12300. Also, petition of Cosmo Morgan Co., of Los Angeles, Calif., favoring a tariff on imported canned oysters and canned

clams; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12301. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the Senate of the State of New York, requesting that the Hon. Harry S. New, Post-master General of the United States, be, and he is hereby, requested to cause to be issued 100,000,000 postage stamps, of the denomination of 2 cents each, commemorative of the Sullivan campaign of 1779 in New York and Pennsylvania; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

12302. By Mr. EATON: Petition of 24 retail shoe dealers and customers of Trenton, N. J., protesting against any change in the tariff on hides and leather used in the manufacture of shoes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12303. By Mr. EVANS of Montana: Resolution of the State

Legislature of Montana, being a protest against the enactment of a bill now in Congress, the purpose of which is to provide for the taking of property located in Glacier Park by the United States Government; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

12304. Also, petition of the Legislature of the State of Montana, memorializing Congress for the passage of necessary legislation providing for an increase of the tariff on manganese and related ores; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12305. By Mr. JENKINS: Petition protesting against any change in the present tariff on hides and leather used in the manufacture of shoes, signed by 22 retail shoe dealers in Nelsonville, Ohio, and Zanesville, Ohio; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12306. Also, petition protesting against any change in the present tariff on hides and leather used in the manufacture of shoes, signed by 18 retail shoe dealers in Wellston and Wilkesville, Ohio; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12307. By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Resolution of the city council of the city of Tacoma, Wash., urging designation of Fort Lewis as the location for an airship base on the Pa-

cific coast; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

12308. By Mr. JOHNSON of Texas: Petition of Judge A. R. Stout, of Waxahachie, Tex., indorsing Senate bill 860 and House bill 10422; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. 12309. Also, petition of Texas Cotton Seed Breeders' Associa-

tion, favoring a tariff on cotton; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12310. Also, petition of E. D. McCarver, president of the Corsicana Steam Laundry Co., of Corsicana, Tex., protesting against a tariff on oils used in the manufacture of soap; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12311. By Mr. KVALE: Petition of 113 residents of the seventh district of Minnesota, urging passage of House bill 10958;

to the Committee on Agriculture.

12312. Also, petition of Midland Lumber & Coal Co., Minneapolis, Minn., opposing any changes in tariff rates on Canadian lumber; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12313. Also, petition of Hanley Falls Chapter, I. W. L. A Hanley Falls, Minn., urging passage of the Shipstead-Newton bill; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, petition of the Women's Study Club, of Cottonwood, Minn., and the Euterpean Club, of Alexandria, Minn., urging passage of the Shipstead-Newton bill; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

12315. By Mr. LAMPERT: Letter by Otto G. Egelhoff, director of Wisconsin Shoe Dealers' Association, to which is attached petition signed by laboring class of people, business men, mayor, city of Fond du Lac, Wis., bankers, and railroad men, as well as letters from the Fond du Lac Association of Commerce and Wisconsin Shoe Dealers' Association, of Appleton, Wis., requesting a duty on finished leather; to the Commit-

tee on Ways and Means.

12316. By Mr. LANKFORD: Petition of the principal, faculty, and students of Clifton School, with 535 present, Clifton, S. C., urging the enactment of legislation to protect the people of the Nation's Capital in their enjoyment of Sunday as a day of rest in seven, as provided in the Lankford bill (H. R. 78), or similar measures; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

12317. By Mr. NEWTON: Joint resolution by the State Legislature of Minnesota, memorializing Congress to amend section 5219, Revised Statutes of the United States, with reference to taxation of shares of national banks; to the Committee on Ways

and Means.

12318. By Mr. MORROW: Petition of letter carriers and clerks of the Albuquerque (N. Mex.) post office, Garnett Armstrong, president of the clerks; E. J. Kemper, president of the letter carriers, favoring same wage scale for regular post-office clerks and carriers as prevails for the railway mail clerks; also indorsement of Dale retirement bill (S. 1727); also favoring a half day holiday on Saturdays for letter carriers, and a 44-hour week for post-office clerks; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

12319. By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of John Dowd, president Maritime Exchange, New York City, favoring certain amendments to Senate bill 1781; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

12320. Also, petition of John J. Noonan, of Washington, D. C., favoring the reduction of street-car fare for school children in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District

of Columbia

12321. Also, petition of the Dimon Steamship Corporation, New York City, opposing the passage of Senate bill 1781, loadline regulation; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and

12322. Also, petition of the Western Pine Manufactures Association, Portland, Oreg., with reference to the tariff on lum-

ber; to the Committee on Ways and Means. 12323. By Mr. SELVIG: Petition of 45 residents of the ninth district of Minnesota, urging the passage of House bill 10958;

to the Committee on Agriculture. 12324. By Mr. SWING: Petition of residents of San Diego, Calif., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

12325. By Mr. VINCENT of Iowa: Petition from George W. Gerlach, presenting claim against the Federal Government; to

the Committee on Claims.

12326. Also, petition from C. H. Larison et al., Mondamin, Iowa, with reference to retention of KWKH in her present allocation and channel; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

12327. Also, petition from the First Baptist Church of Okla-homa City, Okla., to remedy certain discriminations that are being practiced against Christian churches of the Nation by various radio-broadcasting companies; to the Committee on

Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

12328. By Mr. WELCH of California: Petition of United Spanish War Veterans, Department of California, requesting the enactment of House bill 14676; to the Committee on Pensions.

12329. Also, petition of California Bean Dealers' Association, requesting an increase in the tariff on beans to 5 cents per

pound; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12330. By Mr. WYANT: Petition of the Ladies' Patriotic Association, of Avonmore, Pa., with a membership of 150, protesting against any bill or amendment which would tend to weaken our present immigration laws; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

12331. Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Avonmore, Pa., with a membership of 40, protesting against any bill or amendment which would weaken our present immigration laws; to the Committee on Irrigation and

Reclamation.

# SENATE

## Wednesday, February 20, 1929

(Legislative day of Friday, February 15, 1929)

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

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will receive a message from the House of Representatives.

### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Haltigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill (S. 3162) to authorize the improvement of the Oregon Caves in the Siskiyou National Forest, Oreg., disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference requested by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. Colton, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Hill of Washington were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bill and joint resolution, in which it requested the

concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 15430. An act continuing the powers and authority of the Federal Radio Commission under the radio act of 1927, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 425. Joint resolution providing an investigation of Francis A. Winslow, United States district judge for the southern district of New York.

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal for the calendar days of February 15, 16, 18, and 19 stand approved.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FATALITIES IN THE AVIATION SERVICE OF THE ARMY (S. DOC. NO. 225)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to Senate Resolution 296, agreed to January 16, 1929, a list of the fatalities in the aviation service of the Army during the past five years, and reporting relative to "the causes of each accident, and what, if anything, is needed in the way of legislation or appropriations to make safe and more efficient this important arm of the military service," which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

UNITED STATES PULASKI SESQUICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. In pursuance of House Joint Resolution 304, creating the United States Pulaski Sesquicentennial Commission, the Chair appoints as members on the part of the Senate the Senator from Indiana, Mr. Watson, and the Senator from Kentucky, Mr. BARKLEY.

GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK, WYO.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 5543) to establish the Grand Teton National Park in the State of Wyoming, and for other purposes, which were, on page 5, to strike out all after the word "Wyoming," in line 23, down to and including the word "Congress," in line 3, page 6, and insert:

Provided, That no new roads shall be constructed and no hotels or permanent camps shall be established on such lands except under authority of appropriations specifically made therefor by Congress, but nothing herein shall be held to restrict the establishment and construction of trails on said lands.

Page 6, strike out all after the word "Park," in line 9, down to and including the word "lands," in line 17, and insert:

Provided, That under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior any bona fide claimant or entryman claiming or owning land reasonably adjacent to the land in said park shall have the right to graze upon land in said park reasonably adjacent to the lands claimed or owned by him such number of livestock as he has been accustomed to so graze in the past or as may be reasonably necessary to the conduct of his business and shall also have the right subject to such rules and regulations to secure dead or down timber from park lands for use in the conduct of such business.

Mr. KENDRICK. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Indiana, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

A joint resolution concerning a system of inland waterways, including the Wabash River, and urging Congress to enact appropriate legislation to secure the establishment of such a system

Whereas Representative Noble J. Johnson, of the fifth congressional district of Indiana, has introduced two bills in Congress designated, respectively, as H. R. 9034 and H. R. 9309, authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to make an examination and survey of the Wabash River flowing through the State of Indiana and between the State of Indiana and the State of Illinois for the purpose of widening and deepening the channel of the Wabash River, for purposes of navigation, and the construction of the necessary canals, dams, and reservoirs to constitute a continuous waterway through the State, and maintain an adequate flood of water therein for purpose of navigation, and for the control of the floods of the Wabash River in accordance with the provisions of section 3 of the flood control act approved March 1, 1917; and

Whereas the enactment of these bills into law will be of paramount consequence and importance to the citizens of the State of Indiana and of widespread and lasting economic benefit generally; and

Whereas it is the sense of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana that every encouragement should be given to the establishment and construction of a comprehensive system of inland waterways: Therefore be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

SECTION 1. That the General Assembly of the State of Indiana hereby approves of the establishment, construction, and operation of a comprehensive system of inland waterways; and that the Wabash River should be included in and made a component and integrated part of the system of waterways so established and constructed. The General Assembly of the State of Indiana hereby approves of the general purport of the bills introduced in Congress by Representative Noble J. Johnson providing for a survey of the Wabash River, and hereby urges and instructs the Senators and Representatives in Congress

from this State to strive by all honorable means to secure the passage of these bills as introduced or in such amended form as the Congress, in its discretion, may deem to be most suitable.

SEC. 2. The secretary of the State is hereby directed to forward a certified copy of this resolution to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Indiana, and likewise to forward a certified copy to the Speaker of the National House of Representatives and the President of the United States Senate.

JAMES M. KNAPP, Speaker of the House of Representatives. EDGAR D. BUSH, President of the Senate.

Approved January 13, 1929.

HARRY G. LESLIE. Governor of the State of Indiana.

Filed February 13, 1929, 10.40 a. m.

OTTO G. FIFIELD. Secretary of State.

Mr. KING presented a petition of the Uintah Sheepgrazers' Association, of Uintah County, Utah, praying for the passage of the so-called Colton bill regulating grazing on the public domain, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

### IMMIGRATION QUOTAS BASED ON NATIONAL ORIGINS

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I present several telegrams urging the repeal or postponement of the nationalorigins clause of the immigration law.

I ask that the telegram from the 14 members of the Massachusetts General Court of Scandinavian ancestry, and the other telegrams, representing Scandinavian organizations in Massa-chusetts, be printed in the Record and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

There being no objection, the telegrams were referred to the Committee on Immigration and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOSTON, MASS., February 18, 1929.

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,

Massachusetts Senator, Senate Building, Washington, D. C .:

The 14 members of the Massachusetts General Court of Scandinavian ancestry respectfully urge you to use your influence to repeal the section of the immigration act of 1924 which, if put into operation. will discriminate unjustly against and greatly reduce the number of immigrants to the United States coming from Scandinavian countries of Europe. The Scandinavians have proven themselves desirable.

EDWARD J. SANDBERG, Quincy, Mass., JOSEPH L. LARSON, Everett, Mass., Representatives for the Delegation.

WORCESTER, MASS., February 19, 1929.

Senator David I. Walsh,

Washington, D. C .:

Is Congress going to adopt an immigration law that is contrary to both the Democratic and Republican platforms of the 1928 conventions? Your constituents look to you for a square deal. Support the repeal or postponement of national origin act to cut the Scandinavian quota twothirds, with a distinct loss to the United States of America. May we look to your leadership on this measure?

SVEA (Swedish Newspaper), A. H. TRULSON.

BOSTON, MASS., February 14, 1929.

Senator David I. Walsh.

Massachusetts Senator,

United States Senate Office Building:

As president of the Swedish Charitable Society, I want to express the sincere feeling of our twenty thousand and odd numbers toward the unjust discrimination against the Scandinavians brought out by the national-origins clause. These constituents urge you to do your best toward repeal.

> ELIAS B. FORSLIND. Chairman, 28 Reynolds Avenue, Everett, Mass.

> > BOSTON, MASS., February 14, 1929.

Senator DAVID I. WALSH,

Massachusetts Senator, Senate Office Building: May I ask you to work strongly for the repeal of the national-origins clause, which certainly is unjust to the Scandinavian countries? It is the sincere feeling of the Swedish-Americans of Boston, and it is to be hoped that some other solution of the immigration question can be found. CARL W. JOHANSSON.

Swedish Vice Consul.

BOSTON, MASS., February 14, 1929.

Senator David I. Walsh.

Massachusetts Senator, Senate Office Building:

Urge you propose any possible reconsideration of the unfair nationalorigins clause in behalf multitude Scandinavian-Americans of greater Boston.

ERIC NORLING.

Secretary.

WORCESTER, MASS., February 20, 1929.

Hon, DAVID I. WALSH,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.: The Vasa Committee of Worcester, representing the 10 local lodges of the National Order of Vasa, with a membership of 5,000 in Worcester, respectfully urge your support to the repeal or postponement of the national origin act now before Congress.

CARL J. NILSON.

President. CARL J. ROLANDER,

WORCESTER, MASS., February 19, 1929.

Senator DAVID I. WALSH,

United States Senate:

The Swedish National Federation of Worcester has instructed its secretary to send you this communication urging you to action to repeal or postpone national origins act.

E. H. NORDSTROM,

Secretary Swedish National Federation of Worcester.

WORCESTER, MASS., February 17, 1929.

Senator David I. Walsh,

Washington, D. C .:

On behalf of many Scandinavian voters, I appeal to you for action to repeal or postpone the national origins act as entirely contrary to the best interests and welfare of our country.

AXEL ROSENLUND.

PEABODY, MASS., February 14, 1929.

Senator DAVID I. WALSH.

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C .:

Peabody Post, No. 153, American Legion, goes on record as opposed to remarks of John Taylor Thomas before Senate committee. Resolutions will follow.

Commander LEWIS BIRMINGHAM.

### FARMERS' MARKET IN THE DISTRICT

Mr. TYDINGS presented a letter from T. B. Symons, director of cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics, State of Maryland, College Park, Md., relative to the relocation of the farmers' market in the District of Columbia, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK IN AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS, STATE OF MARYLAND, College Park, Md., February 5, 1929.

Hon. M. E. TYDINGS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I write to express the hope that you will oppose House bill 8298, on the calendar of the Senate, providing for the relocation of the farmers' market in southwest Washington and authorizing appropriation of \$300,000 for this purpose.

If this bill should become a law it will change the entire character of the farmers' market, which has been serving the citizens of Washington for many years. The most accurate estimate that can be secured on the business conducted on the farmers' market shows that at least 30 per cent of the more than \$2,000,000 business has been retail; that is, consumers buying direct from the farmers.

The purpose of a farmers' market is to furnish an opportunity for the consumer to buy direct from the producer. This bill violates this

Regardless of the wholesale feature and the arguments against the location provided for in the bill, it contemplates the purchase of a tract of land wholly unadapted for use as a farmers' market.

May we hope that these facts will cause you to give serious consideration to defeating this bill and in lieu thereof provide for the appointment of a competent commission to study this important matter further and to report its findings to Congress?

As director of the extension service of this institution I have no interest in this matter save that of public welfare. We are naturally keenly interested in facilitating the economical marketing of farm prod-We hope that a model farmers' market may be erected in the city that will be of utmost service to both the consumer and producer.

Thanking you for your careful consideration of this matter, I am,

Very truly yours,

T. B. SYMONS, Director.

Mr. TYDINGS also presented a letter, in the nature of a petition, signed by John S. Blick, president of the Washington Convention Hall Co., and 60 farmers of Maryland and 27 farmers of Virginia, relative to the relocation of their business at the Convention Hall Market, at Fifth and K Streets NW., which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD without the signatures, as follows:

> WASHINGTON CONVENTION HALL CO. (INC.), Washington, D. C., February 5, 1929.

