentleman whether he considers that this deduction of $500,000 from the proposed appropriation for ammunition supply is really a serious matter?

Mr. BARBOUR. I do. We are told that our ammunition supply is being depleted. It is not nearly as bad as has been pictured, but if we keep taking away from appropriations for ammunition the supply will be depleted.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Personally, I would rather have the proposition to increase the appropriation for rifle matches rather than intrench on this provision for ammunition.

Mr. DALLINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. DALLINGER. If this amendment is defeated, will the gentleman from California oppose an amendment to add $500,000?

Mr. BARBOUR. I will. I do not think it is justified under the War Department program.

The Secretary of War was asked about the national matches when he appeared before the committee, and this is what he said:

Mr. BARBOUR. What would you say about the department's attitude toward having the national rifle matches held every year instead of every other year?

Secretary DAVIS. From my association with it as Assistant Secretary of War, when I was directly in charge of it, I think that the national rifle matches are a very valuable asset. There is a tremendous amount of interest in it among men who participate in it, and they give a benefit beyond the actual number who participate in the matches. They extend the interest all over the country all the rest of the year. On the other hand, it is quite an expensive element of the military problem. I have not looked at the figures for a year or so, but my recollection is that it would cost, certainly, $500,000, and perhaps more than that, or between $500,000 and $600,000, to hold the matches. I was rather appalled when I got the figures together originally, when they were compiled from the different appropriations. In addition to that, it takes quite a number of men from other duties to operate the butts, to take care of the camps, and that sort of thing. It is a very

arduous duty, and a duty of a kind that enlisted men naturally do not like to perform. In one sense of the word, it is really not the sort of duty that they came into the Army to perform; so it does have that effect. It is rather unfair to any one command to give them that job year after year. All of those things, of course, must be taken into consideration. We felt that while the rifle practice was a very valuable asset, it was a rather expensive proposition and that it would be fair to work out a plan by which those matches would be held every other year. I am inclined to think that is a sound decision.

Now bear in mind that we are not decreasing the amount for civilian rifle practice; we are doubling it. It is only the experts who go to the national matches—1,300 to 1,500 of them, who are asking for this additional $500,000 or $600,000.

To throw further light on the position of the Secretary of War in regard to this proposal I am going to ask the Clerk in my time to read certain sections of a letter dated January 25, addressed by the Secretary of War to the Hon. DAVID A. REED, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the United States Senate, expressing his opinion on the bill that passed the House of Representatives a short time ago, which would require these matches to be held annually and which has been referred to in this discussion.

The Clerk read as follows:

I do not favor the passage of the act for the following reasons:

The law should not be such that the War Department will be required to hold the national matches annually, irrespective of important considerations, which would make it unprofitable from the point of view of national defense to hold these matches every year. Under existing conditions the question of how often the national matches should be held may be discussed under three major considerations, i. e., financial, personnel, and training.

FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

The approximate cost, chargeable to War Department, appropriations, of holding the national matches is $570,000.

Under present conditions it is not believed that this amount should be spent for national matches oftener than on alternate years. There are many projects of the War Department for which more money is desired. To these projects favorable consideration can not always be given on account of limited appropriations. Such matters as better housing conditions, maintenance of authorized enlisted strength, better uniforms, increase of war reserves, increase in ammunition allowances, active-duty training of more reserve officers, increasing the number of citizens' military training camps trainees, increasing the number of Reserve Officers' Training Corps units, larger-scale maneuvers, more joint Army and Navy exercises, and many other projects, including the national matches, must be carefully considered in formulating the War Department estimates and decision as to how much should be spent on each after the limiting figure of the War Department is set.

The amounts to cover the holding of the national matches this calendar year are not included in the Budget for the fiscal year 1929. The expense of these matches could not be borne by other items included in the 1929 Budget without seriously interfering with the activities covered by these items.

PERSONNEL CONSIDERATIONS

The personnel, exclusive of competitors, required for conduct of the national matches and the school of instruction consists of about 300 officers and 1,800 enlisted men. The Marine Corps has usually furnished about 250 enlisted men and some officers, but in 1927 was unable to do this.

In order to limit the cost the Regular Army personnel has to be taken from stations in the Great Lakes—Ohio Valley region. Climatic conditions in these localities demand that the fullest use be made of the period of favorable weather for troop training. To take troops away from their training work in this season works a distinct hardship on these troops and limits their value in connection with the military training of civilians, one of the most important tasks imposed upon the Regular Army. If this task is to be properly accomplished the Regular Army must itself be well trained, and consequently advantage must be taken of favorable seasons.

To hold these matches annually would unduly deprive the troops of the Regular Army from their self-training and hamper to a considerable extent their work in connection with the civilian components.

TRAINING CONSIDERATIONS

Small-arms marksmanship is a very important element in the training of officers and men belonging to branches having such weapons. Its importance is so great that the War Department can not make its efficiency and development dependent on the national matches any more than the development of horsemanship can be made dependent on the national horse show. Therefore small-arms marksmanship is an important part of the training in the special-service schools and generally throughout the Regular Army and National Guard. It is also emphasized in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps camps and citizens' military training camps. The War Department, through the director of civilian marksmanship, assists civilian rifle clubs throughout the country with arms, ammunition, and equipment. Experiments by the Ordnance Department and the various using branches are continually being made to improve weapons and ammunition and develop increased efficiency in their use. The following are the appropriate amounts carried in War Department appropriations to provide small-arms ammunition to be used annually by the various activities indicated:

Regular Army	$2,100,000
Organized Reserves	100,000
Citizens' military training camps	122,000
National Guard	910,000
Reserve Officers' Training Corps	157,000
Civilian rifle clubs	150,000

In addition to the amounts just mentioned, there are carried in annual War Department appropriations items to cover manufacture and repair of small arms, maintenance and repair of rifle ranges and target equipment, and other things connected with instruction in small-arms marksmanship of the military and nonmilitary organizations listed above. Also additional compensation is allowed for qualification in the principal arms of the various units of the Regular Army. Thus it is seen that Congress appropriates for, and the War Department provides for continual training and interest in marksmanship in the Army and generally throughout the country. Although the national matches were not held in 1926, those held in 1927 had greater attendance, the interest displayed was unusually keen, and the scores were generally higher than had obtained in previous national matches.

The War Department recognizes the value of the national matches, and the small-arms firing school held in connection therewith as means of further disseminating instruction in marksmanship and of creating interest. The gathering together of the best shots from all sources in competition is highly desirable and beneficial. But considering the present financial, personnel, and training conditions, and carefully weighing the value of the national matches in comparison with other activities the conclusion is that the national matches should be held on alternate years. Therefore the passage of any legislation making it obligatory to hold the matches annually is not favored.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I ask the House to bear in mind that we are continuing this rifle practice, and are spending large sums for the National Guard, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and the citizens' military training camp. We propose to spend $200,000 in 1929 for civilian rifle clubs, as compared with $100,000 in 1928. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are being spent for rifle training, and such training is not affected by this amendment. The only thing this amendment does is to send about 1,500 expert rifle shots from all parts of the country to Camp Perry for about a month to engage in competition. The fact that the matches in 1927, after they had passed 1926, were the best ever held is an indication that no harm has been done, and that no interest has been lost in the matches.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. This amendment decreases the amount available for producing ammunition. There seems to be a wide difference of opinion as to the amount of ammunition now on hand. There is reference in the hearings to a newspaper report to the effect that we are deficient, and something was read from the statement of the Secretary of War. But he does not deny the truthfulness of that newspaper statement. He says that it was wrong to publish it, as far as it was read by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SPEAKS].

Mr. BARBOUR. The committee, I think, denied the truthfulness of the statement in its report, and in the statement that was made on the floor previous to the consideration of the bill under the five-minute rule.

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

Mr. BARBOUR. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Does the gentleman, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations in charge of appropriations for the activities of the Military Establishment, agree with the logic set forth in the letter just read, that a man would be a better marksman if he practices only once in two years?

Mr. BARBOUR. I do not think that was said. This does not refer to his practice. We are providing amply for practice. This is taking him to Camp Perry for a national match, to compete with other men from other sections of the country.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Does the gentleman think he would be a better shot in a national contest by having him meet in matches only once in two years than if he were to meet every year?

Mr. BARBOUR. The evidence before our committee shows that the matches held in 1927, after passing 1926 without holding matches, were the best matches that have been held. I was not there. I am taking the testimony of the men who were there.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Why does not the gentleman, following that logic, recommend that we have these matches quadrennially? They might be still better then.

Mr. BARBOUR. I suggest that the gentleman from Texas ask that of the men who attended the matches last year and who appeared before the committee.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for time to read an amendment approved last year, on February 14, 1927, in reference to these rifle matches.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, on February 14, 1927, the following amendment was approved:

That for the purpose of furnishing a national trophy and medals and other prizes to be provided and contested for annually, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, said contest to be open to the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the National Guard or Organized Militia of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, members of rifle clubs, and civilians, and for the cost of trophy, prizes, and medals herein provided for, and for the promotion of rifle practice throughout the United States, including the reimbursement of necessary expenses of members of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice to be expended for the purpose hereinbefore prescribed, under the direction of the Secretary of War, the sum of $7,500 is hereby authorized to be appropriated annually: *Provided*, That no competitor shall be entitled to commutation of rations in excess of $1.50 per day, and when meals are furnished no greater expenses than that sum per man per day for the period the contest is in progress.

That was the expression of the Congress on February, 1927. The Congress specifically said for the annual contest of rifle clubs.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SPEAKS] provides for a reduction in the number of .30-caliber cartridges that can be made under this appropriation so that when we get through the year, instead of having an increased shortage of 13,000,000, we will have an increased shortage of 25,000,000 rounds. We have 560,000,000 rounds, or about that much, but we have a great big loss every year due to deterioration, and we have to begin to put some new cartridges into our reserve or we will find a little further along that we will not have any that are up to date and any good.

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. SPEAKS. What is the capacity of the Frankfort Arsenal in producing .30-caliber ammunition on an eight-hour basis?

Mr. TABER. I can not give the gentleman that offhand. Can he give it?

Mr. SPEAKS. It is about 60,000,000 rounds annually, as I recall. That is 5,000,000 rounds a month on an eight-hour basis. Add to this the peace-time capacity of the Winchester, the Great Western, the Remington, the Peters, and others, we would have several hundred million rounds; so that so far as ammunition is concerned the amount eliminated by this amendment is absolutely negligible.

Mr. TABER. That is what I want the committee to have in mind. Our capacity for producing cartridges all together in this country is only 120,000,000 rounds, and that is not enough. That is not enough. We could not go into production in any kind of shape at any reasonable time on these cartridges to supply the deficiency. That is exactly the situation.

Mr. SPEAKS. Does the gentleman say that deterioration and requirements of the Army annually could not be met with the Frankfort Arsenal alone?

Mr. TABER. No. I meant to say that if we got into an emergency with only 120,000,000 rounds capacity in the United States, you are up against it, and our depreciation is going on at such a rate that our 560,000,000 rounds is fading away at the rate of more than 25,000,000 rounds a year, and when it gets a little older we will not have any reserve.

Mr. McSWAIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. Not at this time.

That is the situation with reference to the ammunition reserve, and that is the reserve which the country depends upon at this time. This $500,000 ought not to be taken out of this appropriation.

Now I want to talk a little bit about these rifle matches, so that the committee will have in mind a clear idea of just what these rifle matches are. These rifle matches were attended last year by 101 teams. I do not know just how many men, but about 15 men on a team, perhaps 14; perhaps 13. That means about 1,500 men, and those men stayed there the whole 30 days. They not only had rifle competition but they had instruction. It was a good school, and it was a successful school; and it was the more successful because it was possible to get a lot of these people on the guard teams and on the reserve teams to be there, because they can not possibly stand the strain of going every year.

Now, on top of that there were 34 civilian rifle clubs who were there to compete, and a great many members of these civilian teams are said to be between 60 and 70 years of age and absolutely unfit to serve in cases of emergency.

Now, another thing. The cost of this thing is very high, because before they get to these matches they have a competition to see what company and what arsenal can put up the best bullets.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. NEWTON in the chair). The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. TABER. May I have one minute more?

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. They have competition annually in their districts and in the Army and in the guard for marksmanship. The fact that we do not pass this addition to the bill and put in these rifle matches does not mean any curtailment of practice, because we have provided a great deal more for that purpose than was given last year. I submit that all together, taking the whole situation together, we should not touch this ordnance appropriation, and we would not under the circumstances have need of rifle matches next year. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SPEAKS].

The question was taken, and the Chairman expressed himself as in doubt.

Mr. SPEAKS. A division, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. A division is called for.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 58, noes 59.

Mr. SPEAKS. Tellers, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Tellers are demanded. Those who favor taking the vote by tellers will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] A sufficient number have arisen.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed Mr. BARBOUR and Mr. SPEAKS to act as tellers.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 71, noes 76.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio offers an amendment. The Chair would ask the gentleman from Ohio if the section to which he offers this amendment is a new section, the amendment to be offered on line 9, on page 64?

Mr. SPEAKS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. SPEAKS: On page 64, after the comma, in line 9, insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"For every expenditure requisite for and incident to the conduct of the national matches and the maintenance and operation of the Small Arms Firing School held in conjunction therewith as authorized by section 113 (c) of the national defense act (act of June 3, 1916, as amended by the act of June 7, 1924, and February 14, 1927), including procurement and installation of equipment, ammunition, supplies, materials, flooring and frames for tents, construction of shooting galleries, and shelters for rifle practice; nonstructural improvements; repairs and alterations to buildings, water system, sewer and lighting systems; repairs and alterations to equipment and supplies; communication service; pay and allowance of officers and enlisted men of the National Guard participating in the national matches and the Small Arms Firing School from the date of departure from their homes to the date of return thereto; pay and allowance of reserve officers called to active duty in connection with the national matches and the Small Arms Firing School; personal and nonpersonal services; subsistence, including commutation of rations, to authorized teams from the National Guard, Organized Reserve, Reserve Officers' Training Corps, citizens' military training camps, and civilian teams representing the States and including the enlisted men of teams from the Regular Army from the date of departure from their homes or stations to the date of return thereto at the rate of not exceeding $1.50 per day each; transportation, including repair, operation, and maintenance of motor-propelled and animal-drawn vehicles; travel of authorized teams representing the Regular Army, National Guard, Organized Reserve, Reserve Officers' Training Corps, citizens' military training camps, and civilian teams representing States, including officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army; travel of commissioned and enlisted personnel of the Regular Army; National Guard, and Organized Reserve on duty in connection with the national matches and the Small Arms Firing School, including mileage of officers; reimbursement of travel expenses or allowances in lieu thereof as authorized by law for officers of the

Regular Army and Organized Reserve; travel of civilian employees to and from the national matches, including a per diem allowance in lieu of subsistence while traveling to and from said matches and while on duty thereat; all to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, $500,000."

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that it is legislation on an appropriation bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Ohio on the point of order.

Mr. MADDEN. I want to be heard also.

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to make an argument, and will simply refer you to section 113 of the national defense act, particularly paragraph (c), and also to a decision rendered by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON] while in the chair on March 28, 1924, wherein he held that the law was sufficient even to authorize expenditures for international matches, not merely national matches in the United States but international matches also.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to inquire of the gentleman from California [Mr. BARBOUR] just what specific portions of this amendment he deems to be without the provisions of section 181 of the National Code of Laws?

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I did not hear all of the amendment as it was read, but I hold it in my hand and will read this language:

pay and allowance of officers and enlisted men of the National Guard participating in the national matches and the Small Arms Firing School from the date of departure from their homes to the date of return thereto; pay and allowance of reserve officers called to active duty in connection with the national matches and the Small Arms Firing School; personal and nonpersonal services.

I do not know of any law, Mr. Chairman, which authorizes an appropriation for that purpose.

Mr. SPEAKS. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. BARBOUR. I will.

Mr. SPEAKS. That language—I admit there is a good deal of it—is the exact language set up by the War Department upon the advice of the General Staff and, as I have been informed, approved by the Judge Advocate General of the Army, and is an exact copy of an amendment suggested in a supplementary estimate prepared for the 1926 matches.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPEAKS. I yield.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. May I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the chairman of the subcommittee has admitted that he knows of no law which this violates; so why argue the question?

Mr. BARBOUR. Oh, no; the gentleman misunderstood me.

Mr. McSWAIN. Will the Chair hear me for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will be glad to hear the gentleman.