HONORABLE SIR: As the bill for the location of the farmers' market-that is, the Stalker bill passed by the House of Representatives which would locate the farmers' market in southwest Washington-will come up for action by the Senate in the near future, it seems to us that every Senator should be advised of the latest development with respect to this site.

As fully 85 per cent of the people of Washington desire a site located north of Pennsylvania Avenue, as evidenced by the support and vote of 95 per cent of the citizens' associations, the advisory council, the unanimous vote of the Association of Women's Clubs, the Secretary of Agriculture, 90 per cent of the farmers, and various other organizations, we wish to bring to your attention the fact that at the instigation and proposal of the farmers a meeting was held in the offices of the Convention Hall Market Co. Friday, February 1, 1929, at which this company made then an offer of space on the property of this company suitable for conducting their business at the same rate as that in vogue at the present time, namely, 20 cents per day, said rate to continue for as long as they see fit to occupy this space. This proposition was accepted by the farmers, and on Saturday, February 2, 1929, a committee of farmers obtained the signature of 104 farmers, agreeing to relocate to this site in a body on Thursday, February 14, 1929. This list was obtained in one day and from the farmers who were located on the farmers' line on this day only. We were advised that this list could be increased to 350 through the signatures of others who were not on the farmers' line on this day.

We beg to submit for your consideration a list of the farmers who signed this petition, the original of which can be seen at the offices of this company.

There is to be held a meeting at the offices of this company on Friday, February 8, at 4 p. m., of farmers, merchants, and such others as may be interested for the completion of plans for the occupation of this site to be used by the farmers for the conduct of their business. We earnestly request that you be represented at this meeting in order that you may obtain information that is not only vital to the farmers, who absolutely refuse to occupy a site south of Pennsylvania Avenue, but which is vital to the citizens of this city, especially if you intend to vote for a southwest Washington site.

Very respectfully.

CONVENTION HALL MARKET, By JOHN S. BLICK, President.

Mr. TYDINGS also presented a resolution adopted at a mass meeting of farmers doing business in the District of Columbia, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEBRUARY 14, 1929.

HONORED SIR: A mass meeting of farmers, representing the more than 350 who have signed an agreement to move their business to Fifth and K Streets NW., unanimously adopted the following resolutions on this date:

"Whereas the public press has indicated that proponents of the Stalker bill to establish a farmers' market in the southwest section of the District of Columbia are seeking to force that measure through this Congress; and

"Whereas the public of Washington has overwhelmingly expressed itself as opposed to the location of the market on the river front in an isolated spot; and

"Whereas a majority of the dealers formerly in business on the old B Street site have removed their activities to a new and improved farmers' produce market at Fifth and L Streets NW.; and

"Whereas the new location has been made available at no expense to the taxpayers of the District of Columbia, but, because it is centrally located and means a saving in time and money for the public: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That this mass meeting of farmers, merchants, and citizens do hereby protest against further consideration by Congress of the Stalker bill.

"Ordered, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the chairmen of the Senate and House District of Columbia Committees and to the press of Washington."

Dr. T. B. SYMONS (Maryland). J. H. CRAIG (Vienna, Va.),

L. J. HARRISON (Anacostia, D. C.),

Committee.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. STEPHENS, from the Committee on Immigration, to which was referred the bill (8, 5472) to amend the immigration act of 1924, as amended, with regard to the issuance of immigration visas, and for other purposes, reported it without

amendment and submitted a report (No. 1841) thereon.

Mr. NORBECK, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which was referred the bill (S. 5779) to establish the Badlands National Monument in the State of South Dakota, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 1842) thereon.

### ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

Mr. GREENE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on this calendar day that committee presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 1500. An act for the relief of James J. Welsh, Edward C. F. Webb, Francis A. Meyer, Mary S. Bennett, William McMullin, jr., Margaret McMullin, R. B. Carpenter, McCoy Yearsley, Edward Yearsley, George H. Bennett, jr., Stewart L. Beck, William P. McConnell, Elizabeth J. Morrow, William B. Jester, Josephine A. Haggan, James H. S. Gam, Herbert Nicoll, Shallcross Bros., E. C. Buckson, Wilbert Rawley, R. Richards, Jr., Dredging Co.;

S. 1618. An act for the relief of Margaret W. Pearson and John R. Pearson;

S. 2439. An act for the relief of Arthur Waldenmeyer;

S. 5066. An act extending the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the St. Francis

River at or near St. Francis, Ark.; S. 5452. An act to amend the trading with the enemy act so as to extend the time within which claims may be filed with the Alien Property Custodian; and

S. 5550. An act to authorize the purchase by the Secretary of Commerce of a site, and the construction and equipment of a building thereon, for use as a constant frequency monitoring radio station, and for other purposes.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

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

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 5839) making the physician in charge of the Narcotics Division of the Bureau of the Public Health Service an Assistant Surgeon General; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 5840) for the relief of H. L. Redlingschafer; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. NORBECK:

A bill (S. 5841) granting a pension to Charles L. Edgerton (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 5842) granting a pension to Frank M. Lockhart (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions. By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 5843) to provide for the relocation of Michigan Avenue adjacent to the southerly boundary of the United States Soldiers' Home grounds, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BROOKHART:

A bill (S. 5844) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Tenth Street in Bettendorf, State of Iowa; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. BARKLEY:

A bill (S. 5845) granting the consent of Congress to the Kentucky & Ohio Terminal Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Ohio River near Cincinnati, Ohio; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. GOFF:

A bill (S. 5846) for the relief of Louis Vauthier and Francis Dohs: to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VANDENBERG:

A bill (S. 5847) authorizing Maynard D. Smith, his heirs, successors, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Clair River at or near Port Huron, Mich.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 5848) to establish a commission to be known as a commission on a national museum of engineering and industry; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

### HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 425) providing for an investigation of Francis A. Winslow, United States district judge for the southern district of New York, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION

The bill (H. R. 15430) continuing the powers and authority of the Federal Radio Commission under the radio act of 1927, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and ordered to lie on the table.

### GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Mrs. Susan Whitney Dimock, of the city of Washington, in regard to the George Washington Memorial, may be read, printed in the RECORD, and referred to the Committee on the Library. The people of the country are deeply interested in the splendid work of the George Washington Memorial Association.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read, as requested.

The letter was read, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, and referred to the Committee on the Library, as follows:

1301 SIXTEENTH STREET. Washington, D. C., February 18, 1929.

Hon, CHARLES CURTIS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.
DEAR SENATOR CURTIS: The George Washington Memorial Association, of which I am president, has determined to proceed at once to complete erection of the George Washington Memorial. We realize that unless this edifice, with its large auditorium, seating 11,000, is ready for use within the next three years, there will exist in the city of Washington no suitable and sufficiently large building in which to house the magnificent ceremonies being planned for Washington's Birthday in 1932. February 22, 1932, will be the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, and it is already apparent that the American people, aided by foreign admirers of Washington, will join on that day in paying tribute to the memory of the first President of the United States to a degree unparalleled in the history of memorial celebrations.

As you know, in 1913 Congress donated a suitable tract of land in the city of Washington upon which was to be erected a memorial edifice in honor of George Washington. The idea of a memorial edifice found its origin in a desire, frequently expressed by George Washington, and written in his will, for the establishment of an institution for the general diffusion of knowledge and for the promotion of science, literature, and art. The task of planning, obtaining funds for, and erecting the building was intrusted to the George Washington Memorial Association, a corporation, composed of well-known Americans and having, among others, William Howard Taft, Elihu Root, and John Barton Payne as members of its advisory council.

The association, desirous of erecting an edifice that will take first rank among memorial edifices of the entire world, and bearing in mind the expressed wish of Washington referred to in the foregoing paragraph, decided upon a building that in addition to being architecturally beautiful and imposing, and in respect of grandeur second to none in existence, would also carry out Washington's desire by housing a very large auditorium to be used as a place of assembly by conventions and conclaves of every character, whether national, international, or State, whether business, political, religious, patriotic, or social.

Accordingly, the George Washington Memorial edifice, when completed, will house an auditorium seating 11,000 people, which will be made available to meetings in the city of Washington through the Smithsonian Institution, which will have charge of the administrative work of the memorial after its erection.

There will also be a number of smaller meeting halls, seating from 500 to 2,500. That these meeting halls, and particularly the main auditorium, will be of immense practical advantage to the American Nation as a whole is evident when we consider the numerous groups, desirous of meeting occasionally in Washington, who have been unable to do so because of lack of just such facilities as this memorial will

In 1921, in the presence of an imposing audience, the corner stone was laid. President Harding made the principal address. The foundations are completed. It remains now to provide from seven to ten million dollars with which to complete the erection.

The memorial will become the home to several important historic exhibits. Not only will there be mementos of Washington, and of Revolutionary days, but there will also be collections of trophies, documents, and records representative of all periods and all phases of American history. The George Washington Memorial will be a very important American historic museum.

It is reasonable to assume that the commission appointed by President Coolidge to recommend a program for the bicentennial celebration in 1932 will desire that the central celebration on that day be held in the city of Washington, the Nation's Capital, and the city founded by and named for George Washington. Unless arrangements are made at this time for completing erection of the George Washington Memorial edifice there will be no building in Washington of sufficient capacity.

It is of equal importance, too, that the 1932 celebration be held amidst suitable surroundings, commemorative of his greatness. exhibits in the memorial will provide the desired appropriate atmosphere.

The Hon. Charles Evans Hughes will deliver a radio address over a nation-wide chain of stations on the evening of Friday, February 22, 1929. Mr. Hughes, who will begin his address at 7.30 p. m., will explain details of the George Washington Memorial, and will outline a plan for popular subscription whereby ever man, woman, and child in America will be afforded an opportunity to participate in the erection. The association plans to accept subscriptions in amounts as low as \$1, having in mind that this memorial should be truly the result of public

In view of the foregoing, and in the light of your own interest in this project, I earnestly request that you invite the attention of the Members of the United States Senate to our current plans for erecting the George Washington Memorial edifice, and by public announcement urge all patriotic Americans to avail themselves, on Friday evening next, of the opportunity which Charles Evans Hughes will afford them to learn first hand of the memorial and plans for its construction. Mr. Hughes will speak from station WEAF, New York City, over the National Broadcasting Co. chain.

Very sincerely yours,

SUSAN WHITNEY DIMOCK (Mrs. Henry F. Dimock),

President, George Washington Memorial Association.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana obtained the floor.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana vield to me?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I will yield for a question only,

Mr. EDGE. I wish to make a very brief statement.
Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Very well.
Mr. EDGE. The unfinished business, it is well known, is
Senate Joint Resolution 117, authorizing an investigation and survey for a Nicaraguan canal. I understand that the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] desires to have the unfinished business temporarily laid aside in order that he may call up the naval appropriation bill. I simply wish to state that I am entirely satisfied that this should be done, but I give notice that I propose as vigorously as possible to press the consideration of the unfinished business in order that other business may take its place. With an appropriation bill pending, I am, of course,

rarily laid aside.

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

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana

entirely satisfied that the unfinished business should be tempo-

yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield for a question only. Mr. HALE. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 16714) making appropriations for the Navy Department and the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and for other purposes. The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. BLAINE. I object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President-

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

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Ashurst	Edwards	McKellar	Simmons
Barkley	Fess	McMaster	Smith
Bayard	Frazier	McNary	Smoot
Bingham	George	Mayfield	Steck
Black	Gerry	Moses	Steiwer
Blaine	Gillett	Neely	Stephens
Blease	Glass	Norbeck	Swanson
Borah	Glenn	Norris	Thomas, Idaho
Bratton	Goff	Nye	Thomas, Okla.
Brookhart	Gould	Oddie	Trammell
Broussard	Greene	Overman	Tydings
Bruce	Hale	Phipps	Tyson
Burton	Harris	Pine	Vandenberg
Capper	Harrison	Pittman	Wagner
Caraway	Hastings	Ransdell	Walsh, Mass.
Copeland	Hawes	Reed, Mo.	Walsh, Mont.
	Hayden	Robinson, Ind.	Warren
Couzens	Heffin	Sackett	
Curtis	Johnson	Schall	Waterman
Dale			Watson
Deneen	Jones Wondmink	Sheppard	Wheeler
Dill	Kendrick	Shipstead	
Edge	King	Shortridge	THE ROLL OF THE ROLL OF

Mr. NORRIS. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. HOWELL] is still detained from the Senate by illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. BLAINE. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] is unavoidably absent. I ask that this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. JONES. I desire to announce that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. METCALF] is detained from the Senate by

Mr. BRATTON. I wish to announce the necessary absence of my colleague [Mr. LARRAZOLO] on account of illness. I will let

this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. TRAMMELL. I wish to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER]. I ask that this announcement may stand for the

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-six Senators having an-

swered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana

yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to submit a unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield to the Senator from Kansas for that purpose.

APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS

Mr. CURTIS. I submit the unanimous-consent agreement which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the proposed unanimous-consent agreement.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, by unanimous consent, That on Monday, February 25, 1929, at not later than 6 o'clock p. m., the Senate take a recess until 8 o'clock p. m., and that at the evening session, which shall not continue later than 11 o'clock p. m., the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 11725) for the apportionment of Representatives in

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

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield for a question.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I want to ask the Senator from Kansas

when we are going to have a morning hour?

Mr. CURTIS. I hope we can adjourn to-night and have a morning hour to-morrow. I intend later to ask unanimous consent for an evening session to consider unobjected bills on the calendar, and still later for an evening session to consider bills on the calendar under Rule VIII. We shall have a morning hour to-morrow if it is possible to do so.

### THE PROHIBITION LAW

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield to me?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I am anxious to proceed with my addres

Mr. BRUCE. I merely wish to ask to have something printed in the RECORD

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I will yield for that purpose, if leads to no discussion.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post and an article from the New York Times relating to the prohibition question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The editorial and article referred to are as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Monday, February 18, 1929] THE PROHIBITION LAW

Senator REED of Missouri tells the truth in declaring that the prohibition law is not only not enforced but is made the means of hypocrisy, crime, corruption, graft, demoralization of justice, and fraud upon both Government and people. Powerful as is Senator Reed's arraignment of the bypocrites and criminals who take advantage of the prohibition amendment and the Volstead law, he could have made it more powerful and still remained within the bounds of truth. But even if he should publish the names of all Members of Congress who support the prohibition law and then violate it, and should expose every official who makes dishonest money out of the present blundering attempt to suppress the liquor traffic, the fact would remain that the American people have outlawed the traffic and are supporting efforts to make their will effective.

If any improvement is to be made in existing conditions it does not lie in increasing the penalties for infractions of the law. Senator Jones's bill, if enacted, will only make matters worse by stimulating perjury and violence on the part of prohibition violators. If he should prescribe death as the penalty of every infraction of the Volstead Act it would still be violated, but in the violation there would be a train of perjury, murder, and gangster terrorism following the violations.

The fundamental fault lies in the mistake made by the people when they transferred the police power of the States to the Federal Government. Prohibition or regulation of the liquor traffic is essentially an exercise of police power. The United States Government is not reorganized in such fashion as to make it possible for it to exercise the police power effectively. Its attempt to do so within the States stirs up a helibroth of confusion and corruption. The more actively the Government interferes and the more severe the penalties it imposes the greater is the resistance and the more habitual is the corruption of Government agents.

If the people should conclude that highway traffic had passed beyond the control of the States and should empower the Federal Government to regulate it, a situation would arise similar to the attempt to stamp out the liquor traffic. Federal agents would have to be stationed at every crossroads, Federal traffic courts would be set up, millions would be expended, and yet the public would violate the traffic laws, corrupt traffic officials, and find sympathy and support in all State officials.

Wherever public opinion favors liquor prohibition the law can be made effective, but where public opinion opposes prohibition it is not in the power of the United States Government to enforce the law. In other words, where the State exercises its police power the law is enforced, and where the State refuses to exercise its power the Federal Government can not enforce the law. It is not a question of money, men, or severe penalties. It is a question of attempting to use a Government controlled by the people to enforce a law that is opposed by the people.