Mr. McSWAIN. If the Chair will refer to section 113 of the national defense act, he will find there a direction, first, to the Secretary of War to make estimates for these rifle matches annually. In two other places also there is an authorization for the appropriation of money to buy the trophies; that is, the loving cup given to the winning team. Now, Mr. Chairman, while it is true that the law as it now stands is not mandatory and does not require an annual match, it is permissive and authorized, and there is just as much authority, I respectfully submit to the Chair, to hold the match annually as there is to hold one every other year or every third year.

Suppose that in 1929 we were making appropriations for 1930 and the gentleman came in with his estimate for this match, and which he now says the War Department will bring in next year. Would there be any authority for it? If there would be any authority, the authority would be section 133 of the national defense act. It is an authorization and it is a permission of law. While it is not compulsory, while it is not mandatory, while it is not required, and while it is not the duty of the committee to do it, if the committee does not do it, it is within the power of this House to do it, because there is the same authority for the annual match as there is for the biennial match, the triennial match, or the quadrennial match. The same authority is absolutely contained in section 113 of the national defense act. I do not know whether the Chair has that section before him.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. NEWTON). The Chair has the act before him. It is chapter 12 of title 32 of the United States Code. The Chair is ready to rule. Of course, the opinion of the Chair goes to the question of the point of order and not to the merits of the question. After examining section 181 of title 32 of the United States Code the Chair is impressed with the very broad language of the act. For example:

The Secretary of War shall, within the limits of appropriations made from time to time by Congress, and in accordance with reasonable rules and regulations approved by him upon the recommendation of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, authorize and provide for—

And the Chair calls attention to the further very general and sweeping language of the authorization act—

(a) Construction equipment, maintenance, and operation of indoor and outdoor rifle ranges and their accessories and appliances.

(b) Instruction of able-bodied citizens of the United States in marksmanship and, in connection therewith, the employment of necessary instructors.

(c) Promotion of practice in the use of rifled arms, the maintenance and management of matches or competitions in the use of such arms, and the issuance in connection therewith of the necessary arms, ammunition, targets, and other necessary supplies and appliances, and the award to competitors of trophies, prizes, badges, and other insignia.

It is not necessary for the Chair to read the other provisions of the act. What has been read will give a very good idea of the very general and broad language used in the authorization act.

The Chair's attention has been called to an opinion rendered in construing the same act by Chairman TILSON, March 28, 1924. A similar point of order had been raised in reference to appropriations for international rifle matches. He said:

There is nothing in the amendment relating to international rifle matches. Section 113 of the national defense act is a provision entitled "Encouragement of rifle practice." And under that heading the act, as it seems to the Chair, attempts to authorize the holding of matches, the establishment and maintenance of indoor and outdoor rifle ranges, and authorizes the Secretary of War to prepare comprehensive plans such as will ultimately result in providing adequate facilities for rifle practice in all sections of the country and, in general, to secure, maintain, and carry on these rifle ranges and indoor targets for the purpose of encouraging rifle practice.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] calls special attention to the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice. It seems to the Chair that an act of this kind ought to be liberally construed to carry out the evident intent of the law itself. If the Secretary of War decides to carry it out through the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, it would seem without evidence to the contrary that this would be a proper means for carrying out the provisions of the law. Believing that the provisions contained in the amendment do not go beyond the authorization of the law itself, if properly interpreted, the Chair is constrained to overrule the point of order.

The Chair is of the opinion that with the broad language of the basic law and with the benefit of the observations made by the distinguished chairman [Mr. TILSON] that the point of order should be overruled.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the Finance Section of the War Department estimates the cost of holding a match at approximately $1,000,000. Of course, this includes the expense chargeable to both the Army and Navy.

There will be teams sent from the Regular Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the National Guard, the Reserve Officers Training Corps, the citizens' military training camp, and citizens' rifle clubs. Rifle practice is furnished to all in these organizations, including rifle clubs, now.

Congress appropriates ample money to provide target practice to the Army and its civilian organizations. The same is true for the Navy; the same is true in the Marine Corps; the same is true in the National Guard and all other branches, including the rifle clubs. Congress furnishes the civilian clubs with ample ammunition, and this is provided for in the bill now.

It is proposed here to hold an annual match of all organizations. Really the only people that will be benefited, if it really be a benefit, will be the 34 civilian teams of 13 men each, or 442 individuals. Some of them range in age between 60 and 70 years.

Just think about it, training men for war whose ages range between 60 and 70 and at an expenditure of a million dollars!

Mr. LINTHICUM. How can it cost a million dollars when the amount proposed is only $500,000?

Mr. COLLINS. Oh, that does not amount to half the costs. I have stated to you what will have to be provided in the bill. There will of necessity be a deficiency item provided later to cover all the expense. Practically $25,000 a year to train men between 60 and 70 years for warfare.

Why not provide money for the golf clubs of the country. Golf is just as essential to training a man between 60 and 70 years of age for warfare as is rifle practice. You know the Government could not use these men in warfare. Why train them—why this expense?

Why, gentlemen, it seems to me to be utter folly. I will tell you why it is in this bill. These rifle clubs are a fine lot of upstanding men, and they have an upstanding citizen of Maryland here on the ground, and they are paying him $7,200 a year to work for appropriations like this and to look out for their welfare. General Reckord is a fine man. I am not saying anything in criticism of him. He is doing his work well for his organization.

In addition to this amount the general draws a salary of $5,000 a year as adjutant general of the State of Maryland, so I am told. I am not saying anything in criticism of him. I think he more than earns his salary. If I were in his shoes, I would work just as hard as the general does. But, gentlemen, we do not want to give away a million dollars merely to train 34 civilian teams of 13 men each, or a total of 442 men—it is a waste of public money and it is our duty to look out for the welfare of all citizens of our country, to protect them from wasteful appropriations, of which this is one.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Mr. Chairman and Members of the House, if we are to follow the logic of the gentleman from Mississippi and his argument in regard to the age of these men engaged in rifle matches, then the committee has stultified itself in making any appropriation for this purpose at all, but should have recommended that this branch of the service be discontinued altogether. Men should not stand on the floor of the House and make fun of men who are engaged in target practice; they seem to forget the lesson that Switzerland taught the world.

They say that a long time ago the Emperor of Germany was on a friendly visit to Switzerland, and while talking with the President of Switzerland he said, "Mr. President, I understand you have quite a number of crack riflemen in your military establishment." "Yes," said the President of Switzerland, "we have 500,000 crack shots in the military reserves of Switzerland." "Why, Mr. President," said the Emperor, "I would like to review some of your troops." "To be sure," said the President, and the troops were reviewed. Then said the Emperor, "Mr. President, do I understand you to say that you have 500,000 such men as these?" "I do, sir," said the President. "Well, Mr. President," said the Emperor, "suppose I should come against you with a million men?" "In that event," said the President, "my men would have to shoot twice apiece." [Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I received the following letter from Maj. Gen. John A. Hulen, the commander of the National Guard of my State, on this subject, which I desire to put in the RECORD at this time:

HEADQUARTERS THIRTY-SIXTH DIVISION
TEXAS NATIONAL GUARD,
Houston, Tex., February 1, 1928.

Hon. DANIEL E. GARRETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GARRETT: I have been informed that the military appropriations bill does not provide funds for national matches. May I urge that you use your best efforts to have this item added to the bill on the floor when it comes up for consideration.

In my opinion the national matches are largely responsible for the present high standard in both rifles and ammunition. These matches have created much interest and enthusiasm throughout the National Guard and have trained many excellent instructors for members of their respective units at home.

You no doubt will recall that General Pershing in issuing his directions from France for the training of our divisions stressed time and again small arms target practice, and it is now a matter of history how these boys of ours, well trained in this phase of their serious undertaking, shoved the Germans before them with their well-directed rifle fire.

May I again urge that you do all that you consistently can in support of this very necessary activity. In this recommendation I feel confident that all the officers, especially the higher ranking officers, of the Thirty-sixth Division join me.

With assurances of my highest personal regards, I remain,
Yours very sincerely,

JOHN A. HULEN,
Major General, Texas National Guard, Commanding.

Of course, I understand that, regardless of what our own judgment may be, we are not supposed to raise our voice against anything that the Committee on Appropriations brings in here. Somehow or other when a man gets on that powerful committee—and it does not make any difference whether he is from Mississippi, California, or Illinois—he immediately swells himself up, sticks out his chest, and refers to the appropriations of the United States Government as "our" money. [Laughter.] He says, "we" have done so-and-so; "we" have allowed so much deteriorated ammunition to be shot away by these men during the year; "we" have said to the National Guard, "You can do this or you can do that." Well, who the devil is "we"? [Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, the House of Representatives ought to do what it knows it ought to do. If you are going to have peace in the country you will have to have a trained civilian establishment, these reserve officers, and your National Guard. They are the men that the world will stand before and tremble when we have an emergency. We have the Regular Army, and the men in it are wonderful military men. They play their part well and have always done so in all our history, and of them we are justly proud, but it was the four and a half million stalwarts who were called from all over this country that put the fear of Almighty God into the heart of the Kaiser of Germany. [Applause.] I think this House ought not to hesitate a moment about voting this appropriation into this bill, and take out some of the others if you want to. [Applause.]

Mr. McSWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio for five minutes.

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will permit me for a moment, I want to read two telegrams at this point. One from the adjutant general of Illinois says:

There is no question but the national matches should be held annually. We have our annual instruction in rifle practice, and the matches are necessary for advanced training. Members of teams representing Illinois are all bona fide members of the National Guard and available in all emergencies.

The adjutant general of the State of New York says:

I consider national matches of vital importance to marksmanship. They should be annual or not at all.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, after hearing the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GARRETT], I can readily see why the Democratic Convention went to Houston. [Applause.]

I hope it is not presumptuous on my part to defend my good friend from Ohio, General SPEAKS. I feel that if there are some lobbyists here on behalf of this item he is not actuated by their ideas or their inspiration. He has in his heart the welfare of Ohio and the rest of the Nation, and is interested in bringing to the young men of our country proper training. I hope I am not betraying any confidence or speaking too personally when I say that I happened to be aide-de-camp of Major General Farnsworth in the World War. When the time came to leave him I said, "Do you feel that Infantry is a thing of the past in military operations?" He said, "So long as there is war on the face of the earth the individual man with an individual method of defense will be the backbone of every military operation."

So I say that we must give that individual man an opportunity to be well trained to defend himself with the means of defense that we give him, and that means up to this time is the rifle. It is unfair to ask men to defend you in time of emergency unless you give them an opportunity to be trained. The committee will say that they do have training, but I claim that that training will not give the efficiency necessary unless the men have an incentive to put their hearts and souls into the training. I know that you as Americans love fair competition, and the men when they enter this training know that if they do well they are going to have the supreme happiness of representing their unit in the great national match. With General SPEAKS, I feel that you should see these men training, for, as he says, they will come to be the bulwark of your country in time of emergency. I felt almost like a murderer when I had replacements come to me at midnight in France and ask me how to load their rifles before they took their places in the line.

I say to you frankly that it is not right of any government to ask a man to enter a conflict and not be taught the method of defense. I think it is almost requiring him to sacrifice his life needlessly. I hope that we can give our sanction to this amendment. I feel that instead of so much placarding and advertising on the streets, asking men to join the Army, if you will simply tell them that they are going to have a chance to compete with the fine young manhood of our country in open competition in marksmanship and in healthful sports, they will flock to the standard more readily than they will be lured to it by these great placards throughout the country. [Applause.]

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words. It is not often that I take the floor to

speak on a bill unless it is one that I think is of special importance to the country. I happen to know that in the State of Illinois we have a hundred and forty of these rifle clubs that belong to the National Guard. They are the most energetic men we have in the State of Illinois for keeping up the National Guard. They are not old men 60 and 70 years of age, but they average from 30 to 40 years, and some even younger than that.

They are all fellows who are willing to give up their time to go to any of the encampments. They do not ask any particular amount of pay for it. They are willing to go out and parade when it is necessary, and they are willing to go forward when they are called upon to defend the State or the country. If it is the will of the Congress of the United States to uphold men of this character, who are willing to give their time and even their lives if necessary to go to the front to defend the country, then the country itself ought to be willing to give them opportunity of keeping their organizations together.

Anyone with good sense knows that the life of any organization of this character depends upon these men going into encampment and into practice. If you take that away from them, then you take the life out of their organization; and so far as I am concerned, regardless of what it takes out of the Treasury for upkeep of these organizations, I am for it. I am for it for three reasons: First, the country needs these organizations; second, you can not keep up the organizations without giving them the opportunity to go to practice; and, third, the time may come when you will call upon these men to defend the country, and I think it is the duty of this Congress to appropriate the necessary funds to give these men the opportunity of having rifle practice.

Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Certainly.

Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH. Does not the gentleman think that the fact that these middle-aged men attend the matches is an inspiration to the younger men?

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. I do.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, most of the argument that is made here in behalf of this amendment is entirely beside the question. Nobody disagrees with the idea that we should train the National Guard, that we should train men in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and the men who go to the Citizens' Military Training Corps camps, and those in the rifle clubs. We are all in favor of such training, and hundreds of thousands of dollars are carried annually in these bills for just that kind of training.

Mr. SPEAKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. BARBOUR. Not now.

Those are all provided for in this bill. If we were not providing for this training, then we might favorably consider an amendment which would provide it; but this amendment does not provide for that kind of training. It means taking 1,300 or 1,500 of the most expert riflemen and sending them for 30 days to Camp Perry to participate in the national rifle matches. The bill contemplates holding the matches every other year; not to hold them in 1928, but in 1929; and when we say "we" on the committee we are not speaking of ourselves, but of the Members of this House whom we represent, and when we speak of "money," we are not speaking of our money, but the taxpayers' money; the money that is paid into the Treasury by your constituents back home. That is the money we are trying to conserve.

It is not a question of stopping rifle practice. It is already provided in the bill. It is a question of sending 1,300 or 1,500 men to Camp Perry to hold a match every year instead of every other year and at an expense of $600,000 in round figures. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SPEAKS].

The question was taken, and the Chairman expressed himself as in doubt and suggested a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 92, noes 71.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

QUARTERMASTER SUPPLIES AND SERVICES FOR RIFLE RANGES FOR CIVILIAN INSTRUCTION

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, including not exceeding $20,000 in the District of Columbia; 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, $6,875.

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. GUYER. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes out of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Chairman, at a time when agriculture and agricultural pursuits are in a depressed condition, a situation that has existed for a number of years, I want to speak briefly of a phase of agricultural development and enterprise that promises much as one of the efforts which is aiding powerfully in the recovery of many areas of our agricultural communities.

I do not make the claim that it will cure all the ills of agriculture or solve all the problems of the farmer, but merely direct attention to it as one of the minor divisions of the farming industry which is adding a ray of hope to a distressing condition of America's greatest industry, that of tilling the soil.

Having lived on a farm most of my life and all the time since the end of the World War, I know by experience and by contact with farmers how difficult it is to raise grain or stock at a profit.

I do not at this time desire to discuss the problems of agriculture in general but only briefly to refer to the dairy development in a part of Kansas which I have the honor to represent, and for the purpose of this brief address I will confine myself to the dairy development of one county in the district.

Bourbon may not sound exactly like a milk county; nevertheless, it is. It is situated about 100 miles south of Kansas City on the Missouri border and is a typical county of that part of Kansas. It has a limestone soil and a climate suitable for raising bluegrass, clover, and alfalfa, and all other feed for dairy cows, and it has made a remarkable record in developing a great industry in a very short time which has revolutionized the industry of agriculture in that county; and what is true of Bourbon County is true to a great extent of Allen and Linn Counties also.

Things were not going right on the farms and the people were discouraged, so a careful survey was made and the situation critically analyzed. It was found that corn, wheat, and oats were almost the exclusive crops raised; and these were subject to all the uncertainties of climate, excessive rain, and drouth, as well as the ravages of insects. It showed a soil losing its fertility, decreasing crop yields, depreciating farm values, and an increasing percentage of tenant farmers; and out of it all a low morale among the country people, a depression in agriculture, and a lack of prosperity in the business institutions that depend upon the farmer.

With the result of this survey before them a group of live business men, including progressive farmers, concluded that with over 400,000 acres of limestone land capable of producing the best bluegrass, clover, and alfalfa, and a system of hard-surfaced roads radiating from the county seat, which is Fort Scott, they could establish a dairy industry which would rehabilitate the farming industry and at the same time recreate the fertility of their soil and induce a rising production of unexcelled feed for dairy cows. For what preserves and fertilizes the soil more than bluegrass, clover, and alfalfa?

These enterprising men went to work in a systematic way creating public sentiment in a vigilant, persistent, and intelligent press, and in public meetings, for 365-day hard-surfaced roads; for good roads and the dairy industry go hand in hand. They used all sorts of propaganda on the subject of good roads and dairy farming, and the result was a convincing educational campaign.