Two other constitutional amendments are opposed by the people of certain States. The whole Nation tacitly accepts this situation and very sensibly refuses to attempt to use the power of the Government to enforce the amendments in those States. That is what must happen in regard to the prohibition amendment if it is not repealed. In the States which oppose prohibition there will be an abandonment by the Federal Government of its attempt to enforce the law.

When the United States Government bars out foreign liquor and prevents its transportation between the States it has done its full duty. The authority to enforce the law within the States rightfully belongs to the States. When the Federal Government enters a State and tries to exercise the police power it creates the situation that now exists.

### [From the New York Times of Monday, February 18, 1929]

ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED MINISTERS ASK CHANGE IN DRY LAW— EPISCOPAL CLERGYMEN SUPPORT SOCIETY'S FIGHT ON "WORST FOE OF TEMPERANCE"—VOLSTEAD ACT THE TARGET—BUT IT MAY BE HELD NECESSARY TO ALTER EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT TO TRY CANADIAN PLAN—SOCIETY EXPLAINS STATUS—SAYS CHURCH HAD TO DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM CAMPAIGN TO AVOID BEING IN POLITICS

The Church Temperance Society, which professes to voice the sentiment of the majority of the clergy and members of the Episcopal Church, although denied the position of official spokesman, issued a call yesterday for support of a movement to modify the prohibition laws—a movement to which 1,500 ministers of the church already have pledged cooperation.

The call was contained in a statement to be published this week in the Churchman, an independent religious periodical. It was designed to end "misapprehension" regarding the society's "relationship" to the church and to restate the society's opposition to "compulsory total abstinence" as the worst foe of temperance. The statement was signed by Archdeacon J. H. Dodshon, president; the Rev. William P. Taylor, secretary; the Rev. James Empringham, general superintendent; and the Rev. C. A. Livingston, chairman of the executive committee.

# HOLDS VOLSTEAD ACT NOT "HONEST"

Declaring that the Volstead Act "is not an honest or a scientific attempt to define an intoxicant," the society makes a plea for its revision "as the first step toward obtaining that measure of public support without which no law in a democracy ever can be enforced." If that is not enough, the society continues, "it will ultimately be necessary to amend the eighteenth amendment so as to permit the introduction of the Canadian system of governmental control," which has "eliminated the saloon, while we have merely changed its name to 'speakeasy,' and done away with beer, the one harmless thing it sold."

Although the society admits that the modification movement is "certain to fail at first," it holds that victory can be won "if we do not shirk the task."

"It is the duty of everyone who believes that the Volstead Act either should not or can not be enforced to write to his Senators and Congressmen urging modification," the statement continues. "We are told it is impossible to change the law. The same thing was said about the efforts of the drys to have Federal prohibition laws adopted. Is it as impossible to change the law as it is to enforce it, or can we acquiesce in leaving things permanently as they are?

## ELECTION NOT A REFERENDUM

"The election was not a referendum on the prohibition issue. Apart from the wet victories in the Montana and Massachusetts referendums, it is necessary only to point out that five States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Maryland—are so strongly opposed to prohibition that not one of their 10 Senators is a dry—yet they voted for Mr. Hoover.

"But it is not only on the present opponents of the Volstead law that our hopes for the future are founded. We believe also that when a majority of the drys in the country realize what enforcement would really mean, they will not approve of it themselves, let alone believe that they can force the country as a whole to accept it. When this time comes, all but a few of the fanatical extremists (who would rather brand any drinking as a crime than reduce the actual amount of drunkenness) will prefer the honorable course of modification to the cowardly hypocrisy of nullification.

"Fifteen hundred Episcopal clergymen have offered to cooperate with the Church Temperance Society in a campaign to obtain more practical legislation in the interest of temperance. This campaign has only just begun. If the American people are once roused from their lethargy, they will end the present orgy of anarchy and corruption; and in order to arouse them it is necessary only for our religious and civic leaders to abandon the silence which most of them have maintained hitherto."

#### TEMPERANCE AIM STRESSED

The issue between modification and enforcement, "the only honorable alternatives," must be fought out in the court of public opinion in a spirit of fair-mindedness and scientific searching for the truth without appeal to fanaticism or abuse, the society's statement says, insisting that the real end of prohibition, "which is temperance," must not be forgotten. The present policy of retaining the law "regardless of whether it is enforced or not," the society says, is the policy of nullification, which is neither honorable nor conducive to achievement of the desired end.

Real enforcement of the present laws in communities "where a majority or even a large influential minority of the public opposes them" is impossible, the society concludes, "without resorting to methods of the most extreme oppression and cruelty." Among such measures, it says, would be:

"The imposition of prison sentences only, since a fine means no more to a bootlegger than a saloon keeper's license; the elimination of trial by jury in liquor cases as the only means of getting such sentences imposed, or even of dealing with the cases fast enough; the institution of an army of agents, spies, and reformers, highly paid to improve the personnel and to reduce the temptation to graft; together with the building of innumerable new courts and prisons; and all this at a vast cost which would involve a great increase of taxation rather than tax reduction, and render impossible such vital social measures as farm relief."

Regarding its relationship to the church, a matter which was in controversy after the first publication of the results of a poll in which 3,000 Episcopal clergymen declared themselves as opposed to prohibition, the society, in its latest statement, conceded it had no authority to speak for the whole church.

The church, "in justice to itself," the statement points out, had to dissociate itself from the prohibition propaganda which the society undertook in 1917, since "this was putting politics into the church." Then it adds:

"The same reasons which caused the Council of Bishops to dissociate themselves from our prohibition propaganda at a time when a majority in the church probably favored it now prompts them to hold aloof from a movement in favor of modification."

But since this is the case, the society contends, there is more need of an "unofficial organization" like itself "to discover and express the consensus among individual Episcopalians on this the most pressing of all moral problems."

# INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives insisting on its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 39 to the bill (H. R. 15089) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and for other purposes.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana vield to me?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield to the Senator from

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I move that the Senate recede from its amendment No. 39. I will state to the Senator from Montana [Mr. Walsh] that we have held conference after conference on the bill. I insisted that before I would ask that the Senate recede from the amendment there should be a vote on the amendment in the House of Representatives, not a standing vote, as had been previously taken, but a yea-and-nay vote. On yesterday the House voted upon the amendment, and there were 304 against the amendment and 28 for it. Under the circumstances there is but one of two things which we can now do: We can either recede from the amendment or still further insist upon it. From the experience which I have had in the con-

sideration of the bill in conference, it seems to me it is useless to try any further to get the House to yield on No. 39, which is the condemnation provision inserted in the bill by the Senate.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President, I can not yield further for the discussion of this matter. I desire to get through with what I have to say, and then the debate on the amendment to the Interior Department appropriation bill may go on.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield to me for a short statement in relation to the matter suggested by the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot]?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I would rather not yield for that purpose if it shall provoke any discussion, but I will yield to the Senator from Montana in order that he may make a

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, I trust the Senate will disagree to the motion which has been made by the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot] that the Senate recede from amendment No. 39. That amendment, as I have heretofore explained, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior at his sweet will to condemn any lands held in private ownership in the national parks. I merely desire to advise the Senate at this time that all manner of suggestions for an adjustment of this controversy have been made with the approval of the Park Service. In the first place, inasmuch as the Senators from California have offered no objection, I suggested that it would be entirely satisfactory to me if that provision were made applicable to the Yosemite Park. That would take care of the trees in Yosemite Park concerning which the country has been circularized. That was unsatisfactory.

I then proposed that the provision be made applicable to lands chiefly valuable for timber in any of the public parks, including the Glacier Park. That was unacceptable. The Director of the Park Service then proposed that the condemnation provision be made applicable to all lands in any of the parks except those lands occupied as homes; and that seems to have been unacceptable. So that all question of the preservation of the trees in the Yosemite Park or the trees in any park is entirely out of the controversy. It is simply a question now as to whether the Secretary of the Interior shall be given power to go in and take the homes of two dozen settlers in Glacier National Park and the homes of other people who have acquired homes there before the park was created.

I trust, Mr. President-and I acknowledge the courtesy of the Senator from Indiana—that the motion of the Senator from Utah that the Senate recede from amendment numbered 39 will not be agreed to.

## INVESTIGATION OF SALT CREEK OIL LEASES

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President, last Friday the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] discussed the report, written and prepared by himself, presumably, on the question of the Salt Creek investigation. I had expected to address the Senate on that subject on that day, but because the hour was late I postponed anything I might have to say until the next day. Then, because the unfinished business was before the Senate with a limitation on debate to go into effect at 4 o'clock, I did not proceed; nor did I get an opportunity on Monday or Tuesday to discuss the question. So I shall now undertake to say something about what was discussed at that time and on the general subject of Salt Creek.

Mr. President, on the 30th day of April, 1928, the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys was authorized and directed by the Norris resolution to-

make a full and complete investigation as to the occupation, leasing of, and contracts for oil and oil lands in the Salt Creek field in the State of Wyoming, and any other adjacent Government oil lands.

The resolution in some detail states rather specifically what the committee is expected to do. It is to investigate-

(a) "Whether said occupation, leases, or contracts \* \* \* were illegal or fraudulent," and (b) "whether the assigning \* \* or the operation under said leases or contracts has given to any individual, agency, association, partnership, or corporation a monopoly" or "has tended toward \* \* any monopoly in the production or distributended toward \* \* any monopoly in the production or distribution of oil," and to report to the Senate (a) "whether said occupation, leases, or contracts \* \* \* are illegal or fraudulent and \* \* \* should be annulled \* \* \* by the United States" and (b) "what, if any, legislation should be enacted by Congress" to cure the evils disclosed by the investigation authorized.

Every Member of the Senate knows that the resolution con-templated a thorough investigation of the freely alleged irregularities connected with the wholesale leasing of the Salt Creek field in 1920 and early in 1921.

Subsequently, the committee held hearings and witnesses were examined.

In December, 1922, Albert B. Fall, then Secretary of the Interior, entered into a contract with the Sinclair Crude Oil Purchasing Co. for the sale of the royalty oil accruing to the Government from leases within the Salt Creek field for a period of five years, beginning January 1, 1923.

The contract contained a clause giving the purchaser the option of renewing the contract at its expiration for an additional five years, providing proper notice was given the Government

In accordance with this clause, and after notice was seasonably given, Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, on the 20th day of February, 1928, executed a renewal contract.

This was but little more than two months prior to the adop-

tion of the Norris resolution in the Senate.

On February 7, 1929, the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. Walsh] offered to the Senate a report on the investigation conducted, with a resolution of his own, asking that the report be adopted as the judgment of the Senate.

Under all the circumstances, this is a strange report, and speaking of it one might almost borrow the words of the celebrated character who said, "Thou comest in such questionable

First of all, it completely ignores the exceedingly grave matters which the committee was directed to investigate. word with reference to the inexcusable looting of Salt Creek field, as a result of which it is estimated the Government has lost a billion dollars or more.

In the next place it is a minority report, expressing views only of a minority of the committee, and this minority composed only of Democrats.

It has all the appearance of being a partisan report, presented for partisan purposes, and ends by severely censuring executive departments of a Republican administration.

So far as the facts are stated, they are substantially correct, but on the other hand, many additional facts are glossed over, or omitted entirely.

The conclusions drawn are in my judgment thoroughly erroneous.

It appears from the record that Secretary Work in renewing the contract was supported unanimously by his advisors in the department.

The solicitor of the department, Mr. E. O. Patterson; Newman, of the departmental board of appeals; the assistant secretary, E. C. Finney; George Otis Smith, Director of the Geological Survey, and nine members of the force of the Geological Survey and the General Land Office, all agreed on the legal proposition, that under the renewal clause of the original contract, the Government was bound to execute the new contract.

These facts are absolutely undisputed by the record.

It is true that protests had been lodged against renewal, but upon invitation to show how the Government could avoid the contract, the objectors failed completely to advance any method by which renewal could be legally escaped.

Even the learned Senator from Montana was in agreement with the Interior Department on this question, for on the 17th day of February, 1928, three days before the contract was executed, in a letter to a correspondent in New York, he said among other things:

I regret to say that I am obliged to agree with the Secretary that he is legally bound to renew.

It must be assumed that the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] was more or less familiar with this option clause at that time, for he had had much correspondence concerning a very similar contract covering a period of several years.

At practically the same time the Sinclair contract was en-tered into in 1922 Secretary Fall executed an agreement with the Lewistown Oil & Refining Co. for the sale of Cat Creek oil. This contract also contained a renewal clause, and under that clause was renewed in 1928.

The senior Senator from Montana interested himself considerably in that matter, for the purchasers were constituents from his State.

Chronological record of the correspondence follows:

## CAT CREEK CONTRACT

February 11, 1922: Rockwood Brown to Senator T. J. Walsh, advising that Montana Refining Co. has recently erected a refinery at Billings, Mont., and that it desires to secure a supply of oil from the

February 16, 1922: Senator T. J. Walsh to Secretary Fall, inclosing letter from Hon. Rockwood Brown, Billings, Mont., asking for reply. March 11, 1922: Rockwood Brown to Senator T. J. Walsh relative to securing crude oil in the Cat Creek field.

March 16, 1922: Senator T. J. Walsh to Secretary Fall, referring to previous letter of February 16, and asking him to give consideration to the letter of Brown of March 11, 1922.

March 22, 1922: Letter from First Assistant Secretary Finney to Senator T. J. Walsh, referring to letter of March 11 from Rockwood Brown, advising Senator Walsh that the whole matter is under consideration by the Secretary and that he will be further advised.

March 25, 1922: Letter to Senator T. J. Walsh from First Assistant Secretary Finney, transmitting copy of telegram of March 25 to Rockwood Brown.

January 22, 1923: From Senator T. J. Walsh to Secretary Fall, requesting that copy of contract between the Lewistown Oil & Refining Co. and the United States be sent him.

January 27, 1923: Letter to Senator T. J. Walsh by Secretary Fall,

complying with request for copy of contract.

February 17, 1923: Secretary Fall to Senator T. J. Walsh, calling attention to the letter of contract for the sale of Cat Creek oil to the Lewistown Oil & Refining Co. and of his interest in the contract, and that he had been "courteous enough to counsel me in the disposition of that oil in an effort to secure the greatest revenue from it."

March 3, 1924: Secretary Work to S. C. Palmer, United States Emergency Fleet Corporation, inclosing copies of contracts for sale of royalty oil in Salt Creek and Cat Creek fields.

January 17, 1927: Senator T. J. Walsh to Secretary Work, asking for construction of the option clause in Cat Creek contract.

January 26, 1927: Secretary Work to Senator T. J. Walsh, advising of the opinion of the department that Lewistown Oil & Refining Co. would be entitled to a renewal.

February 9, 1928: Recommendation of Thomas C. Havell, Acting Commissioner of the General Land Office, and W. C. Mendenhall, Acting Director of the Geological Survey, for approval of renewal of Cat Creek contract.

March 24, 1928, renewal approved by Edward C. Finney, First Assistant Secretary of Interior.

October 17, 1928: First Assistant Secretary to the Director of the Geological Survey, directing examination of contract Lewistown Oil & Refining Co. pertaining to Government royalty oils in Cat Creek, and accompanying papers, and submission to the department, through the office of the solicitor, with recommendation and statement of facts as the record may justify in the light of the Attorney General's opinion in the Salt Creek case.

October 22, 1928: Solicitor Patterson to First Assistant Secretary, opinion holding Lewistown Oil & Refining Co. contract exactly same status as Salt Creek.

October 22, 1928: Secretary of the Interior to Attorney General, transmitting memorandum opinion of solicitor and copy of contract in the Lewistown Oil & Refining Co. matter, and requesting opinion.

The record further shows that the Secretary of the Interior forwarded a copy of the Sinclair contract to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, and a copy also to Messrs. Pomerene and Roberts, counsel for the Government in the naval oil reserve matters.

Early in April, 1928, the White Eagle Oil & Refining Co., a competitor of the Sinclair Co., protested to the Department of the Interior against the renewal contract that had been entered. The protest was referred to the solicitor of the department, who prepared an opinion upholding the contract.

Upon receiving the solicitor's opinion, the protest, with explanations, was referred by the Assistant Secretary to the Department of Justice for opinion.

Col. William J. Donovan, Assistant to the Attorney General, ordered Messrs. Kenyon and Chandler, of the department, to investigate the matter. Those attorneys conferred with the Senator from Montana regarding it, by arrangement made by Colonel Donovan with the Senator.

Upon investigation it appears from the record that attorneys in the Department of Justice were in accord with the Department of the Interior on the questions of law involved.

Subsequently, however, James P. Kem, counsel for the White Eagle Co., was able to convince Colonel Donovan that a different theory of law obtained and that the contract could and should be annulled.

The record shows that in October, 1928, Mr. Kem called on the Senator from Montana, at Helena, and succeeded in causing him also to change his views, just as other Government officials had changed theirs.

Whereupon the Senator from Montana felt called upon to take the matter hurriedly to the New York World. This is one of the strangest episodes in the whole matter. The record shows that Colonel Donovan had tried to enlist

The record shows that Colonel Donovan had tried to enlist the cooperation of the Senator from Montana. As early as March or April he had even arranged for Kenyon and Chandler to confer personally with the Senator, and had every reason to expect the latter's full cooperation in the interest of the Government.

It is easy to imagine his amazement when he learned of the Senator's excursion into the newspapers.

In this connection I quote the following from page 323, part 2, of the hearings before the committee:

Senator Walsh. Do you remember just how this matter of the contract for the Salt Creek royalty oil first came to the department?

Mr. Donovan. It first came by letter from the President to the department, and the Attorney General sent for me and asked me to take care of it.

In that letter it was requested I get in touch with you. I did at once. I talked with you about it and asked if you could help me. You said you would do it. I then replied to your letter to Mr. Williams, which you read, and we were of the view then, with that being correct, that there was no technical invalidity, but wondered whether it could be invalidated if we showed fraud. You expressed doubt as to whether we could do that. I said that might well be, but I ought to thresh it out, and I thought there was a further question in it as to whether the Midwest had violated the monopoly provisions of the leasing act; and, if not, if we could get no good basis there, whether or not there had been a violation of the Sherman Act. I asked you if you would see two men that I had selected to handle the case. You said you would. They saw you and you gave them an opinion; aided them. And then there was a hearing by this committee. I came to the committee; I pointed out to it what we had in mind-the difficulties; that we felt we were in control of the business, and we felt that there was a fraud action.

Here was Colonel Donovan doing his utmost to protect the United States Government and frankly stating his plans to the committee.

Without saying a word to the Assistant Attorney General, but immediately upon changing his views as to the legal questions involved, the Senator hastens to the New York World.

Again quoting from the hearings before the committee, pages 343-344, part 2:

Mr. Donovan. The only thing—and I say this, Senator, and I say it with no criticism but solely as a matter of record. I will tell you my frank reaction as I read that. I had gone to you and asked for cooperation. You said you would give it to me, and you did give it. You said you would provide us with information. I came to the committee. We agreed upon that cooperation. When this came to Senator Nyr, he came to see me; it came to Senator Capper, and he called me by telephone. When it came to you, it may be that you felt you did not need to give me that courtesy of calling me up, but it did strike me that it would have been the decent thing if you had done so.

Senator Walsh. I am very glad you spoke about that, Colonel, because I would like to give you my reaction. No word came to me with this particular point that was presented to the Department of the Interior immediately by letter dated April 11, 1928. No one came to me, likewise, that it came to the attention of the Department of Justice as early as the month of June. I now learn that it came to the Department of Justice on April 27, 1928. Hearings were had before the committee charged with the investigation of this particular subject, and Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Chandler attended those hearings, and it was in the month of October, and nobody had even ever suggested to me that such a question was intimated, or given me information concerning any facts, and I rather thought that I had not been treated very courteously by the department.

Mr. Donovan. Well, Senator, that could have been easily determined. You could have called up and said, "Donovan, what is the matter with you about this?" That would have been the obvious thing to do with the fellows you were cooperating with.

Senator Walsh. Colonel Donovan, Mr. Kem told me that he tried to get this opinion from the Interior Department and he could not get it. He told me that he went to the Department of Justice and tried to get it and they told him that it was confidential.

Mr. Donovan. Which I think Mr. Kenyon was perfectly right in doing; but that does not bear upon the point of your relation and mine, it seems, Senator. I think that in view of what our arrangement had been, that rather than prejudge, you would have ascertained what the real facts were. I am just telling you what my reaction was.

Senator Walsh. And I am telling you what mine was.

The able and exhaustive opinion of Mr. Kenyon was presented to Colonel Donovan on October 8. The latter concurred in the opinion, it was redrafted in substantially the same form, and was ready for the Attorney General's signature on October 15.

On that day the New York World carried the matter, furnished by the senior Senator from Montana.

How refreshing is the naïveté of the learned Senator on this point.

Quoting from his own report, page 12:

He [Senator Walsh] interested the New York World in the affair, and that journal on Monday, October 15, published a story of the

affair with an interview with Kem and Senators CAPPER and WALSH, the opinion of the latter, mentioned above, being a feature of the article so published.

How different was the opinion of the Senator, which featured this article, from the opinion he had given his correspondent in New York on the same subject matter back in February.

And, again, how delightfully nonpartisan the Senator appears, hurrying with his new-formed opinion to that staunch old Democratic newspaper, in the midst of a presidential campaign, with the election only three weeks away.

Why, in common decency, did not the Senator communicate at once with Colonel Donovan, who had every reason to believe that he was entitled to and would receive his cooperation?

As a direct result of the Attorney General's opinion, the Sinclair contract was canceled as was also the Cat Creek agreement.

Litigation is pending, instituted by Colonel Donovan, and there is every reason to assume that the Government will, in the end, not lose a single cent.

The learned Senator from Montana, in his report, deals in captious criticism of practically everybody connected with two of the great executive departments.

Government, in the final analysis, is conducted by human

beings, and no one is perfect.

Down across the centuries have come the words from the lips of the only perfect Man: "Be ye also perfect," but throughout the years, men and women, too, in their endeavors to live up to that high precept, have met with only varying degrees of

Perhaps the Senator from Montana has reached the heights and feels impelled to admonish his fellows in the same exalted

Certain it is that he can find only the grossest imperfection in the United States Government as it is conducted by human beings of the Republican Party.

In his remarkable report he shows his utter contempt for many of those in the departments, and uses this language:

Some of them lawyers, some not, the lawyers getting the munificent salary of from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year.

He seems to lose sight of the fact that many good men and women, too, are willing to sacrifice something in money that they might render service to the country they love. The Senator himself has in the past given some indication that he may be inspired by kindred feelings.

On April 5, 1928, speaking on this floor, he said:

If I should be thus employed and should succeed as well as was the case here, the court would probably make allowance for attorney's fees that would make me richer than I ever expected to be or hoped to be or desired to be, but I have been very much more amply repaid by, as I think, the gratitude of the American people.

That is doubtless true. The Senator deserves the gratitude of the people for all the good he has done, and if he has no imperfections it is all good. I seem to remember, however, that last year the learned Senator offered himself as a candidate for President in two typical Western States, California and Oregon, and even the members of his own party proved themselves so ungrateful that the Senator found it advisable to retire from the race.

This he may charge to the ingratitude that is said to characterize republics

The record shows conclusively that both the Department of the Interior and that of Justice have labored earnestly and faithfully to protect the interests of the country.

Yet the report of the Senator from Montana severely criticizes officials in those departments, and while I can not believe the United States Senate would ever adopt the report, the language made public therein tends in itself to hold up to ridicule and disgrace such men as Doctor Work, Attorney General Sargent, and Colonel Donovan.

Who are these men that have been so freely criticized and censured by the Senator from Montana?

have taken occasion to find out something about them.

Hubert Work is a physician in private life, First Assistant Postmaster General and Postmaster General under the late President Harding, and Secretary of the Interior under President Coolidge

Secretary Work was born and reared on a farm in Indiana He attended the public schools and the Indiana County, Pa. (Pa.) State Normal School, continuing to work on the farm during the summer vacations. He matriculated in the University of Michigan medical department; two years later he entered the University of Pennsylvania and was graduated the following year as doctor of medicine.

Secretary Work then went West and began the practice of medicine at Fort Morgan, Colo. He later settled at Pueblo, Colo., where he founded, owned, and operated for 20 years the Woodcroft Hospital for mental and nervous diseases; then entered the Army Medical Corps. Commissioned a major, he was assigned by Surgeon General Gorgas to the staff of Provost Marshal General Crowder, where he served as liaison officer between these two branches with direct supervision of the medical features of the draft. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and later advanced to the grade of colonel in the Reserve Medical Corps.

During his professional career extending over a period of 32 years, Secretary Work served at various times as president of the Colorado State Medical Society; member of the Colorado State Board of Health; president of the American Medico-Psychological Society; and president of the American Medical Association.

A staunch and lifelong Republican, Secretary Work has been active in his party organization both State and national. He was a delegate at large from Colorado to the Republican National Convention in 1908; chairman of the Colorado Republican State central committee in 1912; Republican national com-mitteeman for Colorado from 1913 to 1919; at present chairman Republican National Committee.

The service of Doctor Work during more than five years as Secretary of the Interior was distinguished by a businesslike administration and a tireless attention to the details of that exacting office.

Doctor Work expressed his ideals of Government service in his annual report for the fiscal year 1925, as follows:

The Government is an impersonal employer. There is no mentor for official acts except public opinion, no safeguard against errors of judgment except detail knowledge, and no rewards except conscience.

\* \* The temptation is great to purchase official popularity through complaisance in the expenditure of public funds. The Government administrator who promises, trusting to time or circumstances to relieve him of the obligation, gains immediate applause, but he speculates with his integrity of purpose.

Government service should be regarded as an ethical profession. It should not enlist those ambitious to acquire wealth. Its material compensation is fixed by statute, but its lasting rewards come through the spirit of service.

The administrators of the Interior Department's affairs are trustees of public and trust funds. Their moral obligations are limited only by their number and measured by their magnitude. (P. 1, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1925.)

The Department of the Interior is concerned primarily with the conservation of the natural resources of the United States. Of the 12 bureaus and offices in the department the majority of them are charged under the law with functions connected with the disposal, development, conservation, and administration of the public domain. There are approximately 13,000 permanent employees in 40 States and Territories and an additional temporary force numbering about 5,000 employees during the summer season. Appropriations for conducting the department are about \$300,000,000 annually.

The successive annual reports presented to Congress by Secretary Work show a systematic reorganization of the department under his direction, with painstaking attention to detail unusual in the directing head of a great department of the Government. His services represent to the taxpayers a saving of more than \$131,000,000 in the operating expenditures of the department.

What about the Attorney General?

Hon. John G. Sargent, of Vermont, was graduated from Tufts College with an A. B. degree in 1887; received his A. M. in 1912; was State's attorney of Windsor County, Vt., from 1898-1900; secretary civil and military affairs of Vermont from 1900-1902; attorney general of Vermont from 1908-1912; trustee of the Black River Academy; member of the American Bar Association, Vermont State Bar Association, Windsor County Bar Association, the Vermont Historical Society, and chairman of the Vermont Commission on Uniform State Laws. He was appointed Attorney General of the United States March 17, 1925, and from then until now he has served the country well and worthily.

But the Senator from Montana especially criticizes Colonel Donovan, notwithstanding his splendid record of public service. I have looked a little into his accomplishments.

William Joseph Donovan was born at Buffalo, N. Y., January 1, 1883. From Columbia University he received the degree of bachelor of arts in 1905 and the degree of bachelor of laws in 1907. He took a very active interest in athletics during all of his school life,

In 1916 he went to Poland with the American Relief Commission, which was sent abroad to give relief to the starving people of Europe. He came back to serve on the Mexican border with Troop I, New York Cavalry, of which troop he

At the outbreak of the war he was assigned to the Twenty-seventh Division. When the One hundred and sixty-fifth Infantry-old Sixty-ninth New York-was ordered overseas Donovan asked to be assigned to that regiment, of which he later became lieutenant colonel and then colonel. During his service overseas he was wounded three times and received the distinguished-service cross, the distinguished-service medal, the congressional medal, the Legion of Honor, croix de guerre star

In 1919 he went to Siberia with Ambassador Roland Morris, at Tokio, on the mission to investigate the Kolchak government.

In 1922 he served as counsel to the New York State Fuel Administration and also served as a member of the diplomatic delegation representing the United States in the international conference between the United States and Canada

relative to customs regulations.

On February 7, 1922, he was appointed the United States attorney for the western district of New York, in which office he served until August 14, 1924, when President Coolidge appointed him Assistant Attorney General in charge of criminal matters. This office he held until March, 1925, when he became the Assistant to the Attorney General. In addition to his other duties he has charge of the antitrust division of the Department of Justice, and as such directs all activities of the department against combinations of whatsoever kind in restraint of trade.

Such are the public officials the Senator from Montana would

ask the Senate to censure and disgrace forever.

But I have too much faith in the sense of justice and fair play that prevail in this body to believe any such action could be taken.

Mr. President, allow me now to touch on another phase of this subject. The amazing thing about the report is its utter silence with reference to the matters the committee was directed to investigate.

So superficial is this report that one is led to wonder whether or not it is meant to be a smoke screen to divert attention from

the real rottenness of the Salt Creek mess.

I undertake to say that the Government has been defrauded out of hundreds of millions of dollars in the Salt Creek region, that the rottenness can be uncovered and much of the property reclaimed.

Why has the learned Senator from Montana not given us a

report on this very vital question?

On the 18th of January, 1921, Robert C. Bell, a special assistant to the Attorney General in the last Democratic administration, submitted to the Department of the Interior and to the Attorney General of the United States a memorandum with reference to the leasing of the Salt Creek field.

The memorandum was carefully prepared after many months

of most painstaking investigation.

It purported to show colossal fraud in the leases and wholesale and illegal wildcatting as a result of which this area passed into the hands of private exploiters unlawfully.

Salt Creek is unquestionably the richest oil field in the world. Mr. Bell had been with the Department of Justice for several years and gave it as his opinion that the Government could and should regain possession of this field.

No heed was given to the pleading of Mr. Bell, however, and under the leasing act of 1920, sponsored by the Senator from Montana, the leases asked for by the alleged exploiters were allowed by the Government, and this great inheritance was lost to the American people.

An excerpt from the Bell report reads as follows:

Iba used the names of more than 100 persons from whom he obtained powers of attorney containing the above-mentioned provision, before the locations were made. None of his colocators ever claimed any interest or received any benefits or profits.

Certain of the above-named applicants before they had settled their differences and joined in their common cause against the United States, alleged and contended, in a number of "adverse" proceedings in the district court of Natrona County, Wyo., that the Iba locations were void and unlawful, because the locators were dummies and the locations were entirely abandoned long prior to the order of withdrawal. Surely these same applicants will not now be permitted to avail themselves of the claims that they once contended were so bad.

The question naturally presenting itself is why were so many locations made, and why were they invariably bad? The reason is simple. Some ambitious individual who had acquired some knowledge of the oil business would hear something about the prospects for oil at Salt Creek. Such an individual, of course, was not content with one location of 20

acres, or a number of locations in which he had an interest of only 20 acres, so he would borrow the names of his friends and relatives and proceed to locate for his own use and benefit vast areas of the public lands. Generally no pretense was made at complying with the law in any respect, except to make the "paper" locations so as to acquire a color of title which might be sold at a profit to some real oil operator or promoter.