The dairy experts of the agricultural college at Manhattan and the services of the Farm Bureau were enlisted. The railroads centering at Fort Scott, always alert for business, added their powerful organizations to spread the truth of the kingdom of the cow. Men who knew their subject lectured at the schoolhouses so that people got to thinking and talking about the cows. It became the proper subject of conversation in polite society, and people were talking about the "land of milk and ready money."

Nothing ever happens that does not first exist in somebody's mind. Then it spreads to the minds of others and soon it materializes. The psychology of the situation was intelligently formed, and then it became an accomplished fact.

In 1919 a special train from Bourbon County visited the great dairy districts of Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin, where a party of 162 persons saw at first hand the results of intensive methods of dairy farming where it had long been established and successfully carried on.

Out of this intelligently directed campaign has unfolded one of the finest romances of cooperation between the city man and his country neighbor that is on record anywhere, and it furnishes a good example for industry and agriculture to follow.

Bourbon County has solved that problem of cooperation and it has furnished one of the finest examples of creative and constructive thought and action that I know of in recent years. Its agriculturists, dairymen-farmers have made many blades of grass grow where but one grew before.

It has given to the people a steady cash income. It has constructed 150 miles of hard-surface roads, the largest number of miles of hard-surfaced roads of any county in Kansas. In 1918, 80 dairymen sold 8,000 pounds of milk daily at the Borden condensary at Fort Scott; in 1924, 900 dairymen sold 125,000 pounds, and it is still expanding. Nearly a million dollars annually is paid to the farmers for milk in both Bourbon and Allen Counties.

It has created a Holstein-Friesian company to promote the breeding of a high grade of cattle, and has proved that it pays to keep only the best cows of whatever breed. It has produced a yearly dairy show exhibiting dairy cattle, dairy equipment, and dairy products, with the usual educational features of such occasions. In October, 1927, the dairy show was the event of the year, at which two young ladies—Miss Maida McCartney, of Bourbon County, and Miss Emma Lou Martin, of Linn County—were chosen to make a trip to Washington as the guests of the Kansas dairy show. They are in Washington at the present time, chaperoned by Mrs. Guyer. They were honor guests at the Kansas Day banquet on January 30 at the Raleigh Hotel, where they delivered the message of the development of the dairy industry in Kansas.

Miss Martin, addressing the gathering, said:

First, I wish to tell you this wonderful trip to Washington is most delightful in every respect, and I know not how to express my grateful thanks for the honor and many courtesies shown me here. The dream of seeing the National Capital is one I could hardly expect to have fulfilled for me, and I desire that you know I truly appreciate it.

I represent the dairy industry in the district composed of Linn and Bourbon Counties, Kans. This district lies along the Kansas-Missouri border and its center is about 80 miles south of Kansas City, with which we are connected by three railroad systems and two Federal-aid highways.

The contour of our part of the State is rolling and in some places broken. Ours is the oldest settled portion of the State. There was an Indian trading post in Linn County as early as 1825, but the first substantial settlement was about 22 years later.

Our people are of long-established American stock. They came to Kansas at a time when strong character was needed. They stayed and wonderful developments have sprung from the raw prairies.

Since the welfare of our Nation depends largely upon the farm not only for raw products but for the boys and girls from whom good citizens are made, the young people are continually being given by their parents more and better opportunities to encourage them to stay on the farm.

Bluegrass grows naturally there and a great deal of our land is adapted to the raising of alfalfa and other dairy feeds, such as corn and other small grains. Our marketing facilities, diversified climate, and general character of our soil are favorable to the dairy industry.

Fort Scott, which is the largest city in our district, has a large condensary. We are urging an increase of dairy farming. Almost every farmer keeps a few cows and sells cream. One or more cream stations may be found in every town. We do not believe the danger to the dairy industry lies in overproduction but rather in the combination of the middlemen within the cities. We with other farmers must depend upon Congress to guarantee us open markets.

We request you to inquire into the natural resources of Kansas, and particularly those of our district, and urgently invite you to come to live with us, that together we may build a better citizenship and increase the opportunities of our country, of which we already are so justly proud.

In addressing this assembly of Kansans, Miss McCartney said:

It seems fine, when so far from Kansas, to see so many Kansans and to feel so much at home.

I come to Washington bringing with me from the Kansas Dairy Show a message of the development of the dairy industry. It is surely a very great honor and pleasure for me to be able to deliver this message to you this evening.

Kansas is a State of surprises: First, Kansas surprises you by becoming the greatest wheat-growing State. Then Kansas astonishes you with its wonderful alfalfa production. Now Kansas amazes you with the rapid development of the dairy industry.

The people of Kansas discovered that no branch of agriculture is so essential to human life, so conducive to excellent character, so productive of agricultural contentment and prosperity as dairying. The people of Kansas also discovered that Kansas, with its mild, healthful climate, with its fertile soil that grows in abundance bluegrass, alfalfa, and ensilage, was a favorable place to develop the dairy industry; so the people of Kansas hastened to secure a splendid dairy development.

You who are especially proud of our State will be glad to know that the dairy industry has grown so rapidly that now Kansas has become one of the leading States in dairy production. Additional condensaries, creameries, and cheese factories are rapidly being established in our State. Since the Kansas dairyman is enjoying prosperity, we are confident that our future dairy development will be even more rapid than that of the past. We expect that soon Kansas will not only lead in the production of wheat and alfalfa but also in the production of dairy products.

I know you are glad to hear of the rapid development of the dairy industry in Kansas and will be glad to carry this message to others.

I deeply appreciate the many courtesies being shown me, and when I return to Kansas I will tell our people of the great interest you are showing in the prosperity and advancement of our splendid State.

In this achievement Bourbon County had the powerful assistance of the chamber of commerce at Fort Scott and of the farm organizations, which deserve the thanks of all who believe in constructive, scientific methods of industry, whether it be manufacturing or farming.

I have briefly outlined what was accomplished by intelligent effort, touching only the high points to illustrate a fine example of progressive farming and creative and constructive enterprise, and also furnished an example of cooperation between the business man and his neighbor, the farmer, which industry and agriculture may well emulate, for neither can be permanently prosperous without the prosperity of both.

The Clerk read as follows:

Equipment or material purchased outside of the United States from funds appropriated in this act shall be admitted free of duty.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I raise a point of order against the section just read, including lines, 7, 8, and 9, page 66, as being legislation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, we concede the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Monument on Kill Devil Hill, Kitty Hawk, N. C.: To commence the work preliminary to the acquisition of a suitable site, surveys, preparation of designs, and all necessary expenses incident to the erection of a monument on Kill Devil Hill at Kitty Hawk, N. C., in commemoration of the first successful human attempt in all history at power-driven airplane flight, in accordance with the act entitled "An act providing for the erection of a monument on Kill Devil Hill at Kitty Hawk, N. C., commemorative of the first successful human attempt in history at power-driven airplane flight," approved March 2, 1927, $5,000.

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BARBOUR: On page 75, line 15, strike out the figures "$5,000" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "$25,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

PROTECTION OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY ADJACENT TO LOWELL CREEK, ALASKA

For every expenditure requisite for and incidental to the regulation of Lowell Creek, Alaska, as authorized by Public Resolution No. 52, approved February 9, 1927, to be available immediately, $100,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended or obligated until the sum of $25,000 shall have been contributed by the town of Seward or other local interests to be benefited.

Mr. CHAPMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

ARMY REMOUNT SERVICE

Mr. CHAPMAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the bill under consideration contains an item appropriating money for the purchase of horses for the military service, not only for remounts for members of the military establishment entitled to public mounts but also for breeding purposes.

My able, diligent, and distinguished colleague [Mr. VINSON of Kentucky] has introduced a bill (H. R. 7195) to authorize an annual appropriation for those purposes. Mr. VINSON's bill, reported from the Committee on Military Affairs, of which I am a member, passed the House without a dissenting vote, and I hope it will meet with a similar response in the Senate. I am heartily in favor of the item above referred to, contained in the bill under consideration, and also the enactment into general law of the bill H. R. 7195, introduced by my colleague, Mr. VINSON of Kentucky.

There was a time when practically every farmer was a horse breeder and a horseman. They rode horses, understood horses, and loved horses. In recent years, however, the production of good riding horses has decreased in about the same ratio in which motor transportation has increased.

Before the Great War a few far-sighted men recognized the seriousness of the situation and a comparatively small fund was provided with which the Bureau of Animal Industry purchased a few blooded stallions, which were placed in competent hands in a small section of the country. The Quartermaster General, having charge of the acquisition of horses for the Army, had the get of those horses inspected and when they developed properly purchased those suitable for Army purposes. That was a small beginning. The result was grossly inadequate to the necessity that soon arose. There were far from enough horses to supply the need of the great emergency.

The world was aflame with war. Our country was hurled into the maelstrom of universal carnage. The seductive effect of peace and prosperity had been to lull us into a false sense of security. We had not heeded the sage admonition of the Father of his Country that adequate preparation for war is the most effectual means of preserving peace.

Overnight we exchanged the habiliments of peace for the panoply of war. Preparedness became our watchword. Men, women, and children of every rank and condition, color, caste, and creed served and sacrificed with exalted ideals and sublime patriotism. The man power of the United States was mobilized with incredible swiftness and unsurpassed patriotism. No braver men ever wore any country's uniform than the Americans who met the challenge of military autocracy in 1917 and 1918. Labor demonstrated its patriotism and contributed its full share to the stupendous effort of our country in its hour of need. The farmers exerted themselves to the utmost without counting cost in producing food for our Army and the world. Our citizens responded ardently and unstintedly to the financial requirements of the crisis. Railroads and other agencies of transportation fulfilled every expectation. The greatest industrial nation on the earth, our commercial supremacy asserted itself. Our mechanical genius demonstrated its superiority. With astounding speed our factories supplied the shoes and clothing, the chemicals, the munitions, the arms, and armaments that we and our allies needed.

All these things were done so quickly as almost to stagger the imagination, but there was one of the necessaries of armed conflict, one of the most-needed items in our program of defense, that could not be supplied with celerity. Said Maj. Gen. B. F. Cheatham, the Quartermaster General, in an address at Nashville, Tenn., September 7, 1926:

> Nature demands at least six years to produce a horse suitable for a cavalryman to ride.

Our allies purchased in this country from 1914 to 1918 approximately 1,300,000 horses and mules. Most of those they bought were far from suitable for the rigorous use to which they had to be put.

At the beginning of the war there were only 39,000 horses and mules in the Army of the United States. Farmers, breeders, dealers, sportsmen—patriots all—rallied to the call of a newly organized remount service. They scoured the country from ocean to ocean seeking to buy horses that could do the work. It was a task impossible of accomplishment. They bought 320,000 horses and 160,000 mules, but too many of those were not fit. They could not stand the pace. They did not have the blood. They had not been conditioned and trained.

Motor trucks served their purpose; but where the surfaced roads ended and the mud began; where there were no bridges, and where timbers were felled and shell craters yawned; in detours around barbed-wire entanglements; in the dead of winter, when death lurked near, and American doughboys ready to go over the top and out into the death and destruction, into the hell of no-man's land, waited anxiously in a dugout for food and ammunition and the satisfying "fag"—the motor vehicle was not equal to the task. The horse and the mule must save the day. And countless times they did.

General Pershing said of the Army mule:

> You can pack him, drive him, or ride him; you can starve him, beat him, and neglect him—you can do all sorts of things to him that you can not do to an automobile, and he will be there just as long as he has four legs to walk on.
>
> It was a pitiful sight during the war to see horses and mules, splendid and faithful to the last, drop by the roadside, exhausted from lack of food or shot to pieces by artillery.

It is admitted that horses are necessary in concealing machine guns in difficult and obscure locations. It is not disputed that horses are needed to move artillery noiselessly and slowly in support of infantry.

But it is urged that cavalry belongs to the pages of history and is not effective in modern warfare. Nothing could be further from the truth. General Pershing and other eminent authorities contradict such a contention. The airplane is of great value in reconnaissance work, but in some kinds of weather, in some atmospheric conditions, it can not serve the purpose, and cavalry is necessary. A great American soldier has said:

> In scanning a large wooded area for the enemy the aviator can only say, "I did not see the enemy"; cavalry, on the other hand, may well bring the report, "We have been through the woods and the enemy is not there." Both the cavalry and the air service of an army are needed for reconnaissance, and one complements the work of the other.

Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, United States Army, retired, in a radio address at New York, January 21, 1926, made the following convincing statement in answer to those who no longer regard extensive cavalry operations as important:

> In the World War we saw really an army of cavalry operating on the flank of the allied battle line in a war of movement that extended from Rumania to the Suez Canal. Every allied army commander on the western front wished for cavalry in those days between July 18 and November 11, 1918. On the brown Mesopotamian plains, where the wars of mankind first began, Allenby's cavalry demonstrated that mounted operations on a large scale are still in the war picture. The picture has changed only in scale and war demands more cavalry than ever. Cavalry means horses in great quantities.

It has been estimated that in event of another great war we would need 350,000 horses and 300,000 mules at the beginning. The lowest reasonable estimate of necessary replacements is 3 per cent, or 19,500 head, per month, or nearly a quarter of a million a year.

Mr. Chairman, that presents a very serious problem. Have we learned in the bitter school of experience the folly of unpreparedness? When the war was over a new and larger remount service was organized. The Congress of the United States lent its aid; the Remount Bureau of the War Department, the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture, and the cavalrymen and artillerymen of both the Regular Army and the National Guard joined in the work. Enthusiastic cooperation and material support came from members of such organizations of patriotic devotees of the horse as the American Remount Association, the Thoroughbred Horse Association, the American Saddle Horse Breeders' Association, the Trotting Horse Breeders' Association, and the Horse Association of America. They have done a great deal to popularize the plan throughout the country.

The purpose is to encourage the breeding of good horses by providing good sires. The remount service started in 1921 with 183 stallions; at the end of the fiscal year 1927 it owned 522 stallions, 461 of which were thoroughbreds. A great many of them were donated to the service by thoroughbred breeders, who also have offered prizes for remount colts. Other stallions were purchased by the Government. Those 522 stallions are located in 42 States and Territories. The fees are exceedingly small. Many breeders keep them at their own expense. As a result the average maintenance cost last year was only $377 per stallion.

From 1921 to 1926, inclusive, there were produced approximately 40,000 remount colts and fillies. The approximate value of the 1926 crop alone to the farmers owning them was $1,500,000. Most of them are at least half thoroughbred and are excellent potential Cavalry horses. The farmer sells his best colts to private owners at fancy prices while the Government buys those of average quality, taking its chance in the open market against all other prospective purchasers.

With the passage of H. R. 7195, introduced by Mr. VINSON of Kentucky, and the continuance of annual appropriations for

the remount service in a few years there will be no such dearth of horses suited for Army purposes as there has been in the past.

The exquisitely beautiful bluegrass region of Kentucky, the heart of which is in the historic congressional district which has honored me with a commission as its Representative in this House, is unquestionably the greatest nursery of the American thoroughbred, the American standard-bred trotter, and the American saddle horse in the world. Its leadership as the birthplace and home of those types of horses is undisputed and unquestioned. Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, surely must have returned from a visit to that marvelously beautiful section, that undulating bluegrass pasture land, with its carpet of perennial verdure, when he said that grass—

> bears no blazonry or bloom to charm the senses with fragrance or splendor, but its homely hue is more enchanting than the lily or the rose.

The limestone formation underlying the bluegrass region of Kentucky transmits to its soil an unsurpassed fertility and imparts to the bluegrass itself substance that incites physical development in horses that feed upon its luxuriance and gives to them bone and muscle and heart, speed, weight-carrying ability, endurance, stamina, and courage, qualities that have brought to Kentucky's equine kings and queens the crown of supremacy in the tan-bark ring and to her fleet-footed thoroughbreds the floral wreath of conquerors on the turf.

The blood of the Kentucky trotter in the remount service will carry on in artillery and transport horses. Gen. Basil W. Duke and Gen. John B. Castleman, both knightly Kentucky gentlemen who rode with the intrepid John Hunt Morgan in the sixties, have left beautiful tributes to the superior qualities of the saddle-bred horse for cavalry service, eloquently depicting his powers of endurance, his smooth action and easy gaits, his cheerful response to kind and careful treatment.

Both the standard-bred trotter and the saddle-bred horse have a strong infusion of the patrician blood of the thoroughbred. General Harbord said:

> This blood, above all others, carries with it the qualities of courage, stamina, and speed which are so essential to the saddle horse for military purposes. It will be a sad day for our country if it is permitted to disappear.