For several years delegations appeared before Congressmen, Senators, and other officials beseeching "relief" for the poor, honest, oppressed prospectors, who were much discussed, but in truth unknown to the history of the Salt Creek field. If such ever existed, they have long since, at the behest of the Midwest interests, vi et armis or otherwise, passed on.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma in the chair). Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. How long ago was that?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. How long ago was what? Mr. WHEELER. When the conspiracy took place that the Senator has narrated?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. It was years ago. It went on through a number of years, according to the Bell report, which is in the possession of the Senator.

Mr. WHEELER. In my possession?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. It should be, because I inserted it in the Record something like a year ago; and immediately following the conclusion of my remarks to-day I shall insert it in the RECORD again.

Mr. WHEELER. It is not in my possession.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I assumed the Senator had the

Congressional Record in his possession.

Mr. WHEELER. It may be some place in the RECORD, but it is not in my possession. What I want to ask the Senator is why the present Attorney General, knowing such a conspiracy existed, has not during the past eight years done anything to prosecute these men for conspiracy to violate the law?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. The Department of Justice has been going into this matter all the time and is continuing to do

There has been a Senate committee going into these oil matters almost constantly, and all they could see was Teapot Dome and Elk Hills, which are tiny in comparison to the fraud and corruption connected with the Salt Creek field.

Mr. WHEELER. But there has been an Attorney General who had something to do besides Teapot Dome, because he did

not do anything with reference to that.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Oh, yes; much has been done with which perhaps the Senator is not familiar.

Mr. WHEELER. Oh, yes.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. And more is going to be done, and in my opinion all of the rottenness and corruption connected with the Salt Creek field will be uncovered and the Department of Justice will recover these valuable properties for the United States Government.

Mr. WHEELER. I am very glad to hear that the Department of Justice is actually going to do something, but I am pointing out the fact that we have had a Republican Attorney General for eight years and he has not done anything about it, notwithstanding the fact that the Senator from Indiana, as he said, placed in the RECORD a complete report showing all of the

facts of corruption and crookedness.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Immediately after placing the report in the Record, as I stated, the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Norris] offered his resolution directing that the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys inquire into the whole Salt Creek matter and make a thorough investigation, and presumably that is what they have been doing. I mean to show that the committee has not scratched the surface; that the committee should continue going into that matter; that its investiga-tion should be carried into the next Congress; that it would be unthinkable to let the investigation lapse with this Congress. am going to say something more pointed on that subject in a few moments even though some members of the committee may think the criticism is directed at them personally.

Mr. WHEELER. If the Senator will yield again, I do not quite understand yet. Does the Senator mean to say that his friend, Mr. Donovan, and the Department of Justice have not

done anything in this matter because-

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Oh, no; I do not say that. I said much had been done of which the Senator evidently is ignorant, judging from what he said here a moment ago. If he will go into the record he will find a tremendous lot of work has been done in that connection, but we still have not scratched the surface of the rottenness connected with the latter part of the Wilson administration, into which we propose to go. It was left to us as an inheritance. It was hard to dig out because many of the corrupt features of the matter were so carefully buried and therefore were difficult to get at. It takes time to do it, but we propose to do it.

Mr. WHEELER. Does the Senator mean to say that John Barton Payne had any part in this conspiracy of corruption?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. If the Senator will read what I

have had to say about the matter-

Mr. WHEELER. I am asking the Senator now. Does he not want to answer my question?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Of course I am going to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. WHEELER. Why not answer it and not avoid it? Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I will answer the Senator's question in this way: John Barton Payne came in during the latter part of the last Democratic administration. He was in office almost a year, approximately a year at any rate, and during that year the entire Salt Creek field was given away or leased away, and there is where the corruption lies.

Mr. WHEELER. Then am I to understand the Senator to say that he thinks John Barton Payne was corrupt when he

gave this field away?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I would not go to the extent of saying that John Barton Payne was corrupt. I am a little more careful in my choice of language than some Members on the other side of the Chamber have been in connection with this investigation. I will say that it is the function of the committee to find out whether he was or not, and I hope they will investigate carefully, and if he was, then he will deserve the same fate that was meted out to Mr. Fall-disgrace forever.

Mr. WHEELER. But why is it that it should be necessary to have a committee of Congress to do it when we have a great Department of Justice that ought to be doing this very thing?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Then the Senator would like to

have the committee cease functioning?

Mr. WHEELER. Not at all. I would like to have it continue, because I think we have an incompetent Department of Justice, and that is the reason why I want the committee to go I am simply saying to the Senator that he can not excuse the Department of Justice for what he says has taken place or has not taken place.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. How does the Senator account for the fact that A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General at the end of the Wilson administration, refused absolutely to prosecute these matters when his own assistant, Bell, had brought the report to him showing conclusively there was fraud and corruption throughout the Salt Creek field? Why did the Department of Justice, as it was then being conducted in that administration, refuse absolutely to prosecute the matter?

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator never knew me on this floor or any place else to hold any brief for A. Mitchell Palmer. What excuse is there, if what the Senator said is true and these reports have been in the Department of Justice, for the present Attorney General and the Attorneys General during the last eight years for not taking up the matter and prosecuting it?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I have just told the Senator from Montana that it will be done, and, perhaps, in language too strong to suit the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. Oh, no. Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I hope the Senator will be pleased with what will be done, and will be pleased with those who may be branded in the end.

Mr. WHEELER. I will be pleased with the branding of any of them whether they are Democrats or Republicans.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Exactly. That is what we propose to do. Let the gullty be brought to justice whether they be Democrats or Republicans. What difference does it make? That is what we propose to do.

Mr. WHEELER. I am trying to get the Senator to tell me why it has not been done during the past eight years.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Is not that the same question I have answered three or four times?

Mr. WHEELER. I have not heard the Senator answer it. Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I do not like to refer any further to the Senator's ignorance of the matter. If he will consult the records of the Department of Justice, he will find out that much has been done. That is the fact. The Senator does not want a detailed statement from me of just what has been done, does he?

Mr. WHEELER. For eight years they have been doing much about it, the Senator says?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Exactly; and will do more. Mr. WHEELER. And yet they have not filed one single case

in court with reference to it nor have they indicted anybody at

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Will the Senator be satisfied

when he hears of the indictments, if they do come?

Mr. WHEELER. Of course. If there is anybody who has done anything that is corrupt or crooked in the matter, I will be delighted to know that they have been indicted. But the Senator now is criticizing Mr. Palmer because he did not do anything, and has said that he had these facts before him; but during the past eight years we have had a Republican administration and nothing has been done under that administration.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I think it will all be done. Mr. WHEELER. Of course, we know that when we investigated the Daugherty case, whenever we brought in anything else we were constantly told, "Mr. Daugherty is going to do it,"

but he never got around to doing it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. When the Senator brings in the Daugherty matter, let me remind him that the only matters which were investigated at all were Teapot Dome and Elk Hills, naval leases Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The Salt Creek field was scarcely touched. Teapot Dome and Elk Hills are mole hills in comparison with the mountain of Salt Creek. Teapot Dome was little in value compared with Salt Creek. But if there was a little graft in Teapot Dome, if several millions or hundreds of millions of dollars can be characterized as "little graft," then in Salt Creek there was tremendous graft, and it should have been brought out by this same committee during these years.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator tells us there was only a little

graft

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. No; I did not say only a little graft. I made a comparative statement. I said if there were graft connected with Teapot Dome and Elk Hills, then by comparison the graft connected with Salt Creek field was tremendously greater. I am violently opposed to graft anywhere, whether it be big or little.

Mr. WHEELER. Will the Senator tell us now and point out just which official of the Government grafted in connection with

the Salt Creek field?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I am hoping we will get to that very point.

Mr. WHEELER. Oh, but the Senator said there was big Who was it that grafted? What official of the Wilson administration was it that grafted?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I think that will be gone into

very fully.

Mr. WHEELER. Oh, yes; but the Senator has made the statement. When we made any statement with reference to graft in the Daugherty administration and in the Fall administration we did not say it was graft until we had the facts and brought them to the Senate. Will the Senator tell me a single official that took any graft under Wilson?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I can tell the Senator a number of officials that took oil employment-many members of the force of the Interior Department and even executive heads of

the department.

Mr. WHEELER. Tell us the name of one single, solitary

Democratic official that took any money,

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. That is asking a question which, of course, I would not attempt to answer. It is a matter that must be referred to a grand jury and to the courts of justice. It would not be becoming for me to stand here and attempt to say that any member of the Wilson administration who is not even on trial was a criminal. Of course, I shall not do that; but I do say, Mr. President, that there is evidence of corruption throughout these leases covering a period of years, not only in 1920 and 1921 but previous to that time and going back as far, perhaps, as 20 years. I say it is the province of the committee to go into that whole matter; dig it out and let the American people know where the graft and corruption are if they are there. Then let a grand jury do its work on indictments for fraud and corruption and let the guilty suffer.

I shall not attempt to state that some certain person is a criminal. I am objecting to the report of the Senator from Montana, and one of the reasons I am objecting to it is because he would disgrace men who have not done exactly as he would like to have them do in great executive departments of the Government, and he would place the censure of the United States Senate behind that criticism of his against the honor and integrity of these men. I say it is not the province of the Senate or of any Member of the Senate to designate some official as a criminal or as a crook until he has been convicted, because under our theory every man is presumed to be innocent until

proven guilty.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President-

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I do not care to yield further to the Senator on that question. I think I have answered it completely, and I can not yield at this time.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator refuses to yield to me. Is

that correct?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I can not yield at this time.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. No: I will not yield any further at this moment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana refuses to yield.

#### KNOWLEDGE OF FRAUD

## Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President-

The contracts above mentioned, between Henshaw and Fitzhugh, were on record in Natrona County, Wyo., wherein the Salt Creek field is situated; therefore, every applicant basing a claim on the Henshaw-Fitzhugh locations had notice of their contents, and consequently of their fraudulent character. The Iba powers of attorney likewise were of record. Moreover, the applicants had actual knowledge of the fraud, by and through the knowledge, acts, and conduct of their incorporators, officers, and agents,

That Salt Creek had been unlawfully exploited and monopolized was commonly asserted on all sides, so on April 16, 1928, I had the Bell report inserted in the Record.

Subsequent thereto, the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] offered his resolution, which was duly adopted, and under color of which the Senator from Montana brings forward his remarkable report, which ignores completely the grave questions at issue, and has the practical effect of diverting attention from the fraudulent Salt Creek leases that mean hundreds of millions of dollars to the American people.

In the meantime, the Rocky Mountain News, of Denver, Colo., published an editorial on March 31 which I desire to

I invite the attention especially of the junior Senator from Montana to this editorial

Mr. WHEELER. Is the owner of that newspaper the same

man who took money in the Teapot Dome case?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I shall not yield. I want to read this editorial to the Senator for his benefit. The editorial was published on March 31 last in the Rocky Mountain News, of Denver, Colo.

Mr. WHEELER. I think the Senator ought to identify the owner of the paper, and say whether he is the man who took

money in the Teapot Dome case.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I must decline to yield. should like to show the Senator every courtesy, but I hope he will not interrupt me unless I give him permission to do so. do want him to listen to this editorial, not to talk. The editorial bears the headline:

Salt Creek's bitter oil.

Mr. WHEELER. What editorial is that? Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. It is an editorial from the Rocky Mountain News, of Denver, Colo., a newspaper which is published right in the midst of where the transactions took place and where people know all about them. It is one of the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers. As I have said, the editorial was published on March 31 last, and reads:

Keep Teapot Dome and Elk Hills in their class and finish with them

Mr. President-Mr. WALSH of Montana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from In-

diana yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. When I finish reading this editorial I will yield to the senior Senator from Montana. I will read the entire editorial.

## SALT CREEK'S BITTER OIL

Keep Teapot Dome and Elk Hills in their class and finish with them and expose all the rottenness.

But do not stop there. Give Salt Creek, Wyo., the thrice over.

Acre for acre, the Salt Creek field has been the richest find on the continent. It has been producing actively 16 years, and there are a good many years ahead of it. Actually billions in it.

The greater part of its public-land sections was traded off during the Democratic national régime of 1913-1921, but more particularly during the last year or two of the Wilson administration, when the big man was absent or physically unable to check on things.

Go back to the discovery of the rich field. It becomes an International story. Some comedy and romance; but, above all, tragedy. The

tragic is showing up now. The romance and the comedy are all gone; the Greek climax is nearing.

Find out all about the preemptors of Salt Creek and what became of them. Several of them victims of mercenaries, one or two with millions which they did not know what to do with, poor fellows!

Learn something of the means taken to be rid of homesteaders and prospectors-a fierce tale in itself.

Find out a whole lot about the passage of the leasing act-a novel in its plots and counterplots.

The intent was good; the result was ignoble.

Find out regarding the limited number of owners and lessees now in the field and in what way they gained possession. A 3-volumed

Beyond everything else, let the investigators dig deep into the "highjacking" propositions practiced over the Salt Creek field. guarantee will cause the ears of the Nation to prick up. It will be a story of stories. Neither the Teapot Dome nor the California hold-up will compare with it. Millions in blackmail!

Or should it be told?

As a lesson in national morality, we believe the whole scandal should be uncovered-"given the air!"

That is more, Mr. President, than I myself have charged in all that has gone on in connection with this discussion. Now I yield to the senior Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, I merely rose to say that this is the first information I have had that the Rocky Mountain News is a Scripps-Howard newspaper.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. That is my understanding. I

may be wrong about it

Mr. WALSH of Montana. When the Teapot Dome investigation was in progress it was developed that it was owned by one Shaffer, who owns a chain of newspapers in the State of the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I am informed that it is a Scripps-Howard paper, and I think I am right about that; but the Senator may have some information that I do not have.

Mr. WHEELER. If it is a Scripps-Howard paper, it was acquired by the Scripps-Howard interests recently, during the last year.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President, Mr. Bell is an exceedingly able lawyer, experienced, courageous, energetic, and

thoroughly familiar with the whole history of Salt Creek.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I will yield to the Senator in moment or two.

When the Norris resolution was adopted, I supposed, of course, that the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys would engage Mr. Bell as counsel.

Considering all the circumstances, where could a more valu-

able man be found?

Instead, however, the committee selected Hon. Thomas Sterling, a former Member of this body.

have no intention of criticizing the committee for its selection, nor Senator Sterling for accepting the employment. So far as I know he is a man of ability and integrity.

I think it is fair to observe, however, that he is well advanced years, and has no knowledge specially qualifying him for this gigantic task.

That he has done his best is a fair assumption, but the surface has not been scratched as yet, and it is unthinkable to let this investigation lapse with the passing of this Congress.

It is true that Mr. Bell was summoned before the committee and that his evidence was heard, but on going over the record, one must be surprised at the manner in which it was treated.

For instance, I shall quote from page 242, part 1, of the

I am now going to read from the evidence given in the hearings, and if the Senator from Montana cares to ask me a ques-

tion before I proceed to do so, I shall yield to him. Mr. WHEELER. I was going to ask the Senator if Mr. Bell, or if the Senator, for Mr. Bell, ever showed the report of Bell's

to the Department of Justice? Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. No; I never have done so, Mr.

President.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator never had done so. Does he know whether Mr. Bell ever called it to the attention of the department?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I am not certain of that. he went out of the Democratic administration, I am not certain whether or not he ever brought it to the attention of the successors of the Democratic administration.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator does not know as to that? Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, I think I can answer the question.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I, myself, can not say as to that.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. Bell's report was on file in | very great activity on the part of the claimants to the oil lands to the Department of Justice. Some years ago I asked for a copy of it and the officials said the report was not there, but I persisted and finally they found it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Then, it was there?

In view of the fact, as I said before, that Mr. WHEELER. the report, which the Senator says is absolutely correct, was there, I am curious to know why it was that they did not act upon it, and whether the Senator thinks it is absolutely necessary for the committee to proceed and bring out these facts in order to force the hand of the Department of Justice.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. That is precisely the same ques-

tion the Senator has asked time and time again.

Mr. WHEELER. But the Senator has not answered it. Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I have answered it. I have told the Senator that much has been done of which he apparently is ignorant, but which he can learn about if he will take the time to do so, and that much more will be done, in my opinion. However, Mr. President, I really do not care to take my time or the time of the Senate to continue with that question any longer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana has

the floor

Mr. WHEELER. Well, I will not press the question. Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. The Senator can speak on that question. If he desires to criticize, he is perfectly within his

Mr. President, I wish to discuss now some of the evidence that was taken before the committee recently, in order to show the Senate and the country the manner in which Mr. Bell was treated before the committee by those who examined him. For instance, from page 242, part 1, of the hearings, I quote the following:

Senator Walsh. Well, at that time the bills which evidently became the leasing act of 1920 were pending before the Congress and hearings being had?

Mr. BELL. I do not remember exactly as to that; hearings were being held, I think about that time.

Senator Walsh. Well, was not the situation this, that Attorney General Palmer took the position that the matter ought to remain in abeyance to await action by Congress? At least that is what was

Mr. Bell. That was what was done. I won't pretend to say what the whole purpose behind it all was.

Senator Walsh. You spoke about your information about the matter, Mr Rell

Mr. BELL. Yes.

Senator Walsh. And I asked you what you knew about it. Now, from what source did your information come?

Mr. Bell. I would say from the officials of the Department of Justice. I did not talk to Attorney General Palmer about it, and, of course, what I stated is hearsay.

Senator Walsh. Yes. Well, now, anyway, you did not file the bills. I would like to know where you got your information which really, apparently, suspended your operations on the matter, where your directions came from.

Mr. Bell. From the Department of Justice. I would not say direct from Mr. Palmer; perhaps from an Assistant Attorney General in the public lands division.

Mr. President, there is no mention of this in the report of the Senator from Montana, although the witness states plainly that he was deterred in his work by the Department of Justice in that administration.

Again, I quote from pages 244 and 245 of the record:

Mr. Bell. That is true; and it was the position of the Attorney General that prevented us from filing the suits.

Senator Walsh. That being so, your work thus being interrupted, was there some hiatus there between that time and the time that you got active in the matter in some other way?

Mr. Bell. Yes; but we continued our work of study and investigation and preparation to conduct that litigation, because we did not know but what we would have to do so in the future.

Senator Walsh. To file the suits?

Mr. Bell. We kept ourselves in readiness to conduct the litigation

Senator Walsh (interposing). When you speak of "we," who was associated with you in that work?

Mr. BELL. Mr. Bouton.

Senator Walsh. Mr. Bell, will you not please go on and tell us about your further connections with the matter?

Mr. Bell. Of course, when these bills were prepared and it became apparent that this litigation was going to be commenced there was

secure the enactment of the leasing law. Our whole work was held in abeyance.

Senator Walsh. Let me interrupt, with reference to that. You speak about their activity in endeavoring to secure the enactment of the leasing law. Do you mean the entire law or the relief provisions of it?

Mr. BELL. I had in mind the entire bill.

Senator Walsh. Yes.

Mr. Bell. Of course, the relief provisions in the bill, Senator, undoubtedly were very largely responsible for the enactment of the leasing law; at least, that is my impression.

Senator Walsh. How did you get that impression?

Mr. Bell. From the records of the hearings before the committee of Congress; the statement of witnesses who appeared, interested parties who appeared.

Senator Walsh. Let us see. Great areas all throughout the West had been withdrawn from entry, because believed to be oil bearing, to await legislation upon that subject, had they not?

Senator Walsh. And were you not aware that all the representatives from the West were desirous of having enacted some legislation which would permit the appropriation of those lands?

Mr. Bell. There were a great number, as I remember, that appeared before the committees of Congress seeking the enactment of the leasing law; but my recollection is a large majority of them were parties who were interested in securing relief under the relief provisions of the act. Senator Walsh. Yes.

Mr. Bell. A greater number of them were from Denver, Colo., Wyoming, and California.

Senator Walsh. Let us dismiss that for a single moment, now.

Mr. BELL. Yes.

Senator Walsh. These people who are endeavoring to vitalize their locations under the placer mining act: Were you unaware of any sentiment or demand for legislation which would unlock these great public lands to development and appropriation?

Mr. BELL. I think there was a purpose for the enactment of the leasing law, and undoubtedly there was some sentiment.

Senator Walsh. Now, in the State of Montana-did you know of any controversies in the State of Montana of this character?

Mr. Bell. I am not familiar with the controversies in Montana. I believe there were very few anyway, Senator.

Senator Walsh. You did not know of any controversies of that character in Montana, did you?

Mr. BELL, I will not say I did.

Senator Walsh. Your attention was not directed to any controversies in Montana?

Mr. Bell. I believe not, Senator.

Senator Walsh. Very well. Do you mean to say there was no sentiment in Montana for the enactment of a law that would permit the appropriation of oil lands in Montana or their development?

Mr. President, I point out to you and to the Senate that these questions were directed by the Senator from Montana to his own witness; to a man who was there, if there for any purpose at all, to assist the committee in uncovering the rottenness of Salt Creek; yet he is cross-examined as if he were completely unfriendly.

Mr. Bell. No; I do not mean to say that at all, Senator. I think there was some.

Senator Walsh. It is quite likely that people in the State of Montana would not come down here where nobody had, up to that time, discovered any oil in Montana.

Mr. Bell. That is perhaps true.

Senator Walsh. Of course, these other people, who had discovered oil and were asking for the relief provisions, were down here in force.

Mr. BELL. They certainly were.

Senator Walsh. Everybody realized that; but I wish you would tell us, Mr. Bell, whether, as you gathered it, these people who were here were interested in the enactment of some legislation dealing with the whole subject of oil lands, or whether they were particularly interested in the relief provisions of the act.

Apparently the whole purpose of this examination, Mr. President, is to justify the leasing act, which has been, it seems to me, the cause of so much of our trouble and our misfortune.

Mr. Bell. Well, I think they were interested in the enactment of a general leasing law; but I think their great interest-that is, the great interest of most of those who appeared-was to secure the relief provisions. That was my impression.

From which it would appear that the Senator from Montana was dealing with his own witness as if he feared he might be unfriendly to the investigation.

same examination:

Senator Walsh. You had always lived in the eastern country?

Mr. Bell. Yes; I am a Missourian, I never lived as far west as Helena, Mont., Senator. I want to say this, though, I do not think it is necessary for me to make a statement here to sustain my position. Most of this evidence I have referred to are matters of record. contracts between Henshaw and Fitzhugh were on record up in Natrona County, Wyo., and a suit had been tried down in Arizona in courts in which Henshaw and Fitzhugh both testified and, if they are to be believed, these locations were certainly dummy locations.

Senator Walsh. Well, reference is made in your report to that, Mr. Bell, and we were eager to see that testimony, but I think that Judge Payne told us that he did not remember that that had been produced and there was no record of it there.

Let me make this suggestion to you-

This is the senior Senator from Montana, now giving a concrete illustration of what might happen-

Let me make this suggestion to you: When the Klondike discoveries were made in 1898 there was quite a flocking from Montana to Arizona and some enterprising prospector whom we knew well, and whom we trusted, was about to go, and he had not any money and wanted to go, and a half dozen of us would get together and put up the money for him under an arrangement that he was to go up there and locate placer mining claims, put the names of all of us on the claims, do just what he saw fit with them; if he got a chance to sell, why, all well and good. So he would go up there and locate a claim with eight names on it, the gentlemen who assisted him in financing his enterprise, and then he would make a contract with some one to sell the claim, or make a contract by which some one was to have a three-quarters interest in the claim for the purpose of furnishing additional money to work the claim, and he was to have a one-fourth interest, but that one-fourth interest he had, of course, for the benefit of all eight of us. Is it not conceivable that that is what Mr. Fitzhugh did?

Apparently trying to justify Mr. Fitzhugh, Mr. President.

Mr. Bell. That is not my conclusion from the contracts, the testimony, and all the information that I have been able to obtain in connection with these locations.

Senator Walsh. But just now, Mr. Bell, we are simply considering the effect of these contracts to which you have called our attention. Of course, there may be much other evidence that will confirm the other view, and I should think that this testimony given in the Arizona case would be exceedingly important, but at the present time I am calling your attention merely to these particular contracts, which as I understand you, themselves demonstrate the invalidity of these locations.

Mr. Bell. I had the impression when I prepared this memorandum in 1920 that the contracts disclosed the dummy character of the locations beyond any question, because the contract provided that Henshaw should have a three-fourths interest and Fitzhugh a one-fourth interest. Why? Why, because Henshaw was furnishing the money. The contracts certainly disclose that there is no other interest except Henshaw's and Fitzhugh's

Senator Walsh. Unless, of course-

More of the cross-examination, Mr. President:

Senator Walsh. Unless, of course, they were acting in a representative capacity in making the contract.

Senator PITTMAN. Was there not a suit brought in California in which these silent partners were made a party to the suit?

Mr. BELL. I am not sure as to that.

Senator PITTMAN. Well, it is in this testimony here in which you appeared. Right here it testifies when the suit was brought that they made all of these parties in interest a party to it. It is right in the hearing you sat at.

Mr. Bell. Well, it has been six or seven years ago, Senator, and I do not pretend to remember all the details of what occurred at that hearing. I am giving you my best recollection.

Here the senior Senator from Nevada seems uneasy about the good faith of the witness.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. PITTMAN. If the Senator were not a lawyer, he would be more pardonable; but, of course, I assume that he has had nothing to do with mining law.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I do not hear the Senator. Will he speak louder?

Yes, sir. I say that the question submitted Mr. PITTMAN. was whether certain evidence constituted a fraudulent location, known as a dummy location. If evidence was presented to the committee by Mr. Bell or any one else that would lead a lawyer to believe that it was a dummy location, it would be the duty

On pages 252 and 253 appears the following-more of the of the members of the committee to vote instantly to request the institution of proceedings to set it aside. The question was whether or not he had any other evidence than the contract

The contract of sale was subject to interpretation. Those who thought the contract of sale constituted a dummy location would so vote; those who did not would vote the other way; but the evidence that Mr. Bell referred to was as to whether or not these parties had any interest in it other than that of dummy

The Senator from Nevada called attention to a suit in California in which all of these parties were alleged to have an existing interest in those claims, and also appeared and asserted an existing interest in those claims. While that would not be at all conclusive as to their having that interest, it would indicate that the plaintiffs in the case thought they had an interest; the answer would indicate that the defendants thought they had an interest; and what we were trying to find out from Mr. Bell was the evidence, and all of the evidence, upon which he based his conclusion.

As a matter of fact, I will state frankly now as a lawyerof course, lawyers differ with regard to these matters-that I do not think the evidence he submitted disclosed that they were dummy locators. That, of course, is a matter for different people to determine. I think Mr. Bell was absolutely sincere about it, and I think he told us very frankly what he based his conclusion upon. Since that time, so as to get an outside opinion of another lawyer, or to get the opinion of a lawyer for the benefit of the members of the committee who were not lawyers, the committee appointed an ex-Member of this body, an ex-Senator, former Senator Sterling, as the counsel and investigator of this committee to take all of the evidence that had ever been submitted to any committee we have, all of the evidence that has ever been submitted to the Department of Justice, everything that could be found, go into it, examine it, and make his report.

Former Senator Sterling was a distinguished Republican Member of this body. He was not even an independent. He has reported to the committee; and, as is published in to-day's paper, he did not find anything to justify the charges of Mr. Bell or any

other charges.

That is the situation which you find to-day.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President, I am perfectly well aware of the attitude the Senator from Nevada took in this whole investigation, so far as the hearings disclosed his attitude. I am not quarreling with any conclusions at which the Senator may arrive. I am saying that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. Walsh], and to some degree the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Kendrick] treated this witness, who was there to give light on this subject, there in the interest of the United States Government-he has no other interest-as if he were a hostile They cross-examined him and they heckled him. witness.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President-

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I am reading the record, Mr. President, to show just how they heckled him-

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President-

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. How he was subjected to this argument and this question and that question and the other question-

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President-

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. And I submit that in my judgment it was wrong.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I do. Mr. WALSH of Montana. I venture to assert that if Mr. Bell were interrogated about it, he would say that he was treated with every courtesy by the committee.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Well, let the Senate judge, and let the country judge. I am reading the testimony of Mr. Bell, and the questions that were propounded, and the manner in which they were propounded.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I will give you Mr. Bell's judg-

Mr. PITTMAN. Just one word—
Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. And now, one other word with reference to the Senator from Nevada. I grant the Senator that Mr. Bell could be mistaken.

Mr. Bell's report was chiefly an indictment. It was an indictment of the conditions that prevailed out there for years. It was a statement of what he believes is the fact or what are the facts connected with the whole Salt Creek situation. In fact, after his long study of years, it goes back years before the lands were withdrawn. But it seems to me it is wholly without the province of this committee, an impartial committee, or

any member of the committee, to insist to Mr. Bell that, in their judgment or its judgment or his judgment, his facts are not correct, and that the conclusions he draws are unwarranted. This committee, if it is anything at all, is a committee that is directed by the Senate to procure the facts.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President—
Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. And if Mr. Bell could not supply all the facts, he could tell them where they could get additional facts, and, if necessary, the committee could go out into Wyoming, and go all over Wyoming, or all over the West, to the end these lands might be reclaimed by the United States

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President—— Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I am suggesting that the report of the hearings indicates to an unprejudiced mind that the committee was prejudiced to begin with, if not against the investigation, certainly against Mr. Bell.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana

yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. PITTMAN. I can speak only for myself in the matter. I was not present on all occasions, because I did not know what Mr. Bell would testify to or what the facts were. As a member of the committee I hold that it is not my duty as a member of the committee to attempt to sustain the Government, or attempt to sustain one claiming title under the Government. Our committee has no authority of adjudication. What we were trying to do was to get Mr. Bell to submit to that committee every bit of evidence he had obtained in his long investigation, covering several years, and it was necessary, as he had filed a written statement, to question him for hours in trying to follow down to see what he had, and when he had completed his statement, after the long examination to which the Senator refers, he was asked the question, "Do you know of any other evidence bearing on this subject?" And you will find in the record that he said "No."

Some of us have listened to this matter on several occasions, have listened to it over years, not from this witness but from many witnesses; we had a number of investigations made, we paid \$60,000 or more to have an investigation several years ago; if we had been prejudiced in this matter, if there had been any desire to hasten it or foreclose it, we would have sought a vote on it. There was no evidence of that at all.

not even seek to foreclose further investigation.

Instead of that, the committee unanimously voted to employ disinterested, able, impartial counsel to take this evidence of Mr. Bell's, to take every charge that Mr. Bell had made, to take every letter that had been written to the committee, or the Department of Justice, or the Secretary of the Interior, to take every scrap of evidence and go out to Wyoming, or go to California, if necessary, to follow up these suspicions, these charges, investigate and report on them, and in doing that we selected an ex-Senator from this body, a Republican Senator, whose reputation is high, whose honor is unquestioned, whose ability as a lawyer is equal even to that of the Senator from

Indiana, and we asked him to report to us.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President, why was Senator Sterling chosen? I would like to have the Senator explain

that to me.

I will ask the Senator, why should he not Mr. PITTMAN.

have been chosen?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. For one reason, because he was interested in the leasing act and assisted in putting the leasing act through this body when he was a Member of this body.

Mr. PITTMAN. And the Senator says that every man— Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana, No; I am not saying that. Wait until I have finished.

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator means to say that every Senator in this body who voted for the leasing act is so prejudiced that he could not on behalf of the Government investigate as to whether or not a fraud had been committed against the Gov-

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. No; I do not mean to say that. I am saying that he voted for the leasing act, and I have been informed that he was the father of several amendments to the act, some of which have been under very severe attack.

Mr. PITTMAN. That is not true.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. If that is true, does the Senator think he was a proper man to act as counsel for this committee?

Mr. PITTMAN. From whom did the Senator understand that an amendment to that bill offered by Senator Sterling was ever adopted?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I have heard it from several

Mr. PITTMAN. From whom?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I think the Record so shows. I have been through the RECORD, and, if my memory serves me right, I think the RECORD will show that.