After the endurance test of 1922, Maj. Charles L. Scott, chairman of the breeding committee of the American Remount Association, paid tribute to the thoroughbred in the following language:

> A thoroughbred has won the two real 300-mile endurance rides this year—Norfolk Star in Colorado and Vendetta in Vermont. The former horse ridden under terrific heat, and at a very high altitude—the latter in cold and severely trying weather. We may say, therefore, that the thoroughbred has shown this year that this breed is the equal, if not the superior, of any other breed under any conditions, regardless of climate, altitude, or terrain. This breed has demonstrated this year that it has the speed, the bone, the substance, the weight-carrying ability, the stamina, and the courage to defeat the best of other breeds, and the result sets at rest all idle, senseless talk of the thoroughbred being of no value except for racing. All true students of the light horse know that the blood is found in all sections of the United States, and, no matter what cross, the result is always an improvement. This fact is known to the western farmer, the cow puncher, the polo player, the hunting man, and the man of all walks and conditions of life who is open minded and fair and a student of the horse.

In reading the history of the thoroughbred and his ancestors we learn that among the royal patrons of the horse centuries ago were William the Conqueror; Edward III; Henry VII; Henry VIII; Queen Elizabeth; James I, who rode horseback to Westminster Hall; Charles I; Charles II, who introduced eastern blood into England; James II; and William III, during whose reign appeared in England the first of three stallions, to one of which every modern English and American thoroughbred traces ancestry in direct male line. He was an eastern horse, Byerly Turk.

The other two founders of the thoroughbred race were Godolphin Barb and Darley Arabian. Every other male line has disappeared. Not only does the thoroughbred trace his ancestry to those three sires, but the fastest trotters the world has produced are scions of the house of Hambletonian, a descendant of Darley Arabian, and the greatest saddle horses that ever carried the blue ribbon from a show ring traced their lineage through Denmark to Byerly Turk, the first of the triumvirate of founders of the thoroughbred race.

The seventh congressional district of Kentucky, of which Lexington is the center and metropolis, is the home of the blooded horse, the capital of the horse kingdom, and the mecca of horse lovers throughout the world. There was organized the body of Confederate Cavalry, under the command of the dashing, daring Morgan, that revolutionized the tactics, methods, and uses of cavalry in warfare. Young men, the flower of the Anglo-Saxon race, the hope and expectancy of Kentucky, accomplished horsemen, expert marksmen, the annals of war contain no record of a braver, knightlier, more intrepid soldiery. The name of their gallant leader, John Hunt Morgan, whose equestrian statue adorns the historic Courthouse Square at Lexington, is carved in the pantheon of immortality beside the names of those other great cavalry leaders, Jeb Stuart, Joe Wheeler, and "the Marshal Ney of the Confederacy," Nathan Bedford Forrest.

The land that produced such cavalrymen as rode with Morgan and Breckinridge, Duke, and Stoner, will always be the home of the horse and the home of horsemen whose devotion to that noble animal, the companion of brave men in every age, will be a constant reminder that our word chivalry is from the French word cheval, a horse.

Mr. BARBOUR. 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. NEWTON, 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. 10286) making appropriations for the military and nonmilitary activities of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN C. KETCHAM, OF MICHIGAN

Mr. WOODRUFF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a speech delivered by my colleague, Hon. JOHN C. KETCHAM, at Lansing, Mich., during farm week, at a time when there was probably the greatest gathering of farmers that has ever taken place in the State of Michigan.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech recently delivered by his colleague, Mr. KETCHAM. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following speech delivered by my colleague Hon. JOHN C. KETCHAM at Lansing, Mich., during farm week:

NATIONAL FARM LEGISLATION

CAUSES OF TROUBLE

As an approach to this subject suppose we first consider the condition of agriculture, and the causes that have led up to this condition. I fully indorse the declaration of the business men's commission on agriculture which recently declared that agriculture is not merely a business or an industry, but that it is a public function or service performed by individuals for the care and use of the land in the national interest. Therefore agriculture is invested with a clear and unquestioned public interest and its welfare is a matter of national consideration calling for deliberate and farsighted national policies.

Now, these, briefly, are the conditions which challenge national consideration. Agriculture is and has been seriously below the general price level since 1921. Taking 1913 as the average pre-war condition and 100 as the index to represent it, the unfavorable position of agriculture is shown by the fact that labor's index to-day is 228, and transportation's index is 157, and the general commodity index is 152, and agriculture's index is only 138. Comparing farm prices at the farm with wholesale prices represented by the commodity index, we find the comparative value of the former, however, only 91. While this is a great improvement over 1921, when this latter index was only 69, the fact remains that the loss to agriculture in the seven intervening years is calculated at $9,000,000,000.

LOW FARM INCOMES

The farmer's income is both actually and relatively low. After business expenses and taxes were paid last year the average surplus was $627. The farmers are 25 per cent of our people, but receive only 10 per cent of the country's income. The farmer's wealth is one-fifth of the country's total, but the farmer's income is only one-tenth of the country's total.

Farm taxes are rapidly encroaching upon capital instead of being paid out of income. Compared with 1913, the tax index is now 250. Last year the tax average was 33 per cent of the net farm income. Direct Federal taxes on farmers have been virtually wiped out by exemptions and low rates. For instance, Branch County, in Michigan, had only five Federal income-tax payers outside of cities and villages in 1925. Washtenaw County had but 34, and Lenawee and Kalamazoo

Counties each had but 75. Meanwhile, farm property values are down to an index of 119 from a much higher index in 1921, and there has been a loss in farm population of 3,000,000 since 1920. I claim that this presents a picture which no straight-thinking American citizen can longer ignore.

TROUBLE FROM DEFLATION

Now, what are the causes of these farm troubles? First, there was the deflation of 1921. Everyone suffered during this readjustment and agriculture suffered more than others because of lack of organization and the difficulty of quick turnovers. In any price depreciation the farmer goes down lowest and stays down longest. This is the primary reason why he will never vote to repeal our protective tariff system. The second reason for trouble was expansion and overproduction resulting from the war demands which opened up millions of acres of new production. It has been hard to let go after this machinery has been geared up.

Seasonal price fluctuations also have played havoc. It is stated that 75 per cent of both wheat and cotton are marketed by farmers in the first three months after maturity. This is the period of low prices and strikes with great force the poor farmer who must sell regardless of markets.

Then comes the most serious factor of all; namely, great surpluses. In wheat, for instance, we have an average of 200,000,000 bushels above home consumption demands. This must find a foreign market at the world price. This world price in turn reflects on the part of the crop sold at home in spite of a tariff of 42 cents. This tariff does keep out low-priced foreign-grown wheat and the tariff is necessary for that reason. But when the surplus gets outside the United States, the tariff does not help and the lower wheat prices reflect back to our great disadvantage. If we had no surplus of wheat, as I think we should have, the tariff of 42 cents would be fully effective as it now is on butter, wool, etc. The alternative, as I see it, is to supplement our present tariff system by some new agency which puts wheat and other surplus crops into the tariff picture. That is exactly the object to be served by the export debenture plan, which I shall explain in a moment.

IT IS EVERYBODY'S PROBLEM

Now, having defined the problem and the causes for it, let us seek a practical, rational, workable program which can speed prompt and progressive agricultural prospectus. How can this be done? First, we must have sympathetic and helpful appreciation of the seriousness of the problem by all of our people. It is not the farmers' problem alone. It is the problem of all business men and all industry and all consumers, because we all go up or down together in the last analysis.

We must have education and research. Progress is the keynote of success everywhere and especially so in farming, because no business calls for a wider range of accurate and up-to-date information. All agencies that contribute to this end should be encouraged.

Then comes the factor of organization—not organization against other groups, but organization for agriculture. Farmers must awaken to this necessity as never before to the end that they shall cooperate not only among themselves but with other economic groups in the country.

Then comes the major contemplation. What can legislation do?

In the first place it should soft pedal all reclamation and irrigation projects until additional land is actually required. Fifteen million acres have gone out of cultivation east of the Mississippi in five years, according to Secretary Jardine. No new farm areas are necessary or required by the Nation at large at the present time. On the other hand legislation should earnestly back up the development of inland waterways and the St. Lawrence waterway and lower water transportation costs generally, because, for example, more than 5 per cent per bushel on wheat can be saved thereby.

GET IN TARIFF PICTURE

Then, the farmer should be put into the tariff picture by new and higher rates on his competitive products. We imported last year more than $2,000,000,000 of agricultural products—many of which displace our own products and thus drive farmers into further production in other lines. Corn, oils, eggs, sugar, fruits, and vegetables are illustrative of crops which should be protected by new and higher tariff.

But now comes the most important consideration of all. Price levels must be stabilized in line with some of the many proposals now pending before Congress. Some plan must be devised to make the tariff effective on those crops which now have high enough rates but where the surplus kills the effect of the tariff. The McNary-Haugen bill sought to do this thing. It was and still is opposed by President Coolidge. It was and still is problematical in much of its practical prospectus. Its equalization fee was and is of questionable constitutionality.

Even those who believe in the McNary-Haugen bill must admit that any possibility of its adoption and utility is at least three crop years away—two by Coolidge's veto and at least one more in which to set up its machinery and test its constitutionality. Agriculture can not afford to wait through three more crop years for the assistance to which it is entitled. I believe the export debenture plan is simpler, better, more practical, and unquestionably constitutional. But whether it is better or not, the fact remains that this plan could move into operation this very year if passed by Congress. We could initiate the great experimental adventure of bringing farm prosperity up to par. We dare not longer postpone the initiation of helpful legislation.

In the face of these disabilities, should agriculture entrench at Washington and demand the McNary-Haugen bill or nothing? I think not. On the contrary, I think there is a better answer. I believe the alternative is constitutional, economically sound, practical, simple, and in line with our traditional protective-tariff policy. It is not revolutionary. It is not socialistic. It will be presented in complete legislative form during the next congressional week. I challenge the concentrated attention of the country to it. I challenge unprejudiced consideration by agriculture itself. Now, this is the proposal and an explanation of how it would work. It is identified as the National Grange plan.

EXPORT DEBENTURE PLAN

The export debenture plan is a straightforward attempt to bring tariff benefits to those agricultural products at present unable to take advantage of the protective-tariff system because of small exportable surpluses which tend to depress domestic prices to the world level.

Equality between agriculture and the industrial and commercial groups could be restored either by pulling down the artificial high-price structure made possible for these latter groups through such legislative devices as protective tariffs, immigration restriction, railroad-rate guaranties, exclusive patents, and tariff rebates, or the readjustment could be made by enabling agriculture to take advantage of similar devices to raise itself to this same price level and thus meet the difference in costs of production here and abroad. The National Grange prefers the latter—the constructive method—rather than the destructive and disruptive method.

Since the inequalities resulting from the tariff system are the chief source of difficulty, the logical and sensible thing to do is to apply the remedy at that point. The export debenture or bounty plan is, in fact, a recognized supplement to the protective-tariff system in many nations to-day and was proposed by Alexander Hamilton as a part of the original tariff system in the United States.

TREASURY CERTIFICATES

Stated in the simplest terms the export debenture plan is an arrangement whereby exporters of those agricultural products of which we produce a surplus receive from the Treasury Department certificates having a face value established by Congress and intended to represent the difference in costs of production between here and abroad, such certificates being negotiable and good for their face value in the payment of import tariffs on any articles later imported.

The farmer, cooperative organization, or commercial exporter may not desire to import directly, but the certificates would be readily negotiable to American importers at a slight discount. Naturally the effect of such an arrangement would be immediately to raise by approximately the amount of the export debenture the prices of those farm products now held down to the foreign level. This would follow, because any holder of these products could readily sell his supply in the foreign market at the foreign price and get, in addition thereto, the value of the export debenture or certificate. He is therefore able and willing to pay a higher price, and the general price level for these crops in this country would rapidly ascend by approximately the amount of the export debenture.

The grange plan provides that at the beginning only one-half the existing tariff rates would be given in debenture payment. For example, the present tariff on wheat is 42 cents a bushel. A cooperative association or grain dealer in Kansas desiring to ship wheat to Liverpool would receive the Liverpool price plus a certificate or debenture having a face value amounting to 21 cents for each bushel exported. Unless the exporter himself desired to bring in goods and use his debentures to pay the import duties or tariffs on these imports, he would sell his debentures to persons in the importing business. Since these debentures would be worth full face value in paying import duties, the importer would be eager to get them and would pay face value less a nominal exchange discount.

RATES ARE ADJUSTABLE

The grange plan provides that the President may adjust the debenture rates applying to the several farm crops, either upward or downward, to the extent of 99 per cent. Whenever investigations show that the rates set in the act do not cover the difference in costs of production between here and abroad the rates may be raised. Whenever the exportable surplus increases unduly the debenture rates may be reduced as a means of discouraging overproduction.

With the export debenture plan of farm relief no money would be taken out of the United States Treasury, but, of course, the cash receipts of the Treasury would be less, since a portion of the import duties would be paid with debentures instead of with cash, as at present. Exactly the same thing happens, however, whenever Congress increases tariff rates so as to protect our manufacturers against foreign competitors. If the desired purpose is accomplished, imports are shut off and

the money from import duties is kept out of the United States Treasury. Theoretically, at least, the money thenceforth goes into the pockets of the American manufacturer and his laborers.

SIMPLICITY OF OPERATION

One great advantage of the export debenture plan as compared with the equalization fee plan is its extreme simplicity of operation. No complicated machinery is required, no elaborate new boards or commissions, in fact no large appropriation is required, although a modest fund for administration would be needed. The Treasury Department would issue these debentures just as it now issues "drawback" certificates, tobacco revenue stamps, and similar instruments having a recognized value that must be protected. Officials already stationed at export ports are capable of certifying to the amount of the various crops exported and designating the persons entitled to receive the export debentures.

Opponents of the export debenture plan usually base their opposition on the plea that it is a subsidy. The plan is no more a subsidy than is the protective tariff. The very purpose of our protective tariff is to prevent foreign low-cost goods from coming into the United States. By this means large quantities of dutiable goods are kept out and hundreds of millions of dollars in duties are prevented from entering our Treasury. For instance, when the duty on aluminum was more than quadrupled in September, 1922, the Treasury income from that source dropped from an average of about $2,000,000 for the preceding three years to an average of $514,000 for the succeeding four years. This protection results in great benefits to manufacturers and their employees, and the cost of this protection is borne by consumers of these articles—that is, by the general public.

SAME THING HAPPENS

Exactly the same thing happens where the export debenture plan is in operation. Less tariff receipts enter the Treasury, but our producers of farm crops are benefited. Consumers, including farmers, pay slightly more for some of their foods, as their contribution toward making the protective tariff system actually protective for agriculture. Consumers likewise pay for the benefits expected by farmers under the equalization fee plan as proposed in the McNary-Haugen bill.

The export debenture plan is not as much a subsidy as the tariff drawback privilege now accorded many American manufacturers, or the tariff reductions given Cuban sugar, greatly to the benefit of American capitalists. Under the tariff-drawback arrangement our manufacturers are actually paid what amounts to an export bounty on goods sold abroad. They receive cash payments from the Government in proportion to the amounts of goods exported.

This practice is based on the theory that our manufacturers should not be compelled to pay duties on raw materials imported for manufacture and later included in manufactured articles sold abroad. It is contended that the manufacturer can not afford to pay the protected domestic price for these imported materials if he is to sell abroad at world price levels. This is exactly the contention of the American farmer; he can not pay the protected price for labor, supplies, and other production factors and at the same time sell at the foreign price level not only abroad but at home as well.

WAY SUGAR TARIFF WORKS

Our Government allows Cuba a great advantage over other foreign countries and it is a tremendous benefit to American capitalists who now dominate the Cuban sugar situation, as well as to American manufacturers who sell goods to Cuba. Incidentally this 20 per cent tariff reduction removes by just that degree the tariff protection needed by sugar cane and beet farmers in the United States. This special concession to Cuba, and indirectly to American capital and industry, has kept out of the United States Treasury sugar duties amounting to not less than $135,000,000 in the last five years.

The farmer is asking merely that there be applied to his problem some of the same spirit of tariff adjustment and modification as is already being used to accommodate industry and capital.

HOW MUCH WOULD IT COST?

The grange plan definitely limits the maximum amount of debentures in any year to 50 per cent of the tariff revenues. At the debenture rates proposed it is estimated that the total value of debentures issued on agricultural exports during 1927 would have been about $175,000,000.

The United States Treasury would pay out nothing. But revenues from import duties would be reduced—just as they are reduced by the Cuban sugar tariff differential, draw-back privileges, and prohibitive tariffs—and this amount would have to be made up in other ways. Some of it could be sacrificed through tariffs on other food products that compete with American agriculture—tropical fruits, for instance. If instead of reducing corporation taxes the present schedule of tax rates be retained for a time, the tax revenues would probably be ample to make up for any decline that might result in import revenues. Surely industry and labor would profit from improved agricultural conditions far more than from the small tax cut that is contemplated at the present time.

FOOD COSTS INCREASED

Food costs need not be increased to any appreciable extent, and in many instances not at all. The price paid by the consumer bears so little direct relation to the price received by the farmer that the increase in the wholesale price might be entirely offset by more efficient distribution. For instance, the wheat in the average 8.55-cent loaf of bread costs only 1.15 cents, according to a recent report of the Federal Trade Commission. Allowing the 21-cent increase in the price of a bushel of wheat under the export debenture plan, this would amount to only about 0.15 part of a cent increase in the cost of the wheat required in the loaf of bread. Since the margin between the baker and the consumer is about 6.5 cents, this added small fraction of a cent in cost could readily be covered through better efficiency in distribution and cause no increase in the retail price of bread.

The increased income which would come to farmers with the export debenture plan in operation would act as a stimulus to the various lines of commercial activity. The farmer must of necessity spend nearly all he makes, and the manufacturer, distributor, and banker would each get his share of this increased business. But in the process new life would be put into agriculture and the farmer encouraged to go ahead with his program of self-help and improved efficiency in production and marketing. The economic structure would again be in more equitable relationship as between the various groups and all would have benefited through the readjustment.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, its principal clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, without amendment, a bill of the following title:

H. R. 10636. An act to make an additional appropriation for the water boundary, United States and Mexico.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

H. R. 9136. An act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, and for other purposes.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 9136) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, and for other purposes, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, did the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] understand that this request was to be made?

Mr. CRAMTON. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] is the ranking Member. I have consulted with him about the matter and it is satisfactory to him.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Chair appointed the following conferees: Messrs. CRAMTON, MURPHY, and TAYLOR of Colorado.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE BANKHEAD BILL PROVIDING FOR LAND SETTLEMENT AND LAND RECLAMATION BY COOPERATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an explanation of a reclamation bill recently introduced by myself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an explanation of a reclamation bill recently introduced by himself. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, there are several bills pending in the House and Senate on the subject of the development of rural homes by a system of governmental cooperation in the reclamation of arid and semiarid lands. A few days ago I introduced in the House a bill (H. R. 7004) providing for the same purposes—providing a national scheme for the same purposes, to include the reclamation of swamp lands, overflowed lands, and cut-over lands, in addition to the arid and semiarid lands of the West.

I do not want to trespass upon the time of the House this afternoon by submitting the remarks I have prepared in explanation of my bill, but I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that I may incorporate in the RECORD my explanation and analysis of that bill for the information of the Members of the House.

OUTLINE OF THE COOPERATIVE RECLAMATION ACT, H. R. 7004

The reclamation of waste land by means of irrigation or drainage has for many years been one of the settled policies of nearly all civilized governments. The reclamation of land by means of irrigation has been a settled policy of the United States for more than 20 years. It is now proposed to authorize the reclamation of lands by other means, thus making such policy applicable to all parts of the country.

Since the principal problem involved in the utilization of arid or semiarid, swamp overflow or logged-off land is a financial one, the financial plan which this bill contains is its most important feature. The financial problems incidental to land reclamation exist because of the rather long period of nonproduction which must elapse while the construction of reclamation works is in progress and while the settler is improving and preparing his land for crops. This will vary from 4 to 10 years, depending upon the magnitude of the works and the financial plan adopted. Since no legitimate profit is possible until the land has been developed to a condition of practically normal production, most reclamation projects that are privately financed prove disappointing, and because of the many disappointments that have occurred, private capital has practically retired from this field.

To-day the surplus lands of the country that possess any great agricultural value require reclamation by some means or other. While it is agreed that the reclamation of most of such land can only be successfully accomplished through the cooperation of the Government, it is believed that such work should be done in pursuance of a plan which, once inaugurated, will be self-continuing.

Such work can only be initiated through the use of funds appropriated by Congress. But inasmuch as valuable assets will be created through the wise expenditure of such appropriations, these assets should, in turn, be made the basis of further financing, thus obviating the need of any further advances by Congress. Also all sums thus appropriated should be repaid to the United States with interest. All of these results can readily be accomplished under the plan contained in this bill.

In working out this plan the fullest advantage has been taken of existing land-credit devices provided by State and Federal legislation in order that the money used for the construction of reclamation works or for loans to veterans might be returned to the fund in the shortest possible time, so as to become available for the reclamation of other land and the making of other loans, at the same time providing for the payment by the settler of the cost of such work and of such loans over a long period of years at a reasonable rate of interest.

The basis for the organization of a reclamation project is a drainage or irrigation district, as the case might be. This district has full taxing powers under the State law and the right to incur indebtedness. Such district shall be empowered to enter into a contract with the United States for the reclamation of lands within its limits, and shall vote its bonds for an amount equal to the cost of such reclamation, such cost also including interest on all advances during the period of construction. When a district has issued its bonds and deposited them with the Federal Farm Loan Board the Secretary of the Interior may proceed with the construction of the project.

The cost of constructing the first series of projects will be paid from the appropriation provided in the bill. Then when all the property of a district that is subject to assessment for the payment of its bonds is found by the Federal Farm Loan Board to have a value equal to twice the value of such bonds, such board shall sell such bonds to the investing public and the money received from such sale shall be placed in the cooperative reclamation fund. to be available for the reclamation of the lands of other projects. These will constitute a second series of projects, this process being continued series by series, without requiring any further appropriation by Congress.

The bill authorizes an appropriation of $500,000,000, to be expended over a period of 11 years, $30,000,000 during each of the first and second years, $40,000,000 the third year, and $50,000,000 each year for the next eight years.

The bill provides that the repayment of all advances made to a project from the appropriation shall begin 10 years after the completion of the works of such project under an amortization plan extending over a period not to exceed 40 years. The payment each year of 6 per cent of the total of such advances will liquidate this debt within this period with interest at 4 per cent.

The amount which will be available for this repayment will be derived from the sale of district bonds and from the payment annually into the fund of 1 per cent of the cost of each project. The amount that will be derived from these two sources will depend upon the time required for constructing the works of a project and for establishing a property value so the district bonds may be sold.

Assuming that the average time for constructing the works of a project is four years and that the accruing interest during such period, which shall be added to the amount actually expended, is 10 per cent of such amount, bonds would then be issued by the district amounting to 110 per cent of such actual expenditures. The sale at par value of ten-elevenths of such issue would return to the fund the amount that had actually been expended. This amount would immediately become available for the reclamation of other lands. The remaining one-eleventh of such bond issue would then be deposited in the fund, the annual installments for the repayment of the same being available for reinvestment, the accruing amounts finally to be applied on the repayment of the appropriation when such repayment begins. The 1 per cent of the cost of each project that will be paid into the fund each year will also be available for reinvestment and payment on account of the appropriation. The amount derived from these two sources will be sufficient to repay the appropriation with interest at 4 per cent, without diverting any part of the construction fund for such purpose.

Assuming that through the sale of district bonds the construction fund originally provided by appropriation can be turned over during an average period of six years, reclamation works costing about $3,000,000,000 can be constructed during the next 30 to 35 years.

The bill provides that the district bonds shall draw 5 per cent interest and be paid under an amortization plan during a period not exceeding 40 years. The payment each year of 1 per cent of the principal will retire the bonds within this period. Thus, while the entire cost of the project will be repaid into the fund by the district by the end of about the sixth year after the beginning of construction—being then available for the reclamation of other lands—the settler will repay such cost over a period of about 35 years through the payment of the bonds of his district, thus receiving all the benefits of long-term payments.

The annual payments of the settler on account of the reclamation of his land will be: Installment on the bonds of his district, including interest at 5 per cent and principal, 6 per cent; as additional funds for the repayment of the appropriation with interest, 1 per cent. These make a total payment of 7 per cent of the total amount of bonds issued, to begin one year after the works of the project are completed. No payments will have to be made during the period of construction.

Provision is made for the reclamation of public land in any district and for the sale of such lands to any qualified purchaser on easy terms of payment.

The Secretary of the Interior shall have control over the settlement of the land that is to be reclaimed. He shall establish the maximum area of the farm unit or holding in any project, and unless 80 per cent of all holdings in excess of the unit so established shall be reduced to such maximum area the Secretary shall not approve such project. The price and terms of payment of all excess holdings must be approved by him, and the owners of the same shall confer upon him an irrevocable power of attorney to sell such holdings to actual settlers according to the terms of a contract to be entered into with him by such owners before the project is approved.

For a period not less than six months former service men and women and the widows of men who have served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the war with Germany or in any other war, or during the Mexican border trouble, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, if otherwise qualified, shall have a preference right of entry and purchase of all public lands and excess areas in a district.

The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to improve any farm unit that may be available for entry or purchase by a veteran so it will be ready for actual cultivation, and he may also supervise the placing of other improvements upon such land, provided such improvements are paid for by the State or the former owner of such land or by any other agency. The Secretary is also authorized to make short-term loans to any veteran, to an amount not to exceed $2,000, for improvements on his land or the purchase of livestock and equipment. This loan is to be repaid to the fund from the proceeds of a long-term loan which he shall negotiate through the Federal land bank as soon as the value of the property is sufficient for the purpose. The proceeds of this loan may also be used for the repayment of any loan made to a veteran by the State or by any other agency or for the payment of all or any part of the purchase price of his land.

The bill provides a basis for the most practical cooperation with any State in placing veterans on reclaimed lands. By

repaying the cost of reclamation through the payment of district bonds the annual installments for this purpose become a tax and will be paid as any other tax. Therefore loans made by the State or from the fund can be secured by a first mortgage, and since the existence of the district bonds will affect but little, if any, the loan value of the land, the maximum loan that is warranted by the value of land can always be made through the Federal land bank for the liquidation of such short-term obligations as the veteran may have to incur. These short-term loans and other obligations of the veteran will not likely have to run more than two to four years before their repayment in the manner provided, so only a relatively small amount of money will be required for a loan fund.

The Secretary of the Interior shall be authorized to complete projects already begun under the provisions of the existing reclamation act from the fund created by this act. But all reclamation projects, or units of projects, upon which actual construction work shall be commenced after the passage of this act, shall be organized in the manner described, and shall pay the cost of such works into the fund with interest.

It will not be claimed that the millions in our great cities and other congested centers who are to-day living in the lowest depths of poverty, and the other millions now in the swelling ranks of the unemployed, constitute the Nation's "first line of defense." On the contrary, these and the conditions against which they are compelled to struggle are felt to be the country's greatest menace. All forward-looking men and women are agreed that our national security depends upon the further development of our rural homes, not that the producing area of the country needs to be extended at this time, but that more men and women should be placed in possession of resources so they might more readily establish their economic independence. This can not be done by settling more of our population in the cities, but they must be encouraged to return to the country, back to the land. Those who are most entitled to assistance in establishing their independence in this manner are included with the millions of young men and women who stepped forward to the defense of the country in the Great War, and who may, at any time, be called upon for further sacrifice. In what spirit will the next call be met? This is a serious question and one well worth considering right at this time.

Until the deep-seated causes of the present world-wide distress are removed, prosperity can not come back to us through any struggle that we might make for industrial supremacy. The odds are against us. Instead of spending sleepless nights over plans for controlling the markets of hundreds of millions of people too poor to buy, why not consider plans with a view to preventing our own people from sinking to the economic level of the people of Europe? The fact is our overdeveloped industries have failed us at a most critical time. As a consequence of this, millions are now looking into a future that holds but little hope.

However, nature is more kind. She does not close the door in the face of her children, but her bounties are ever recurring. This is why those on the land are safe. But life in these perilous times for many, many millions in the great cities of this and other countries is most precarious. Armies and navies can not combat the forces which threaten the world to-day. Other means will have to be employed.

Only by increasing the purchasing power of our own people and the extension of our home markets can the economic balance in this country be restored. This can most readily be done through the further development of our own natural resources, but this must be in a way which will establish the economic independence of more people. More homes must be established, and these must be rural homes. Their existence will permanently strengthen the country's real "first line of defense," which is the happiness, contentment, and loyalty of the great common people.

This is the broad purpose of the bill described. The appropriation each year for the next 11 years would just about pay for one first-class fighting ship. However, such appropriation would provide permanent homes for more than 100,000 people and would afford permanent employment through new wants that would be created for as many more. This is the kind of constructive statesmanship which through the operations of the reclamation act have placed more than 250,000 people on once desert land, created a property value of more than $500,000,000, from which every year there is returned a gross revenue greatly exceeding the entire cost of the works that have been constructed by the Government.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIO GRANDE RIVER

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table H. R. 5583, granting the consent of Congress to the Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railway Co. of Texas and the Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Rio Grande River at or near Presidio, Tex., and agree to the Senate amendment

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House bill 5583, with a Senate amendment, and agree to the Senate amendment. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was agreed to.

BRIDGE ACROSS LAKE CHAMPLAIN

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table H. R. 6099, granting the consent of Congress to the States of New York and Vermont to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across Lake Champlain between Crown Point, N. Y., and Chimney Point, Vt., and agree to the Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House bill 6099, with a Senate amendment, and agree to the Senate amendment. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. MAAS, for 10 days, on account of important business.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN H. BARTLETT, FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL

Mr. MANLOVE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech made by First Assistant Postmaster General John H. Bartlett at the McKinley Day celebration held in Ohio.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANLOVE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of John Henry Bartlett, First Assistant Postmaster General, at the McKinley banquet, at Dayton, Ohio, on the evening of January 27, 1928:

MCKINLEY THE ADVANCE AGENT OF PROSPERITY

Gentlemen of the McKinley Club, under the inspiration of a name forever memorable in American annals, Republicans of this great State are gathering for conference, to the end that party principles may be recalled and party plans conversed, and all to the greater end that our country may be the better governed. The memory of the last of our Civil War Presidents comes back to us vividly to-night and challenges to the fore the noblest impulses that thrill men with love for their country. We do well, gentlemen, now and then to throw on the screen of imagination in bold and beautiful relief for the stimulation of our faith that sterling character in American history who so enriched posterity with his brain and his blood, that splendid American statesman; yes; that ardent Republican, William McKinley.

M'KINLEY AND THE TARIFF

He served his time and generation exceedingly well. No man can do more than that. We are not recalling his name for party exaltation, although that is our privilege. We are not simply extolling him as a soldier boy of 18, who early proved his title to manhood by volunteering into the fighting lines under the cause of Abraham Lincoln, although McKinley the soldier is a theme which may profitably occupy any evening. Neither are we glorifying him now solely because this club bears his name and this is the season of his birth; but we are sighting back to him and his ideals down the line of 30 years because McKinley was the one man who proved, actually demonstrated, that American prosperity and American standards can not be maintained long on a scale two or three hundred per cent higher than that of other nations without the aid of some system of financial protection—in other words, without a protective tariff, even although our productivity per man is greater than theirs. That was the verdict of the people of his day, as decisively rendered and formally recorded as any of the crystallized facts of our national political history. And subsequent industrial events have continued to reaffirm that judgment. If there any longer remains a doubt on the subject of tariff protection in the minds of honestly influenced statesmen, it is not a doubt concerning the wisdom of the principle itself, but only such doubts as may naturally arise on the application of this principle to the rapidly changing industrial, commercial, and agricultural phases of our country.

M'KINLEY'S VISION

McKinley had the vision to see this principle ahead of and more clearly than most other men at a time when it would have been national shipwreck for some one not to have seen it. By it and through it the country has prospered beyond McKinley's dreams and almost beyond our own comprehension. Let us recall that the McKinley method of tariff reasoning was "high wages first," and as cheap necessities of life thereafter as possible. The method of reasoning of his opponents was the reverse, namely, "cheap necessities first," with wages coming as a secondary consideration. These two schools of thought, these two methods of reasoning, are still existent and, as it was in the beginning, they lead the reasoners to widely different conclusions on the application of the protective-tariff principle. It is necessary, therefore, that the American voter himself should never lose sight of the principles as they were so vividly understood during the days of McKinley. Such meetings as this which bring into fresh review the life of McKinley should also bring into fresh contemplation the principles of protection and his methods of reasoning concerning them, so that we may not be misled by specious argument to the contrary. I do not mean that we should study the application of the protective-tariff principle to each of the thousands of commodities and products which have to be studied by the lawmaking powers, but I do mean that we should never lose sight of the principle, and that we should never fail to grasp what McKinley so readily grasped and so forcibly presented, that high wages—good wages—must ever be the first and paramount consideration, and that a high civilization is always the handmaiden of high wages. We should not indolently fall into the false line of philosophy that that which produces low prices in the necessities of life is paramount. It is important, of course, but not of the first consideration. If low prices in the necessities of life are first consideration and wages secondary, then it follows that we admit free of duty in competition with ourselves the products of the farms and the workshops where labor is more poorly paid.