Mr. PITTMAN. Then get the RECORD.
Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. The Senator can have a page get him the RECORD and see if Senator Sterling did not, as a matter of fact, introduce amendments.

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator means to charge— Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. The Senator was here. Did

Senator Sterling, or did he not, introduce amendments?

Mr. PITTMAN. I do not remember that Senator Sterling ever introduced or offered an amendment in connection with that measure. I know one thing—that he was not responsible for any one of the so-called relief acts in that bill-not one of

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Why was the Senator so anxious not to appoint Mr. Bell as counsel, a much younger man, who knows this whole subject?

Mr. PITTMAN. We wanted to appoint some one, a highclass lawyer

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. How about Mr. Bell?

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. Bell is not a high-class man. Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. He was five years Assistant Attorney General, and he is a Democrat, and nobody can say a word against his character or his courage.

Mr. PITTMAN. I did not want a Democrat appointed. Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Oh, that was it!

Mr. PITTMAN. I wanted to take this thing out of politics. Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Oh, I see! So the Senator wanted appointed a Republican, so that it would not be in

Mr. PITTMAN. Absolutely; and stated in committee that I did not want to vote for any Democrat. I wanted a man appointed whose reputation was known, whose honor could not be questioned; and I am surprised that the Senator from Indiana should question either the honor or the purpose or the fairness or the integrity of the former great, distinguished Senator from this body who was chosen. He will not be agreed with by either Republican or Democrat on either side. As far as saying that a man may be prejudiced because he voted for the leasing bill, if the Senator will examine the Record he will find that 85 per cent of his colleagues who were here then and who voted for the leasing act are here now. He will find that only five or six Senators in this body voted against that bill. This selection was as impartial as it could possibly have been made, and it was unanimous.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President, without going into that, I shall have something more to say about the counsel

of the committee in a few minutes.

Mr. PITTMAN. I will have something to say to-morrow with regard to this particular subject myself, in which I will

quote the record and not make assertions.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. The Senator can do that in his own time. I have been very generous with him in giving him

whatever of my time he wanted. Mr. NYE. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I yield.

Mr. NYE. I would like to have the attention of the Senator from Nevada. I understood him to say that the adoption of the leasing act was unanimous. I am told that he maintained that the selection of Mr. Sterling was unanimous by the committee.

Mr. PITTMAN. I stated that, according to my recollection, about 85 per cent of the United States Senate voted for the

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Did not the Senator say also-NYE. The Senator did not maintain, then, that the selection of Senator Sterling as counsel for the committee was unanimous on the part of the committee?

Mr. PITTMAN. It was by unanimous vote, I understand.

Mr. NYE. It was not, Mr. President.

Mr. PITTMAN. Who voted against him?

Mr. NYE. I did. Mr. PITTMAN. Did anyone else?

Mr. NYE. Not that I know of.

Mr. PITTMAN. Does the record disclose that the Senator voted "no"?

Mr. NYE. The record discloses my opposition.

PITTMAN. Does the record disclose that the Senator voted "no"

Mr. NYE. As I recall it, there was no roll call upon that

Mr. PITTMAN. No roll call upon the subject?

Mr. NYE. No roll call.

Mr. PITTMAN. Who voted "no"? Did anyone? Mr. NYE. It was by the choice of the committee. Mr. PITTMAN. Did the Senator state at the time we selected 'I want to be recorded as opposed to this selection "?

Mr. NYE. I certainly did, Mr. President. Mr. PITTMAN. I have no recollection of it.

Mr. NYE. I most assuredly did.

Mr. PITTMAN. I have no recollection of it, for the simple reason that when Senator Sterling's name came up there, when we selected him there, by a vote of that committee, if there was

any single, solitary vote against him, I never heard it.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. The Senator from Nevada does not question the Senator from North Dakota in that statement,

does he?

Mr. PITTMAN. I do not question anything except his recollection as to a vote. As to whether or not he was opposed to him is a matter I know nothing about. If he says he is opposed to him, he is opposed to him; I do not doubt his word. But certainly nothing took place to indicate that every member of that committee was not satisfied with his appointment, at

least that anyone was opposing his appointment.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President, more remarkable

still, from pages 258, 259, 260, and 261:

Senator Kendrick. I wanted to ask you a question there, Mr. Bell. For some time, in reference to those contracts, you have referred to them as a matter of record in Natrona County, and also as to this reference to them, as I understand, in the affidavits, they are referred to in those affidavits. Did it not strike you that if there had been anything questionable about the validity of those contracts that they would have been withheld from record?

Mr. Bell. Well, if the gentlemen who placed them on record had had any knowledge of their invalidity, of course, they would not have done

Senator KENDRICK. Well, the affidavits of Mr. Schuyler and Mr. Shoup, as I recall, testified to their knowledge of the mining law and the placer claims, and about things dealing with oil locations on the part, as I remember it, of Henshaw and Fitzhugh. It is stated under oath that they were both experienced in that kind of location, and particular reference is made as to their familiarity with what constituted a valid location.

Mr. Bell. I have no knowledge of the experience or information that either Fitzhugh or Henshaw had, Senator.

Senator Kendrick. But the affidavits, I mean, testified to that effect. Mr. Bell. Yes. At this point, as you mention those affidavits, I want to add that I had no knowledge of what was going on in the Interior Department in connection with the applicants for these leases and did not see these affidavits until I think the day that the matter was presented orally before the Secretary.

Now, something has been said about no reply having been made to those affidavits by Mr. Bouton or myself. I considered that when I gave the Secretary of the Interior the information contained in that memorandum and handed him the original of it that day, and the information contained in my oral statement to him, that I had done my duty. The law imposed no further duty upon the Department of Justice to make any contrary showing. The fact of the matter is the law imposed the duty upon the Secretary of the Interior to administer the leasing act. I had no right or authority under the law to proceed to try any sort of a case or present further evidence to the Secretary of the Interior.

Senator Walsh. You were there really only for the purpose of helping him?

Mr. Bell. That was my only purpose and thought that when I furnished that much evidence to the Secretary of the Interior I had performed my duty, and that it was his duty and obligation to make proper investigation and ascertain the facts in connection with these applications for leases, and I did not ask, as I remember it, that the leases be rejected. I asked that testimony be taken before the register and receiver of the land office and all the facts ascertained, and that these leases not be granted on ex parte application or showings made by the applicants themselves. 'That was the only thing I asked. I wanted the Secretary not to start into this thing without full knowledge of the situation. That was all.

Senator PITTMAN. As a matter of fact, there was really but one question involved in those leases, and that was under the section of the act that if they had reasonable ground to believe that fraud had been committed by those locators, we will say, that then they were bound by that fraud and could not obtain a lease. That is true, is it not?

Mr. Bell. That was my idea of it, Senator.

Senator PITTMAN. Exactly. Now, then, what notice did the companies have of fraud? That was the contract, was it, because they were assumed to have notice of it?

Mr. BELL. It was the contract. It was the thorough information that Mr. Shoup and Mr. Schuyler must have had of the whole situation when they negotiated the contract with Henshaw, as I have said, they refer to the contracts between Fitzhugh and Henshaw.

Senator PITTMAN. Exactly. That is true, is it not? Now, the question is they had notice of the contract, did they not?

Mr. BELL, Yes.

Senator PITTMAN. Now, we admit that. Everybody admits it. It is proven at least that they had notice of the contracts.

Mr. BELL, Yes.

Senator PITTMAN. Now, then, if those contracts were, as you claim, that those were dummy locations, then they had knowledge of the fraud, because dummy locations are fraudulent.

Mr. BELL. Yes.

Senator PITTMAN. They had knowledge of the fraud, and they could not obtain a lease, but the construction of the contract determined whether or not there was fraud. You contended that it showed fraud. Personally, I do not think it is proved.

There, Mr. President, was the position of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] long before the investigation had been concluded.

Senator Walsh. Let me put it this way, Mr. Bell: If the contracts are fraudulent on their face, then these people had notice and they did not exonerate themselves as the statute required. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. BELL, I think so.

Senator Walsh. Well, then, does it not all come back to the question, then, as to whether these contracts do show that the locations were dummy locations?

Mr. Bell, No; because there might have been a great deal of other evidence.

Senator Walsh, Other evidence?

Mr. Bell. Yes; we are not confined to those contracts.

Senator Walsh. And you did not feel under any obligation to go and hunt up the other evidence?

Mr. Bell. My recollection is, Senator, that there was a vast amount of other evidence that had been accumulated over a period of a great many years by agents of the Land Office and was on file in the Land Office. Whether the Secretary had actual knowledge of this information in that office or not, I do not know, but I thought it my duty to advise him in a general way of the facts.

Senator PITTMAN. Had you not been, as an examiner for the Department of Justice, making your preparation of your case to file these bills?

Mr. Bell. About the first work I did was a study of the files and assisted in preparing these bills.

Senator PITTMAN. Did you not prepare your case and get the evidence as diligently as you would expect the Secretary of the Interior to do?

Mr. Bell. Why, certainly. I was making every effort to be familiar

with this situation.

Senator PITTMAN. How long had you been preparing this case before you prepared these bills?

Mr. Bell. I became connected in an unofficial way, as I remember, in November, 1918, with these oil-land matters, and these leases were granted in the latter part of January and February; I think the greater part of them in 1921.

Now, I had spent a good portion of that time in connection with these

Senator Walsh. The information that we got was that while a considerable number of them were authorized in January and February of 1921, the leases themselves were not executed until the new administration came in.

Mr. BELL. Yes: I see.

Senator PITTMAN. Let me follow this up just a second, sir. You commenced to investigate this Salt Creek oil field when?

Mr. BELL. In November, 1918, Senator, to the best of my recollection. Senator PITTMAN. November, 1918; and you continued that investigation until you filed these bills?

Mr. BELL. The bills were never filed.

Senator PITTMAN. I mean until you prepared the bills.

Mr. Bell. A good portion of my time was spent in connection with these oil-land matters

Senator PITTMAN. When did you prepare these bills?

Mr. Bell. During the winter of 1918 and 1919.

Senator PITTMAN. 1918 and 1919?

Mr. BELL. Yes.

Senator PITTMAN. Did you have any facts with regard to that available to you outside of what you got?

Mr. Bell. A vast amount of data collected by the agents of the General Land Office.

Senator PITTMAN. Did you file your bill or prepare your bill until you had gotten all of the information that you could get?

Mr. Bell. I thought we had a fair idea of the situation when these bills were drawn.

Senator PITTMAN. And you felt you had sufficient information to justify the filing of those bills and the prosecuting of those suits? Mr. BELL. Absolutely.

Senator PITTMAN. Did you conceal anything from the Secretary of the Interior at the time you had your hearing before him in 1920?

Mr. Bell. I have never concealed anything in connection with these from anybody.

Senator PITTMAN. Then you presented everything to him that you had when you prepared your bills?

Mr. Bell. No; I do not mean to say that at all.

Senator PITTMAN. Did you gather something between the time you prepared the bills and the time you appeared and testified before him in 1920?

Mr. Bell. I certainly acquired a much more accurate knowledge of the situation between the time I prepared these bills and the time I presented this matter to the Secretary.

Senator PITTMAN. Did you include the additional matter in your report to him?

Mr. Bell. Why, Senator, I did not undertake to go into all the details in presenting this matter to the Secretary; not at all.

Senator PITTMAN. Why did you conceal some parts of this information when you were trying to urge him to bring proceedings not to grant those leases?

I point out that this was the Government's witness being dealt with in this matter.

Mr. BELL. I did not conceal any information.

Senator PITTMAN. Well, if you gathered information between the time you prepared that bill in 1918 and when you made your report in 1920, why did you not include it in your report?

Mr. Bell. I have stated that I considered it my duty, not under the law but my duty under my oath and as a special assistant to the Attorney General, to give the Secretary of the Interior enough of the facts pertaining to the fraudulent character of these locations and the knowledge of fraud so that he might be on his guard.

Senator PITTMAN. Now I want something you did not have in the report. That is what we want to know. Let us take what you did not have in the report.

Mr. Bell. I am not sure that the report calls attention to the fact that the Fitzhugh-Henshaw locations were made after the order of withdrawal. I am quite confident the report does not contain an outline of the dummy character of a large number of these locations made from 1883 on down to 1908.

Senator PITTMAN. I am not referring to those. I am only referring to the Henshaw-Fitzhugh locations. Now, is there any information with regard to those which you did not have in that report?

Mr. Bell. Well, I would not undertake to say. I do not remember. Senator Pittman. We would like to know, as a committee, if you have any information.

Mr. Bell. I understand that, Senator; and I am giving you the best I can from my recollection, having been disconnected from the work entirely for six or seven years. Now, for instance, we have in the files, or had in the files, a statement of Mr. Knowles, one of the Fitzhugh-Henshaw locators, in which he admitted that he had no interest in these locations. I believe that is in my memorandum.

Senator Walsh. It is here; yes.

Senator PITTMAN. Yes.

Mr. Bell. And then I believe the investigation showed that others of the locators-

Senator PITTMAN (interposing). Did you give that at the hearings? Mr. Bell. I think so, but I am not positive.

Senator PITTMAN. I know you did. But, now, what knowledge did the companies applying for leases have as to what this man had in his mind, one of these locators, that he never had any interest?

Mr. Bell. They had the knowledge acquired by Mr. Shoup and Mr. Schuyler, who organized the Midwest Oil Co., the Reed Investment Co., and the little Reed companies. They became the officers, directors, and the stockholders of those companies.

Mr. President, that was an interesting examination, but the witness continues to testify that there was both fraud and monopoly (pp. 266-267):

Mr. Bell. I have never been fully convinced that the relief provisions in the act, unless they were very judicially administered, were feasible, Senator.

Senator Walsh. That is to say, you feel the relief provisions opened the door for fraud?

Mr. Bell. You can accept the present situation. I feel that there is fraud. I feel that there was fraud in these claims to this field, and ordinarily applicants had knowledge of it, and these leases ought not to have been issued.

Senator Walsh. For the present, Mr. Bell, I wanted to see what your attitude was with respect to the law itself. Now, if it be admitted that the original prospector, the good-faith prospector, who went out into the desert, miles away from anywhere, the Government never knowing or even suspecting that there was any oil there at all, actually went out there and took—risked his money in the matter and had sunk the well and had not really got oil anywhere, so be had not any legal title to the property at all when the withdrawal order came on, but he went on, persisted, actually demonstrated by his actual results that the property was immensely valuable to the Government of the United States. We

want to take the case of that fellow. Do you think that the law ought to make provision for him?

Mr. Bell. That is a very sympathetic case, Senator.

Senator Walsh, So that, so far as the law is concerned, you find no fault with the law except that the opportunities for fraudulent claims were opened up?

Mr. Bell. It appears to me—that appears to be the situation. What has happened in the Salt Creek field? One concern is getting the oil to-day, all of it, as a practical proposition from the Salt Creek field—namely, the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that concern interesting itself at the time of the hearings prior to the enactment of the leasing law?

Mr. Bell. The whole property and all the claims in a measure had been consolidated in the Midwest Refining Co. I think that was about January, 1914, that the Midwest Refining Co. was organized, and through the representatives of the Midwest Refining Co. they were seeking the enactment of the relief provisions, and it was the Midwest Refining Co. that has had the relief and not the old prospector who went out and spent his life and his money.

Senator Walsh. If the Midwest Refining Co. was the transferee of that old prospector, of course it was entitled to just the same relief, Mr. Bell. \* \* \*

Senator Kendrick (interposing). Well, now, you investigated that field when you were out there?

Mr. Bell. I did, Senator. I think at that time I had a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the situation. And I want to say this, that my recollection is that the Reed interests paid Fitzhugh \$10,000, and the rest of the consideration he was to get out of the oil, if he got anything. They paid Henshaw \$325,000—\$25,000 cash, and the balance, if he ever got any balance, was to be paid out of the oil—so that the Reed interests actually paid \$35,000 in cash and acquired a majority of the lands of the valuable Salt Creek field. Perhaps you consider that a big consideration to be paid by them at that time, but it does not appear to me to be the fact.