We Republicans contend that the danger from cheap foreign products may be averted in this country by a protective tariff if and where such protection for such purpose is actually needed. That is the Republican policy. That was the McKinley philosophy.

THE TARIFF AND DEMOCRATS

It is not easy to state the tariff attitude of our opponents, for they have never copyrighted any fixed ideas thereon. To be sure, they twice had chances and twice accepted those chances, laboring and bringing forth the Wilson-Gorman tariff and the Underwood tariff. And although these laws were later repealed, the tear stains on the shirts of American workmen have never yet completely faded out. It is not my purpose to discuss items of the tariff. In fact, it is not clear at this time what the attitude of our opponents may be on the tariff. It certainly is true that they have been defeated at the polls so many times on the tariff issue that they are beginning to feel the sting of these defeats and are rather inclined to side-step the issue altogether. But this does not mean that Republicans should be lulled into indifference or regard the protective tariff system as not constantly requiring advocates and defenders. It is one of those principles which must be kept before the American people in order that they may see and realize its value. The voters should not be satisfied with the Democratic attitude on the tariff this year unless they, in their platform, flatly declare that they are for it.

AMERICAN PEOPLE PRACTICAL

But our opponents bitterly dislike to admit that they have been wrong on the tariff. In fact, they have acquired a dislike for the tariff. Probably the greatest reason why they have had only two presidential tenants in the White House in 68 years is because of this antitariff proclivity of theirs. The American people are extremely practical and sensible. First of all, they want to get a living for themselves and their families. Laying all sentiment to one side, what they want is prosperity, business, jobs, crops, and markets. Give them these and they will do the rest. It may seem strange to some that there is existent in the country so much free-trade propaganda, that there are so many who profess to believe in it. It is because each individual argues for himself. If a given person could have protection on the thing he produces so as to get good prices for it, and at the same time free trade on everything he buys so that he may possibly buy cheaper, it is plain to see that he would like that brand of free trade. So we are apt to hear men arguing that there should be free trade in most everything, naming the things, but omitting his own line of occupation. In that particular it is something like the prohibition sophistry, namely, "good for the other fellow."

That sort of argument is selfish, narrow, and sectional. It is not the broad national viewpoint which McKinley advocated and which opened the floodgates of prosperity in this country. These free-trade or low-tariff speech makers address the wage earners at the mill gates about thus:

TYPICAL FREE-TRADE SPEECHES

"You are paying too much for your food, due to existing tariff rates keeping out the cheap food products from other countries. You have the right to buy wherever you can buy the cheapest, and to insure that right you should assist in repealing the tariff on farm products, so that the American markets could be supplied with the cheap land products of the Argentine, New Zealand, and Canada, the cheap dairy products of Australia and northern Europe, cheap fruit from southern Europe and Central America, and cheap eggs from China. By reason of getting these foods so cheaply from foreign countries, you could cut down your living costs and thereby be more prosperous." To the mill operatives listening to such a speech from the candidate for office it sounds convincing and they applaud vociferously, and many doubtless vote the Democratic ticket in response thereto. The deception in this is very artful. They forget to tell those wage earners that 40 per cent of the products of the American industries are bought by the agricultural producers of the country. Ruin the farmers and 40 per cent of the products of American industries are taken away, and hence 40 per cent of the American industrial laborers are put out of employment, including 40 per cent of the very men whom such speaker is addressing. Another Democratic speaker addresses a mass meeting of farmers and tells them that if they had free trade in the things they have to buy, they could get along much better, forgetting to tell them that 90 per cent of the farmers' output is bought and consumed by these same well-paid industrial wage earners in the United States, forgetting to tell them that if they bought from free-trade labor outside the country they would thereby eject from employment much of the American well-paid industrial labor and thus destroy the good market for their own output. In other words, the different elements of our country, the different industries, and occupations, have their prosperity so interlinked one with the other that they must both prosper together or both suffer adversity together. This is not only reasonable but it has been the history of our country. They must together preserve the American market for American products of all kinds so far as practicable.

TARIFF SHOULD BE JUST HIGH ENOUGH

There is an all-important distinction between a tariff that is high enough to protect and a tariff that is just too low to protect. A very few cents in the tariff may make the difference between the prosperity of an industry and its complete collapse. A foreign country that can undersell the product of an American industry or of agriculture even a little in any particular item can drive that item out of business. The so-called Wilson-Gorman tariff enacted during the administration of President Cleveland was too low to protect many American industries, and you gentlemen here all too vividly recall the painful unemployment over this country at that time, so great unemployment that whole armies of idle men marched across the continent to Washington carrying banners reading, "We don't want charity; we want work." McKinley set out to remedy that condition. McKinley's policies finally restored the country from that crisis. Then again we all remember the condition of business in 1920 and 1921—that is, after the World War—when the effect of the Democratic Underwood tariff was getting in its work.

POMERENE TESTIFIES

While we remember this I propose to summon a witness to prove it, and I will summon your distinguished Ohio citizen, ex-Senator Pomerene, who in the United States Senate on January 31, 1921, spoke as follows:

"I sent out a questionnaire into every chamber of commerce and every central labor union in cities of 10,000 or over in my State, and word comes back from nearly every one of these industrial centers that about 40 per cent of the workingmen of the country are out of employment."

I am citing this in order that you may absolutely know by incontrovertible evidence that labor conditions were desperate when the Harding administration came in nearly seven years ago. People are so apt to forget this, particularly when our opponents are asserting to the contrary. And I am stating this also as an item in our argument that the protective tariff has always been invoked as a remedy against unemployment, and protection so stimulates business that it leads to new machinery and mass production, ofttimes lowering prices in the end. I am also referring to the benefits of the tariff to glorify the wisdom of the original "advance agent of prosperity," whose name we are acclaiming to-night.

MISREPRESENTATIONS

Gentlemen of the McKinley Club, since we are Republicans here together to-night, may we not talk frankly about our party, which McKinley loved? Our opponents really have formulated nothing so far, as indicated by their speeches, which may be called "issues." This they practically admit. Thus far their appeals are limited to pleas for needed harmony among themselves and to outlawed dissertations on individuals now or formerly in the Republican Party. It might seem wiser for me to make no reference whatever to their repeated attempts to create the impression that Democrats are more honest than Republicans.

DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS BOTH HONEST

First, let me say as an optimist, believing in American manhood and patriotism, that as a rule, emphasizing the word "rule," both Repub-

lican and Democratic officials are honest. It must not be thought that official Washington now consists of Republicans only. As a matter of fact, our system is now so developed at the Capital that although the Republicans are nominally in power, there are nearly as many Democrats in the potent official positions in Washington as there are Republicans. My positive testimony is that during the six years while I have had contact with all these higher officials of both parties there has not come to my personal knowledge one instance of dishonesty nor a single transaction in which I had any suspicion of dishonesty, and I can say this as one who has supervised annually the expenditure of over $400,000,000 appropriations, and in so doing made thousands of contacts with both Republicans and Democrats in the higher positions of the Nation. In the first place, I have seen no disposition to be dishonest, and, in the second place, there are so many checks and reviews, so many officials who have something to do with each transaction, that dishonesty is practically impossible. I am perfectly sure that it is not true that Republicans or Democrats in office are dishonest as a rule. If there be dishonesty, it is the great and rare exception and it is bound eventually to be discovered. Moreover, I believe it is most harmful to the welfare of the Nation to cause the rank and file to believe what is not true—that their officials are generally crooked and corrupt. I deem it distinctly dishonest in a public speaker to misrepresent to an audience that an exception is the rule.

MISREPRESENTATION BREEDS ANARCHY

To cause uninformed citizens and aliens to lose faith in national honesty by false representations is but injecting germs of anarchy into unsteady minds, which conduct in times past has resulted in serious acts of violence. Such conduct has resulted in assassinations actually snatching from us in the flood tide of lofty endeavor our three martyred Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, and William McKinley, and but barely missing the fourth when an attempt was made on Theodore Roosevelt. It must be noted and noted seriously that all these assassins did their acts while seeming to believe they were serving God and their country. Gentlemen, it is fitting that "McKinley Night" should warn against tendencies which produce assassinations.

Every patriot as a matter of course will attempt to uncover dishonesty and to punish it wherever and whenever it is found. It is equally axiomatic that no patriot will represent dishonesty in government to be greater than it is. It is as censurable to represent an exception to be the rule as it is to represent an honest man to be dishonest.

PARTY MEN COMPARED

If it were material to know which party has furnished the greater number of exceptions to the rule of honesty, there might well be made a thorough canvass. But dishonesty is an individual responsibility and not a party responsibility. We are not in the habit of condemning other organizations when some individual fails. It is the attitude of the organization toward the erring individual which constitutes the acid test of the organization. In the happenings which have created so much discussion and sincere regret, it appears that the alleged millionaire tempter was a Democrat and the alleged poor man tempted was a Republican.

SLANDERING THE DEAD

Isn't it better to be frank about these matters, gentlemen, and to admit that the high officials of both parties are generally honest and that when an instance of dishonesty occurs the patriotic men of both parties join in condemnation and prosecution? And, gentlemen, let us not forget that slander and libel are hideous crimes, whether spoken of the living or of the dead.

REPUBLICAN'S 10 PRESIDENTS

But while we are in the business of comparing individuals, why should we not compare the good? Why should we not behold the great leaders of each party and compare them one against the other? They are the ones who shape the destiny of the country. If our opponents desire, I propose they match for honor and statesmanship their party leaders against our party leaders. Let them match, if they can, some one against Abraham Lincoln, some one against Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, Benjamin Harrison; yes, some one against William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Warren G. Harding, and, finally, some one against Calvin Coolidge. Against these names whom will they place?

TWO PRESIDENTS IN 68 YEARS

In 68 years they have produced only two—Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson. Man for man, I am quite willing to match Republicans against Democrats in every phase of our country's history and in every phase of statesmanship and honesty. I am quite willing that those who would choose their party affiliations on the basis of upright manhood should ponder on these two lists of Presidents and study them exhaustively. I am quite willing that they should study their records as Presidents and as men.

CLEVELAND AND WILSON

Now, it is only for this cursory comparison that I refer briefly to these two Presidents of our opponents. They were not successful in running the Government, although I concede they were honorable men. Grover Cleveland's administration produced one of the greatest industrial and commercial panics that ever blighted a country—the panic of 1893. It was the worst period of unemployment and suffering that labor has ever known in this country, and it was under a free-trade tariff. It is also true that during the last three years of President Cleveland's administration the income of the Government did not meet the running expenses of the Government by several million dollars each year, and this great Nation was compelled to borrow money to pay its running expenses. The Treasury condition was so bad when President McKinley succeeded Cleveland that there had accumulated the enormous deficit for those times of $137,811,729.46. Although this had been neglected for three years, President McKinley in 11 days after he took the oath of office convened Congress in extraordinary session to stop the floodgates of adversity. The Democratic convention that nominated a successor to President Cleveland did not even give him complimentary mention in their platform.

The other Democratic President whom our opponents have to match against our long line of Republican Presidents from Lincoln to Coolidge was the late Woodrow Wilson.

WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE LEAGUE

His administration is too fresh in the minds of the people for review. He was certainly unfortunate in having to go through a war. We must not charge the war to him. But the thing which stands out with reference to President Wilson mountain high in the minds of everyone, and always will, is his efforts to get our American Nation into the League of Nations. No man ever worked more persistently to accomplish something which would mean greater disaster to our people. Our souls are now filled with horror and our frames shake with fear every time we contemplate how near he came to the precipice of this undertaking. It was by the narrowest possible margin that we were kept out of that awful vortex of wars which is constantly consuming Europe, and he certainly would have succeeded in this had it not been for a stanch group of unflinching Republicans in the Senate who stood against it like the rock of Gibraltar.

REPUBLICANS BLOCKED THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Republicans then did the greatest service to the American people that has been done since they preserved the Union and made men free, for they preserved America from the bondage of European wars and forever decreed that American sons shall not be called to arms in a foreign country by the vote of a foreign body. They saved American freedom and independence. Those of us who take this view of the League of Nations never think of Woodrow Wilson except in terms of the man who made this the supreme effort of his career. He was honest of purpose, to be sure, but in him practical business judgment was wanting. He became obsessed with one idea.

HARDING AGAINST LEAGUE

The Democratic Party paid the penalty for their attitude toward the League of Nations in a defeat by the worst majority ever administered to a presidential candidate in this country, and the Republican Party for its stand in the matter met the approbation of the American people by the election of a President who stood squarely against the League of Nations, a stalwart and beloved son of your Commonwealth, the late Warren G. Harding.

WILSON WASTE

Assuming that the war was inevitable, some war debt, too, was inevitable, but it was too large. Those who witnessed the lavish expenditure of money during the war, with its perfect orgy of waste, are bound to think that the debt of $26,000,000,000 left by the Wilson administration was by far greater than it should have been, because there was no business ability or economy in that administration. Besides we were too mournful and too excited during the war to be very exacting on war contracts and matters of honest business dealing. But there is a lasting conviction in the minds of business men everywhere that the losses in money were unjustifiable and that the crumbs wasted under the table of mismanagement then were bigger than any losses that have been suspicioned or proven since.

COOLIDGE'S SUCCESSES

We all despise dishonesty in Government by officials of either party and we all eagerly join in their prosecution, and I again assert that they are the exception and not the rule. But, gentlemen, if we must bring up instances of dishonesty as the Democratic speakers are constantly essaying to do, if we must compare the exceptions of one party with the exceptions of another, let us go all the way up and down the line and do a thorough job. Personally, I believe official Washington is now beyond suspicion of dishonesty; that the Government is run on better business principles to-day than it has ever been run in the history of the country. I am sure no more honest men ever lived than both President Harding and President Coolidge. The most oustanding acomplishment of the Harding-Coolidge administration is the creation, management, and perfection of the system known as the Budget system and its accomplishments during the last six years. By the splendid direction of President Coolidge through the Budget an economy program has been carried out so sucessfully as to cut our running expenses very

materially, and also to reduce the national debt about $1,000,000,000 per year. This fact also means a prosperous condition of the country. On the other hand, a bill creating a Bureau of the Budget was actually vetoed by President Wilson. When he went out of office and President Harding came in things were in bad shape generally. There were over 5,000,000 workers in this country out of employment.

HARDING AND THE TARIFF

President Harding at once recommended and caused to be enacted a protective tariff with more protecting features in it. This inspired business confidence to such an extent that industries revived, and when he died so suddenly and lamentably there was scarcely a willing toiler in the country who was out of employment. History is bound to be fair with President Harding.

When you hear our opposing orators attacking Republicans ask them how our 10 Presidents compare with their 2.

WHAT DEMOCRATS WOULD HAVE DONE IF THEY COULD

When you hear them boasting of their principles you might ask them what would be America's plight to-day if the voter had actually permitted the Democratic Party to put their various platform principles into law and actual practice. Do you realize that if the Democratic platforms could have been carried out we would have practically free trade to-day? Do you realize that we would have the free and unlimited coinage of silver in the ratio of 16 to 1 to-day? And do you realize, gentlemen, that we would be in the League of Nations bound hand and foot to-day? Is not that enough to make us wary of Democratic platforms? Is there any wonder that business staggers when it thinks of the possibility of the Democratic Party formulating a new platform? These three platform principles stand out in American history as repudiated, dumped on the junk pile of political folly.

BUSINESS FEARS DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

Is it any wonder that Democrats hesitate to experiment on a new issue, having had so much sinister luck in issue picking? The only thing I have heard from Democratic speakers of late that hints at an issue is their talk that the country is not prosperous. We traverse that issue. But if the business record of the Cleveland-Wilson administrations is kept in mind as sample doses of Democratic medicine for national ills, it seems to me we would have to be powerful sick in a business way before we would consent to a change of doctors or medicine. I am sure the Nation is not that sick yet. We must admit that the country has really had a most marvelous six years of prosperity, all in all. There is now only a very slight sagging from the very highest peak of prosperity. There are no symptoms of general relapse. The best business minds of the country now predict a huge business year in 1928. It would not be surprising if there would be aroused some nervousness over what the election may bring. This nervousness, however, is not aggravated because the people can not believe that there is any danger of another Democratic administration. If they did think there was such danger, this nervousness would develop into prostration. It would become a real disease if business was not so confident that the Coolidge policies would be carried on by the election of a Republican successor to that remarkable statesman and level-headed business man who has so completely won the confidence of both parties as well as both hemispheres.