Mr. President, that was the testimony of Mr. Bell, showing how the Salt Creek field was acquired and taken from the United States. From the foregoing it appears conclusively that the witness can not be shaken in his statements.

At pages 272-273 appears the following:

Mr. Bell. But, as a practical proposition, according to all the information I have been able to obtain, the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana receives most of the oil that comes from the Salt Creek field.

Senator Kendrick. Receives it at its refinery?

Mr. Bell. Yes

Senator Kendrick. That does not interfere with the development of the field, not the operation of the leases.

Mr. Bell. And the Midwest Refining Co., that is owned almost wholly by the Standard of Indiana, has contracts with all these applicants, all of these leaseholders in the Salt Creek field, whereby the Midwest Refining Co. gets the oil. In other words, according to all the information I have at my command, the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana has practically a monopoly of the oil business in Wyoming and adjacent thereto, not only for producing but also the transportation through pipe lines, the refinery and distribution of the oil, and the Government is largely responsible for the situation because of its method of leasing the Salt Creek field and the sale of the Salt Creek royalties; and then it finished the job by leasing the Teapot naval reserve to certain other interests that were controlled by the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana.

Senator Walsh. The committee wants what information they can get about that. Let us understand about that. The Standard Oil Co. owns practically all the stock of the Midwest Refining Co. and the Midwest Refining Co. owns the—but if there are independent operators in the field, there is nothing in the law to prevent all of them from selling their oil to the refining company, is there?

Mr. Bell. I think there is nothing in the law, but as a practical proposition, if the situation is now as it was when I made an investigation of the situation, it would hardly be possible for them to accomplish much independently because the pipe lines are owned by the Midwest interests. The refinery is owned by the Midwest interests. They have a greater part of the production of the field, if not through the ownership of subsidiary companies themselves, they acquired it through operating agreements or contracts entered into, I think, in 1914, extending for a period of 20 years, that gave them almost a complete monopoly of the whole Salt Creek field.

Here is evidence of monopoly gone mad, just what the committee was directed to ascertain, but there is not a word on that subject in the report of the Senator from Montana.

Finally, on page 275, the witness gives his conclusions definitely in answer to questions by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN-

The junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NyE] is the chairman of the committee—

It has been very helpful, Mr. Bell. There is just one question; Do you feel that the filing of suits at the time you were making your investigation was prevented by any source at all?

Mr. Bell. I can answer that only by giving hearsay testimony. I was advised by officials or employees of the Department of Justice that the Attorney General did not desire the bills of complaint filed; that the matter was in course of settlement, and they were not filed because those of us in charge felt that we did not have, at least, specific authority to file them.

The CHAIRMAN, Now, in conclusion: Do you think a thorough examination might eventually disclose under the law the opportunity and the occasion for annulling and canceling leases and contracts which had been granted in that field?

I say " might."

Mr. Bell. Yes; the Government owns title to this land. There are certain lessees on the land. If the Government in its investigation should ascertain leases were obtained in violation of the fraud provisions of the leasing act, I would think that suits to cancel these leases could be successfully maintained.

So there you are, Mr. President.
Mr. Bell believes, and I believe, that the enormously valuable Salt Creek field can be recovered for the people of the United States. At any rate, the effort should be made.

In my judgment this committee should be authorized to carry over its work into the next Congress, and I have no doubt that the distinguished Senator from Nebraska will insist that this is

Furthermore, Mr. Bell should be engaged as counsel for the committee. Let Senator Sterling continue if it be desired, but in any event, let the Government have the services of the one man who is thoroughly conversant with the whole situation. He knows of the rottenness and corruption that exist there, and has the courage to expose it.

Fortunately, in the person of the Senator from North Dakota. the committee has a chairman who commands universal con-

fidence.

Let us get down to rock bottom, have done with side issues and smoke screens, and recover for the American people the heritage that is rightly theirs.

Mr. President, at this point I ask to have inserted again in

the RECORD a copy of the so-called Bell report.

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

The report is as follows:

# LEASING SALT CREEK OIL FIELD

Leases to the withdrawn oil lands of the Salt Creek field, Natrona County, Wyo., have been requested under the act of February 25, 1920, by:

Applicant: api	plied for
Wyoming Associated Oil Corporation	5, 963
Midwest Oil Co	1,970
Central Wyoming Oil & Development Co	920
Petroleum Maatschappij Salt Creek	160
Salt Creek Consolidated Oil Co	2, 347
E. J. Sullivan, trustee	560
Mountain & Gulf Oil Co	960
New York Oil Co	120
New York Oil Co. and Northwestern Oil Co	480
National Petroleum Co	
Federal Oil & Development Co	320
Parkman Oil Co	160
A MARINE OIL COLLEGE C	100
Total	14,920

These applications should be denied because

1. The applicants have been guilty of fraud, had knowledge or reasonable grounds to know of fraud, and have not acted honestly and in good

2. The applicants are requesting a greater acreage than the maximum allowed by said act, and the leases if granted as requested, or at least interests therein, would inure to persons, associations, or corporations for a greater aggregate area or acreage than the maximum in said act provided for.

FRAUD

Section 18 of the act of February 25, 1920, provides:

'No claimant for a lease who has been guilty of any fraud, or who had knowledge or reasonable grounds to know of any fraud, or who has not acted honestly and in good faith, shall be entitled to any of the benefits of this section."

All the debates in both the Senate and House of Representatives, all the records of hearings before the Committees on Public Lands and the reports of these committees, show that the question of fraud was a subject of very serious consideration when this act was before Congress. Because of the fact that rights were to be conferred that did not then exist under the law, it was feared that relief might be extended to claimants who were not justly entitled thereto. The above-mentioned provision, which was included in the bill introduced in the Senate, was modified in the House so as to be less stringent, but was adopted in conference and finally enacted. It does not require that a claimant shall be guilty of fraud or shall have actual knowledge of fraud, but only that a claimant shall have had reasonable grounds to know of any fraud, or shall not have acted honestly and in good faith. It now behooves those who administer or interpret this law to give it the effect it was intended to have. This intention of Congress is indicated in the language of Senator Lenroot, as follows:

"But the Senator forgets that this entire section is a section extending a privilege to a certain class of claimants. The Senator well knows that it is this section that has caused the greatest controversies of any portion of the oil-leasing legislation. Complaint has constantly been made that legislation which has been proposed in the past has opened the door of relief to fraudulent claimants. This is the strongest provision against fraud that has ever been found in any relief section in an oil leasing bill." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 66th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 58, p. 4536,)

The rights asserted by the claimants were initiated under the placer mining laws, a provision of which is as follows:

"Legal subdivisions of 40 acres may be subdivided into 10-acre tracts; and two or more persons, or associations of persons having contiguous claims of any size, although such claims may be less than 10 acres each, may make joint entry thereof; but no location of a placer claim, made after the 9th day of July, 1870, shall exceed 160 acres for any one person or association of persons, which location shall conform to the United States surveys; and nothing in this section contained shall defeat or impair any bona fide preemption or homestead claim upon agricultural lands, or authorize the sale of the improvements of any bona fide settler to any purchaser." 9, 1870, 16 Stat. L. 217, 6 Fed. Stat. Ann. 577, sec. 2330.) (Act July

Another provision is as follows:

When placer claims are upon surveyed lands and conform to legal subdivisions no further survey of plat shall be required, and all placer claims located after the 10th day of May, 1872, shall conform as near as practicable with the United States system of public-land surveys, and the rectangular subdivisions of such surveys, and no such location shall include more than 20 acres for each individual claimant; but where placer claims can not be conformed to legal subdivisions survey and plat shall be made as on unsurveyed lands; and whereby the segregation of mineral lands in any legal subdivision a quantity of agricultural land less than 40 acres remains, such fractional portion of agricultural land may be entered by any party qualified by law for homestead or preemption purposes." (Act of May 10, 1872, 17 Stat. L. 94, 6 Fed. preemption purposes." Stat. Ann. 579, sec. 2331.)

The object of these provisions is to limit the quantity of placer mineral land which may be located by one person to 20 acres, in order to make a general distribution among as large a number as possible, rather than favor a few individuals who might wish to acquire princely fortunes by securing large tracts of such lands, and to secure the prompt development of such lands as are located; therefore it is contrary to this policy for one person to cover more than 20 acres by one location by the device of using the names of his employees, friends, and relatives as locators.

Regardless of any kind of a definition that might be given for "fraud," the courts repeatedly have held that it is a fraud on the law and on the Government where locations are not made in good faith for the use and benefit of the named locators, each with an interest not to exceed 20 acres. Such a scheme is condemned in the case of Cook v. Klonos et al. (164 Fed. 529), wherein the court said:

"The prohibition contained in section 2231 against the location of more than 20 acres for each individual claimant' is direct and positive and limits the amount of ground that any one claimant may appropriate, either individually or in association claim, at the time of the loca-The question here is not whether an individual can purchase mining claims after they have been located and hold them in his own name but whether an individual can, by the use of the names of his friends, relatives, or employees as dummies, locate for his own benefit a greater area of mining ground than that allowed by law. \* The few restrictions imposed are only intended to prevent the primary location and accumulation of large tracts of land by a few persons, and to encourage the exploration of the mineral resources of the public land by actual bona fide locators. The scheme of using the names of dummy locators in making the locations of a mining claim for the purpose of securing a concealed interest in such claim appears to be contrary to the purpose of the statute; but when this scheme is used to secure an interest in a claim for a single individual, not only concealed but in excess of the limit of 20 acres, it is plainly in violation of the letter of the law, and when, as in this case, all the locators had knowledge of the concealed interest and were parties to the trans-

action, it rendered the location void." In the case of Nome & Sinook v. Snyder (187 Fed. 385-388, 389) the court said:

"It follows, therefore, with exact logic, that five persons may by means of proper association make valid location of 100 acres in one claim, so that it did not include more than 20 acres to each individual. This does not mean that while the five may, by associating themselves together, locate 100 acres in one claim, one or two of the five can acquire by such location substantially all the claim, leaving the others with proportionately a very small or normal interest therein.

"Any scheme or device entered into whereby one individual is to acquire more than that amount or proportion in area constitutes a fraud upon the law, and consequently a fraud upon the Government, from which the title is to be acquired, and any location made in pursuance of such scheme or device is without legal support and void. The proposition seems to be well established.

"Now, in the case under review, the very articles of agreement put the claimant beyond the pale of the law, while the testimony establishes the illegality of the scheme beyond peradventure. The location, although made in the name of the association, two of the parties thereto were to have but a nominal interest in the claim, one less than one-fifth, and one more than one-half, giving the latter, of course, more than 50 acres proportionately in the claim. So that, regardless of the discovery, regardless of the marking of the ground, or even the assessment work, the claim was void and could not avail the locators in any stage."

In the case of The United States v. Brookshire Oil Co. et al (242 Fed. 718-721) the court said:

"It is manifest that Burge could acquire no right in mineral lands as against the Government by such subterfuge, and since the Brookshire Co. was in possession and claiming under him, and as his representative or agent, it necessarily follows that its interest was no greater than his. It is true there is no limitation as to the number of mining claims an individual or association of individuals may locate, but it is provided that no claim shall exceed 20 acres for each individual (sec. 2331, R. S.; Comp. St. 1916, par. 4630), or 160 acres for an association (sec. 2330, R. S.; Comp. St. 1916, par. 4629). This is a direct and positive limitation of the amount of mining ground any one claimant may appropriate individually or as a member of an association in any one claim, and he can not evade the law by the use of the names of his friends, relatives, or employees. Any device whereby one person is to acquire more than 20 acres, or an association more than 160 acres in area, by one discovery, constitutes a fraud upon the Government and is without legal support and void."

#### HENSHAW-FITZHUGH LOCATIONS

Preferential rights to leases to nearly all the Salt Creek field, which was withdrawn by Executive order of September 27, 1909, are based on what are generally known as the Henshaw-Fitzhugh locations which were made in the spring of 1910. These locations were void not only because they were made subsequent to the order of withdrawal but also because none of the said locations were made in good faith and for the use and benefit of the named locators, each with an interest not to exceed 20 acres of each tract; in other words, the locators were what are commonly called "dummies." These locations, 120 in number, were made by residents of San Francisco and Oakland, Calif., as follows:

"William G. Henshaw, financier; Hetty T. Henshaw, wife of William G. Henshaw; William M. Fitzhugh, mining operator; and Mary E. Fitzhugh, wife of William M. Fitzhugh."

The name of the four parties above mentioned were used on each of the 120 locations with four of the following, without any apparent method of selection or rotation:

"W. F. Henshaw, brother of William C. Henshaw; Helen W. Henshaw, wife of F. W. Henshaw; Lillie T. Hall, sister of Hetty T. Henshaw; E. N. Hall, husband of Lillie T. Hall; Alla S. Chickering, daughter of William C. Henshaw; Harry Chickering, husband of Alla S. Chickering; Ethel K. Nichols, niece of Hetty T. Henshaw; Henry D. Nichols, husband of Ethel K. Nichols; and H. J. Knowles."

The names of the four following-mentioned parties, all employees of William G. Hensbaw, were used, two of them once and two of them twice:

"Charles T. Rudolph, Emil Nusbaumer, William H. Metcalf, and P. C. Black."

William G. Henshaw, a financier, furnished all the money for the enterprise, while William M. Fitzingh made the locations and was to do such work in the field as was deemed necessary. Evidence is abundant that these two men were the parties in interest and that they received the profits of their operations.

H. J. Knowles freely admits that his name was used as an accommodation to William G. Henshaw, and that he never had any interest in the locations. The use of the names of the majority of these locators cost Henshaw the munificent sum of \$12.50 for each time each name was used. But the best evidence of the character of these locations is contained in contracts-of record-between William G. Henshaw and William M. Fitzhugh which purport to define their respective interests. One of the contracts, dated August 15, 1909, recorded May 25, 1911, in Book 2 A. C. & L., 456 Natrona County, Wyo., provided "That Henshaw should have three-fourths and Fitzhugh one-fourth of any profits or property derived from the same, disposition, or development of any such property." Said contract further provided that a corporation should be organized to which all properties should be conveyed, and that "in consideration of such conveyances said corporation shall issue to the parties hereto its entire capital stock in the following proportions: To the party of the first part-Fitzhugh-one-quarter thereof, and to the party of the second part-Henshaw-three-quarters thereof.

Henshaw did not claim the right to a three-fourths interest because of representing himself and five associates in each location, but because

he was furnishing the money for the enterprise, as recited in a paragraph of the contract of August 15, 1909, as follows 4.

"Said party of the second part hereby covenants and agrees, to advance, from time to time during such period as he shall elect to finance said project as aforesaid, any and all sums of money required to carry the interest of said party of the first part in said lands, leases, property, and corporation, and it is expressly understood and agreed by and between the parties hereto that two-quarters of said three-quarters' interest of said party of the second part is the consideration for the promise and covenant on the part of said party of the second part in this paragraph contained."

The contract of August 15, 1909, further provided "that upon the organization of such corporation and issuance of stock thereof the stock to which said party of the first part is entitled shall be issued and delivered to said party of the second part (Henshaw) as trustee, who shall hold the same in trust for said party of the first part for the term of five years, with the power, and said party of the second part is hereby given and granted for said period of five years the full and complete power to manage, control, sell, hypothecate, and dispose of all said stock so issued as aforesaid, and all the assets and property of said corporation, or any part of either of said stock, assets, or property for the joint benefit of the parties hereto, as their interests are herein set forth, upon such terms and in such manner as the best judgment of said party of the second part may dictate and determine."

This provision, it will be perceived, gave Henshaw absolute control of the enterprise.

Because of the uncertainty of this contract applying to the lands of the Salt Creek field, which they had not yet located, a supplement thereto was executed November 16, 1909, as follows:

"This is to certify that the attached contract dated August 15, 1909, between us, the undersigned, is hereby modified to the following effect and extent, to wit: The said Fitzhugh shall have 25 per cent and the said Henshaw shall have 75 