THE PROSPERITY ISSUE

In order to create a political issue on the subject of prosperity our friends must not only claim that we have not been prosperous for the past seven years, but they must also claim that they have the exclusive formula and initiative to make us prosperous. Such claims would create an issue. On such an issue they must fail. Let us ask ourselves what national prosperity is. It may be helpful to refer to this, not that we need a defense against idle accusations, but because of pride in the accomplishment of our own Republican administration.

HIGH WAGES

I believe that practically every thinking man of any party would put at the head of the column of prosperity items the fact of "good wages for our workers." Conceding this, our argument is won, for wages are certainly the highest ever known in this country in all its history. It is needless to state that they are fully twice as high as in any other country, and five times as high as in some countries.

COST OF LIVING LOWER

And these wages have not only been made higher during the past six years, but according to official statistics, the purchasing power of wages has increased so that one dollar will now buy in food products what it took $1.20 to buy in 1920. Coincident with the highest wages the amount of unemployment has been the lowest. It began with over 5,000,000 laborers idle when President Harding was inaugurated on March 4, 1921; but it rapidly diminished to a negligible quantity, remaining there for the past five years. No further evidence of prosperity need be cited than these facts concerning wages and the employment of labor. The rest follows.

SAVINGS HIGHEST

But to continue this, let me refer to the fact that the savings deposits of our people have more than doubled since 1920, they then being $12,449,769,000 and now being $26,032,001,000.

TEMPERANCE

I am bound, however, to say that a considerable portion of this gain in savings deposits should be recorded as a credit to the effectiveness of temperance which Republicans have stood by in the past and will continue to sponsor in the future. The deposits in the United States Postal Savings System have increased in the sum of $14,089,000 during 1927, this item being significant because these deposits are largely made by the foreign element in this country who would be the first affected in case of unemployment. During the past year, the total deposits of the 100 largest national banks in the country have increased by $1,407,755,877. All these most significant banking figures Democratic orators are omitting, but are stressing the comparatively unimportant fact that a larger number of small national banks have failed than usual. This is true, but I am told it is more the outgrowth of reckless ventures in banking and poor management. This has greatly improved of late, however. The ownership of automobiles by the working people to an amazing extent needs no proof save our own daily observations, and it is further convincing evidence of our prosperity particularly when taken in connection with the increase in savings deposits.

PASSING PROSPERITY AROUND

A few years since that brilliant Republican statesman from Indiana, the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, coined a pet expression, "Pass prosperity around," and that is precisely what the present Republican administration is accomplishing. Our own observation tells us and tells us daily that people in all walks of life in the United States are living better than ever before.

There are more sons and daughters of workmen now in college than ever before; more homes have telephones and modern equipment; more laborers and their families have good food and clothing; in short, the whole tone of civilization, so far as the enjoyment of life is concerned, is raised to a standard never before enjoyed in this or any other country. Mr. Hoover tells us there are about 6,000,000 radio receiving sets now in American homes. The pessimistic Democratic orator will have a harder time and fare worse if he undertakes an antiprosperity issue than Bryan did with his 16 to 1.

ERA OF EXPANSION

It has been and is an era of tremendous expansion, and 1928 is looked to with hopefulness by the master minds of the country in every line of endeavor. The railroads of the country during the year 1927 added 780 new locomotive engines, 1,040 passenger cars, and 275 Pullman cars, and prosperity in the air is seeming to go like a house afire. It is predicted that 3,000 new airplanes will be built in the year 1928. The Postal Service now is flying mail 17,444 miles per day and will soon add 7,000 more miles. Your own stamped-envelope factory here in Dayton has increased its output from 2,350,000,000 in 1920 to 3,145,946,376 in 1927. Yes, by and large, the country is prosperous. In fact, in certain lines there may exist apprehensions that the pace is too swift. But we have no disposition, however, to overlook those points that need stimulation and to apply every possible remedy.

A STRONG PRESIDENT NEEDED

The vital organs of the body politic are "sound," to use the words of the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton, the Hon. Andrew W. Mellon. Let us not be so overjoyed at our remarkable prosperity that we do not exercise due care in seeing to it that no weak or fractious President is put in charge of American destiny, for I believe it will require greater skill and wisdom to continue our prosperity at a reasonably high degree than it did to attain it to the degree we already enjoy. This era of prosperity has continued longer than any other prosperity cycle in our history, and because of the remarkable soundness and strength of the policies and principles of the Coolidge administration.

Holding with a determined grip to the fundamental principles of Government and to the natural laws of business, he has sought the cooperation of the leaders in every line of industry to an extent which has won their confidence and developed a spirit which is bound to win for America a continuing prosperity. He has recognized the fact that government and laws alone can not arbitrarily make prosperity, but they can do much. The Government can aid cooperation, and the Government, above all, can avoid recklessly wrecking what private genius can and will accomplish. There is still need of a man with iron in his veins at the helm.

COMPLEX BUSINESS PROBLEMS

Prosperity intoxicated by its own speed may run amuck. There is upon us an era of phenomenal evolution in industry, as great evolution, perhaps, as is taking place in invention and discovery. Gigantic corporations of world-wide activity are being formed. Railroad consolidations of staggering proportions are in the making. The new experiences of the dollar-in-the-air are thrilling men to action. International radio, international telephone, international everything seem to be the order of the day. All these and many other advances are appealing to our amazed imagination, telling us that we need giant minds at the head of our Government and that the sound policies that have brought us thus far should not be displaced by political

experiments. All these things convince us—convince every serious-minded man—that if we do not have Coolidge we should take the Coolidge chart and compass and sail on to greater successes.

MUCH YET TO BE DONE

But intelligent criticism and study is necessary and is along the line of progress. We do not object to our opponents pointing out the weak places and the unprosperous spots. We know them. They know them. We only object to their saying that the country is not prosperous, and therefore needs their hands to guide it. Mr. Stewart McDonald well says: "Only the demagogue will deride those who dare to be doubtful about the industrial future of the United States. But, however great the respect to which economic pessimism is entitled, there is abundant evidence that we have entered a new age in which industry promises the triumph of mind over matter, the tapping of sources of wealth much greater than the limited gifts of nature on which we depended in the past."

We are not at all unmindful of the need for doing everything that the Government can safely do to aid in leveling up the prosperity of agriculture with other levels of prosperity. There has been improvement along this line. The prices of farm products have increased, and there are evidences of gradual recovery. The Republican Party is as determined to bring success to the farmer as it has ever been determined on any great purpose in its entire history, even as McKinley was determined. It only desires to make sure that it is applying a cure which will not kill the patient.

The President and Congress are not unmindful of the necessity of building up a great merchant marine. They are not unmindful of our purpose to begin the great internal improvements of the country. They are not unmindful of a lack of prosperity in certain textile and industrial spots. And we are all full of determination and resolve that where something must be done, where undertakings are demanded, on land or sea or air, they shall be accomplished. We only suggested that the same policies of the same party which has conducted our country through seven years of successes shall continue to conduct it, not for the benefit of the party—that is of small consideration—but for the benefit of the country, the Western Hemisphere, and the whole world.

THE LESSON OF M'KINLEY'S LIFE

Gentlemen, you do a real service to your country in annually bringing to public attention the superb statesmanship, the sterling character, and the lovable nature of one of the best and most effective Presidents in our entire history. No life could better inspire American youth. He had the gentleness of a woman yet the strength of a soldier. He possessed the sympathy of a child, yet the mental power of a giant, a tolerant Christian of unimpeachable character. He thrills me most at the beginning and at the end of his career—the two scenes. A boy of 18 years shouldering a rifle and marching with men of all ages to almost certain slaughter at a time when men's souls were numb with fear, taking his natural patriotism through fine heredity, nerving his youth at the prayerful appeal of Abraham Lincoln, comforting his mind through the fatherly benediction of his superior officer, Rutherford B. Hayes—we behold the same person who, near the end at Buffalo, mortally wounded by an assassin's bullet, President of the United States, benefactor of his countrymen, about to become another victim of the spirit of anarchy, softly saying as the mob sought to kill the deluded creature, looking down with bleeding yet pitying heart, "Don't hurt him." To-day we need this dying lesson taught by the Ohio soldier boy and martyred President. Let the acts which produce anarchy be restrained. Let lawlessness be put down. Let us get the full meaning of the life of the hero whom we glorify to-night. This wonderful State of yours, with its six and a half million people, with its twenty billions of wealth, large enough to be an empire or a republic on any other continent, rich in natural resources, diversified to the point of independence, progressive in business and philanthropy, famous in statesmen, mother of six Presidents, may well rise to a man and drink a toast to-night to one of its sons, as ideal an American as ever lived—William McKinley.

ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 32 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 9, 1928, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. TILSON submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Thursday, February 9, 1928, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

(10.30 a. m.)

Department of Agriculture appropriation bill.

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

(10 a. m.)

To place agricultural products upon a price equality with other commodities (H. R. 10656).

To foster agriculture and to stabilize the prices obtained for agricultural commodities by providing for the issuance of export debentures upon the exportation of such commodities (H. R. 10568).

COMMITTEE ON THE CENSUS

(10.30 a. m.)

To provide for the fifteenth and subsequent decennial censuses (H. R. 393).

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS

(10 a. m.)

To amend Title II of an act approved February 28, 1925, regulating postal rates (H. R. 9296).

COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

(10.30 a. m.)

To amend an act entitled "An act for the regulation of radio communications," approved February 23, 1927 (H. R. 8825).

COMMITTEE ON ROADS

(10 a. m.)

To amend the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads," approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented (H. R. 358, 383, 5518, 7343, and 8832).

To amend the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads," approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and authorizing appropriation of $150,000,000 per annum for two years (H. R. 7019).

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

(10 a. m.)

For the issuance and execution of warrants in criminal cases and to authorize bail (H. R. 9784).

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

(10.30 a. m.)

For the relief of certain Porto Rican taxpayers (S. 754).

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(10 a. m.)

To promote the unification of carriers engaged in interstate commerce (H. R. 5641).

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

(2 p. m.)

To divest goods, wares, and merchandise manufactured, produced, or mined by convicts or prisoners of their interstate character in certain cases (H. R. 7729).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

342. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report, dated January 25, 1928, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination and survey of Menominee Harbor and River, Mich. and Wis. (H. Doc. No. 171); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with illustration.

343. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report, dated January 26, 1928, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination and survey of Monroe Bay and Creek, Va. (H. Doc. No. 172); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with illustration.

344. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report, dated January 27, 1928, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of Alameda Harbor, Calif.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

345. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report, dated January 24, 1928, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of Tombigbee River, Miss.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

346. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination and survey of Saginaw River, Mich., and entrance thereto (H. Doc. No. 173); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed, with illustration.

347. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report dated January 24, 1928, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of Crystal River, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

348. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report dated January 26, 1928, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of Beach Creek, Va.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

349. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers dated January 25, 1928, on preliminary examination of Shem Creek from Hog Island Channel to point beyond city limits of Mount Pleasant, S. C.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

350. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report dated January 25, 1928, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of channel from Maple, N. C., to the inland waterway between Norfolk, Va., and Beaufort Inlet, N. C.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

351. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report dated January 23, 1928, from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, on preliminary examination of Columbia River, Wash., with a view to securing an adequate channel to the town of Ilwaco; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

352. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of Columbia River, Wash., between Ilwaco and the town of Chinook, with a view to bank protection from floods and erosion; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

353. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of Neuse River, N. C., from New Bern to Raleigh; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

354. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of harbor at Mackinaw City, Mich.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

355. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of Portage Bay, Alaska, and adjacent bays, with a view to providing practicable harbor accessible to the Cold Bay oil fields; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

356. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of channel from the inland waterway through Gurrituck Sound to Gurrituck Courthouse, N. C.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

357. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of channel on the northeasterly side of Marquette Island, Mich., between Mackinac Bay and Muscallonge Bay; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

358. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of channel way of the Moosabec Reach, Me.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

359. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of Camden Harbor, Me.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

360. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of Clatskanie River, Oreg., from Clatskanie to the channel of Columbia River; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

361. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report from the Chief of Engineers on preliminary examination of Homosassa River, Fla.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. YON: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 9842. A bill to provide for the survey, appraisal, and sale of the undisposed lots in the town site of St. Marks, Fla.; with amendment (Rept. No. 598). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. HALL of Indiana: Committee on Pensions. H. R. 10437. A bill granting double pension in all cases where an officer or enlisted man of the Navy dies or is disabled in line of duty as the result of a submarine accident; without amendment (Rept. No. 599). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. WHITE of Colorado: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 8286. A bill to authorize the sale of certain lands near Garden City, Kans.; without amendment (Rept. No. 600). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. COLTON: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 8724. A bill granting certain lands to the city of Mendon, Utah, to protect the watershed of the water-supply system of said city; with amendment (Rept. No. 602). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. COLTON: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 8733. A bill granting certain lands to the city of Bountiful, Utah, to protect the watershed of the water-supply system of said city; with amendment (Rept. No. 603). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. COLTON: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 8734. A bill granting certain lands to the city of Centerville, Utah, to protect the watershed of the water-supply system of said city; with amendment (Rept. No. 604). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. WINTER: Committee on the Public Lands. H. R. 475. A bill to amend certain laws relating to the submission of proof of entries within reclamation projects; with amendment (Rept. No. 605). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. REED of New York: Committee on Education. H. R. 279. A bill to amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act to incorporate the Howard University in the District of Columbia," approved March 2, 1867; without amendment (Rept. No. 606). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. WATRES: Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. H. R. 8337. A bill to amend the air mail act of February 2, 1925, as amended by the act of June 3, 1926; with amendment (Rept. No. 607). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. LEAVITT: Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. H. R. 9958. A bill to authorize the disposal of public land classified as temporarily or permanently unproductive on Federal irrigation projects; without amendment (Rept. No. 608). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. DREWRY: Committee on Naval Affairs. H. R. 6195. A bill granting six months' pay to Constance D. Lathrop; without amendment (Rept. No. 601). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. REECE: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 936. A bill for the relief of Garrett M. Martin; with amendment (Rept. No. 609). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. REECE: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 940. A bill for the relief of Michael J. Fraher; with amendment (Rept. No. 610). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. REECE: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 943. A bill for the relief of Thomas Carroll; with amendment (Rept. No. 611). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, the Committee on Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 10612) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Woodruff, and the same was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. JONES: A bill (H. R. 10706) to forbid forecasts or predictions of future cotton prices by Government officials; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KENDALL: A bill (H. R. 10707) authorizing the Point Marion Community Club, its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Monongahela River at or near Point Marion, Pa.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WINTER: A bill (H. R. 10708) providing for horticultural experiment and demonstration work in the semiarid and dry-land regions of the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CONNALLY of Texas: A bill (H. R. 10709) for the prevention and removal of obstructions and burdens upon interstate commerce in cotton by regulating transactions on cotton-futures exchanges, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DENISON: A bill (H. R. 10710) to amend the act entitled "An act to create the Inland Waterways Corporation for the purpose of carrying out the mandate and purpose of Congress, as expressed in sections 201 and 500 of the transportation act, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1924; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LEAVITT: A bill (H. R. 10711) to amend section 3 of the act approved April 12, 1926 (44 Stat. 239, 240), with reference to suits involving Indian land titles among the Five Civilized Tribes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BECK of Wisconsin: Resolution (H. Res. 111) relative to presidential retirement after the second term; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By Mr. COLTON: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Utah, protesting against the passage of the Swing-Johnson bill, pending in Congress, or other similar legislation; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARBOUR: A bill (H. R. 10712) granting a pension to Johanna M. C. Fritz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BEERS: A bill (H. R. 10713) for the relief of Frick Co., Waynesboro, Pa.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BLAND: A bill (H. R. 10714) for the relief of T. Abraham Hetrick; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 10715) to authorize Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, United States Army Air Corps Reserve, to accept decorations and gifts from foreign governments; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BOWMAN: A bill (H. R. 10716) granting a pension to Malinda Bell Caldwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BULWINKLE: A bill (H. R. 10717) granting an increase of pension to Susan Gentry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BYRNS: A bill (H. R. 10718) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Frank Browne McConnell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CANFIELD: A bill (H. R. 10719) granting a pension to Louisa E. Prall; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10720) granting an increase of pension to Lucy Jane McGrayel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT: A bill (H. R. 10721) granting a pension to James C. Laymance; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CLARKE: A bill (H. R. 10722) granting a pension to Amelia Morse Lebaron; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CROWTHER: A bill (H. R. 10723) granting an increase of pension to Georgia L. Vroman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOUGLASS of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 10724) granting a pension to Joshua C. Hiscock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 10725) for the relief of Anthony Amad; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GILBERT: A bill (H. R. 10726) granting a pension to Idella McFarland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10727) granting a pension to Ann P. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HUGHES: A bill (H. R. 10728) granting a pension to Jennie McFarland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KELLY: A bill (H. R. 10729) for the relief of Laura A. DePodesta; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10730) for the relief of the Liberty Banking Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LEHLBACH: A bill (H. R. 10731) for the relief of Nunzio Viola; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MacGREGOR: A bill (H. R. 10732) for the relief of the owner of the steam lighter *Victor T.;* to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10733) for the relief of the owner of scow *65-H;* to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10734) for the relief of the owner of the barge *Katie Tracy;* to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10735) for the relief of the owner of Cahill Towing Line (Inc.); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MAAS: A bill (H. R. 10736) granting a pension to Albert M. Taugner; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MORROW: A bill (H. R. 10737) granting a pension to William D. Kershner; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PEAVEY: A bill (H. R. 10738) granting an increase of pension to Joe Mitchell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. QUAYLE: A bill (H. R. 10739) to place Dr. Charles H. Delancey on the retired list of the Navy as a lieutenant commander; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. RATHBONE: A bill (H. R. 10740) for the relief of Tony Parish; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RAYBURN: A bill (H. R. 10741) to provide for a final settlement of the claims of J. F. McMurray and J. F. McMurray as assignee of Mansfield, McMurray & Cornish against the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nation or Tribes of Indians for legal services rendered and expenses incurred; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. REECE: A bill (H. R. 10742) granting an increase of pension to William E. Slimp; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10743) granting a pension to George Arthur Taylor; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SINCLAIR: A bill (H. R. 10744) providing for the examination and survey of the Missouri River from Sioux City, Iowa, to the mouth of the Yellowstone River, N. Dak.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. STALKER: A bill (H. R. 10745) granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Wheeler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10746) granting an increase of pension to Edith Pealing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STOBBS: A bill (H. R. 10747) for the relief of Frank Billig; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SWEET: A bill (H. R. 10748) granting an increase of pension to Jennie E. Forsyth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10749) granting an increase of pension to Harriet E. Granger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10750) granting a pension to Olive E. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. UPDIKE: A bill (H. R. 10751) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to make a readjustment of pay to Gunner W. H. Anthony, jr., United States Navy, retired; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WARE: A bill (H. R. 10752) granting a pension to Lucy F. Sanders; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOOD: A bill (H. R. 10753) granting an increase of pension to Belle M. Jump; 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:

3444. By Mr. AYRES: Petition of citizens of El Dorado, Kans., against compulsory Sunday observance legislation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3445. Also, petition of citizens of Wichita, Kans., against compulsory Sunday observance legislation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3446. By Mr. BACHMANN: Petition of Paul Timberlake and a number of other signatures of citizens of Wheeling, Ohio County, W. Va., protesting against the Lankford compulsory Sunday observance bill (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3447. By Mr. BARBOUR: Letter of Rev. H. J. Krehbiel, of Reedley, Calif., relative to naval building program; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

3448. Also, petition of residents of the seventh congressional district of California, protesting against the passage of the Lankford Sunday bill (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3449. By Mr. BEERS: Petition of Sterling Council, No. 449, Junior Order of United American Mechanics, favoring the passage of House bill 3; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

3450. Also, petition of members of Washington Camp, No. 471, Patriotic Order Sons of America, and Duncannon Council, No. 181, Sons and Daughters of Liberty, favoring restricted immigration; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

3451. By Mr. BRIGHAM: Petition of Ray H. Porter and 23 other citizens of South Shaftsbury and Bennington, Vt., protesting against the passage of the compulsory Sunday observance bill (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3452. By Mr. BULWINKLE: Petition of citizens of Charlotte, N. C., opposing the Brookhart bill (S. 1667); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3453. By Mr. BURTNESS: Petition of 75 residents of the first congressional district of North Dakota, protesting against the passage of the compulsory Sunday observance law (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3454. Also, petition of 57 residents of Towner County, N. Dak., urging increase in pensions for veterans of the Civil War and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3455. By Mr. CARSS: Petition of Asa Kelsey and 12 other residents of Fairland, Minn., protesting against enactment of House bill 78, the so-called compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3456. Also, petition of M. J. Thompson and 89 other residents of Hibbing, Minn., protesting against enactment of House bill

78, compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3457. By Mr. COLE of Iowa: Petition of Lew Wallace and 31 other signers, all residents of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, protesting the passage of the compulsory Sunday observance bill (H. R. 78), or any other national religious legislation which may be pending; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3458. Also, petition of W. D. Crawford and 100 other signers, all residents of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, protesting the passage of the compulsory Sunday observance bill (H. R. 78) or any other national religious legislation which may be pending; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3459. By Mr. CLAGUE: Petition of L. L. Rockwell, Wells, Minn., and a hundred other citizens of Faribault County, opposing House bill 78, compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3460. Also, petition of S. H. Kraushaar, Alden, Minn., and 90 others, opposing House bill 78, compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3461. Also, petition of Robert C. Braaten and 45 other citizens of Murray and Nobles Counties, Minn., opposing House bill 78, compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3462. By Mr. CRAMTON: Petition signed by H. W. McKay and 45 other residents of Croswell, Mich., urging passage of a Civil War pension bill carrying higher rates of pension; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3463. Also, petition signed by J. H. Beckton and 66 other residents of Caro, Mich., urging favorable action on the Cannon bill (H. R. 9298); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3464. Also, petition signed by Charles C. Ingersoll and 18 other residents of Vassar, Mich., urging favorable action on the Cannon bill (H. R. 9298); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3465. By Mr. CRISP: Petitions from citizens of Fitzgerald, Ga., requesting Legislature increase pension of Union soldiers of the Civil War and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3466. By Mr. CROWTHER: Petition of residents of Schenectady, N. Y., against compulsory Sunday observance (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3467. By Mr. EVANS of Montana: Petition of Alice Pauli and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3468. Also, petition of Frank Neary and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3469. Also, petition of Opal Russell and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78, the Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3470. Also, petition of Edith Corkish and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78, the Lankford Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3471. Also, petition of G. E. Marvin and other residents of Bozeman, Mont., protesting against the tax on Chautauqua tickets; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3472. Also, petition of R. Price and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3473. Also, petition of Dorothy Dolan and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78, the Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3474. Also, petition of George Harrington and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3475. Also, petition of W. A. Burke and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3476. Also, petition of C. S. Wagner and other residents of Butte, Mont., protesting against the passage of House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3477. Also, petition of Leo Hoffman, of Butte, Mont., and other residents of that city, protesting against the passage of House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3478. By Mr. ROY G. FITZGERALD: Petition of 45 citizens of Dayton, Ohio, praying for the defeat of Lankford compulsory Sunday observance bill (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3479. By Mr. GALLIVAN: Petition of Branch No. 5, United National Association of Post Office Clerks, Boston, Mass., Frank M. Flanagan, recording secretary, Back Bay post office, Boston, Mass., urging passage of House bills 6506 and 6658; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

3480. By Mr. GARBER: Resolution of Council on National Parks, Forest and Wild Life, of 233 Broadway, New York, by Barrington Moore, secretary, asking that Congress give greater recognition to the need for forest-fire prevention and that it provide more appropriations for the detection and suppression of fires in their early stages; to the Committee on Agriculture.

3481. Also, letter and resolution of Chicago Dental Society, of Chicago, Ill., by Hugo G. Fisher, secretary, indorsing House bill 5766, to provide for the coordination of the public-health activities of the Government and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3482. Also, petition of the residents of Alva, Okla., urging the enactment of legislation for the relief of Civil War veterans and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3483. Also, petition of residents of Mooreland, Okla., urging the enactment of legislation for the relief of the Civil War veterans and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3484. Also, letter of Aurelia M. Hill, box 4205, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C., in protest to the passage of the Lankford bill (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3485. By Mr. GARDNER of Indiana: Petition of Lester Sloan and 127 other citizens of Mitchell, Washington County, Ind., urging the Congress of the United States to take immediate steps to bring to a vote a Civil War pension bill in order that relief may be accorded to needy and suffering veterans and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3486. By Mr. GARNER of Texas: Memorial of Jefferson County (Tex.) Chapter of the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, in support of creation of department of national defense; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

3487. By Mr. HADLEY: Petition of residents of Sedro-Woolley, Wash., protesting against the Lankford Sunday closing bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3488. By Mr. HAUGEN: Petition of 130 citizens of West Union, Iowa, urging the passage of a Civil War pension bill in order that relief may be accorded to needy and suffering veterans and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3489. Also, petition of 58 citizens of Riceville, Iowa, protesting against the enactment of House bill 78, or any other compulsory Sunday observance legislation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3490. By Mr. HOCH: Petition of Mrs. W. M. Adsit and 16 other citizens of Eureka, Kans., asking for immediate vote on pension bill providing for increase of pensions to Civil War veterans and widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3491. By Mr. JACOBSTEIN: Petition of citizens of Rochester, N. Y., protesting the passage of the Lankford bill (H. R. 78) proposing a blue Sunday law for the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3492. By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Petition of 3,473 citizens of Clarke, Cowlitz, Lewis, Mason, Grays Harbor, Pacific, Pierce, and Thurston Counties, Wash., opposing compulsory Sunday observance legislation in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3493. Also, petition of 13 citizens of Chehalis, 22 citizens of Tacoma, and 25 citizens of Clarke County, Wash., favoring increased pension for Civil War soldiers and widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3494. Also, petitions of 26 citizens of the State of Washington, favoring increased salaries for certain Federal employees as provided by House bill 6518; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

3495. By Mr. KNUTSON: Petitions of citizens of Swanville, Minn., urging that immediate steps be taken to bring to a vote a Civil War pension bill in order that relief may be accorded to needy and suffering veterans and widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3496. By Mr. LINDSAY: Petition, being referendum No. 48 on the merchant marine, adopted by the board of directors of the Queensboro Chamber of Commerce, New York City, making certain recommendations with respect to the merchant marine and in general expressing disapproval of the United States Government remaining in the shipping business; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

3497. By Mr. MAAS: Petition of Mrs. A. Christiansen and 16 petitioners of Ramsey County, Minn., protesting against passage of House bill 78, compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3498. Also, petition of Elizabeth Lantry and 48 petitioners from St. Paul, Minn., protesting against passage of House bill 78, compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3499. Also, petition of A. R. Fischer and 287 petitioners of St. Paul, Minn., protesting against passage of House bill 78, compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3500. Also, petition of Raymond W. Mendel and 25 petitioners of St. Paul, Minn., protesting against passage of House bill 78, compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3501. By Mr. MANLOVE: Petition signed by 120 citizens of McDonald County, Mo., including J. M. Patton, Mrs. Ed Revard, and Mrs. Ed Ragsdale, of Pineville; L. B. Stratton, Anderson; D. R. Sturges, W. W. Baxter, and M. E. Meador, of Lanagan; and J. M. Tatum, Anderson, all in the State of Missouri, protesting against the Lankford compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3502. Also, petition signed by 44 citizens of Jasper County, Mo., including Elmer E. Edwards, John J. Fuller, Anna Mulkins, Mrs. J. R. O'Connor, Mrs. L. W. Campbell, all of Webb City Mo.; Mrs. Eunice Ryker and J. A. Boots, of Joplin, Mo., protesting against the Lankford compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3503. Also, petitions including Mrs. George M. Dunkin, C. B. Lane, J. E. Hendrix, and 75 others, citizens of Nevada, Mo., protesting against Lankford compulsory Sunday bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3504. Also, petition signed by 48 citizens of Bates and Vernon Counties, Mo., including Lon Ray, Eva S. Bynum, T. W. Arnold, C. W. Anderson, H. O. Maxey, of Butler, Mo., Mrs. L. Branaman, Mary H. Newlove, and J. T. Allen, of Nevada, Mo., and Myrtle D. Maxey and Elfie Callahan, of Montrose, Mo., protesting against the Lankford compulsory Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3505. By Mr. MAPES: Petition of 108 residents of Grand Rapids, Mich., for the enactment of further legislation by Congress for the benefit of veterans of the Civil War and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3506. By Mr. MOORE of Kentucky: Petition signed by C. A. Lawton, J. W. Humphreys, J. H. Tudor, and 118 other citizens of Central City, Ky., urging that immediate steps be taken to bring to a vote a Civil War pension bill in order that relief may be accorded to needy and suffering veterans and widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3507. Also, petition signed by Rev. W. T. Denny, Rev. T. J. Mack, Rev. A. J. Bownley, Lesley Anthony, D. D. Williams, and 133 other residents of Franklin, Ky., urging that immediate steps be taken to bring to a vote a Civil War pension bill in order that relief may be accorded to needy and suffering veterans and widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3508. By Mr. MURPHY: Petition of John Pasack and 72 others, asking for appropriations for roads covered by mail routes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3509. By Mr. O'BRIEN: Petition of citizens of Harrison County, W. Va., protesting against House bill 78, or any other bill that will in any way give preference to one religion above another; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3510. By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of the Council on National Parks, Forest and Wild Life, Washington, D. C., favoring increased appropriations for detection and suppression of fires; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3511. By Mr. PEAVEY: Petition of numerous citizens of Lac du Flambeau, Vilas County, Wis., in favor of legislation to bring aid and relief to needy and suffering Civil War veterans and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3512. By Mr. ROBINSON of Iowa: Petition from about 30 citizens of Cascade, Dubuque County, Iowa, urging the immediate passage of Civil War widows' pension bill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3513. By Mr. RATHBONE: Petition of citizens of Chicago, Ill., urging that immediate steps be taken on the Civil War pension bill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3514. By Mr. SHALLENBERGER: Petition against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3515. By Mr. SINCLAIR: Petition of 17 citizens of Manning, N. Dak., in behalf of House bill 5601; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

3516. By Mr. SMITH: Resolution signed by Mrs. T. G. Mays, jr., and 123 other residents of Boise, Idaho, protesting against the enactment of any compulsory Sunday observance legislation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3517. By Mr. STALKER: Petition of sundry citizens of Schuyler County, N. Y., urging the enactment of legislation for an increase in pension for Civil War veterans and their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

3518. By Mr. SWING: Petition of citizens of San Bernardino County, Calif., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance laws; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3519. Also, petition of citizens of Riverside, Calif., and other communities, protesting against compulsory Sunday observance laws; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3520. Also, petition of citizens of Oceanside, Calif., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance laws; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3521. Also, petition of citizens of San Diego, Calif., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance laws; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3522. Also, petition of citizens of Beaumont, Calif., and other communities, protesting against compulsory Sunday observance laws; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3523. By Mr. TEMPLE: Petition of Shingiss Tribe, 339, Improved Order of Red Men, and Chartiers Valley Central Labor Union, Canonsburg, Pa., in support of House bill 25 and Senate bill 1727, known as the Dale-Lehlbach retirement bill; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

3524. By Mr. STEELE: Petition of 150 citizens of De Kalb and Fulton Counties, Ga., protesting against the passage of legislation enforcing compulsory Sunday observance, especially the Lankford bill (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3525. By Mr. WELCH of California: Petition of Charles W. Carleton, secretary Tabernacle Seventh Day Adventists Church, San Francisco, Calif., containing 1,300 signatures, protesting against the passage of House bill 78, Lankford Sunday bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3526. By Mr. WYANT: Petition of Mount Pleasant (Pa.) Church of the Brethren, opposing Navy appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3527. Also, petition of Washington Camp, No. 627, Patriotic Order Sons of America, Salina, Pa., indorsing House bill 10078; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

3528. Also, petition of Henry A. Dreer, seed, plant, and bulb growers, advocating changes in postal laws; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

3529. Also, petition of Izaak Walton League of America, indorsing House bills 15, 69, 357, 478, 5467, 5729, 5760, 6091, 6919, 7361, and Senate bills 1181, 1183, 1272, 1280, and 2171; to the Committee on Agriculture.

SENATE

THURSDAY, *February 9, 1928*

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Lord, who never failest to help and govern those whom Thou dost bring up in Thy steadfast fear and love, reveal in us the love that seeks and saves, the sacrifice of reconciliation, the very force that vibrates forever across the invisible fabric of the universe out of which the worlds are woven. Thrill into flame the spirits of all great men, that they may shine as beacon lights in the world, and touch into trembling glow ten thousand times ten thousand taper points of that great multitude of Thy children—the good who are not great. Grant this, O Lord, through Him who is the light of the world, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. CURTIS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

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 each of the following bills:

H. R. 5583. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railway Co. of Texas and the Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Rio Grande River at or near Presidio, Tex.; and

H. R. 6099. An act granting the consent of Congress to the States of New York and Vermont to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across Lake Champlain between Crown Point, N. Y., and Chimney Point, Vt.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9136) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, and for other purposes; requested a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes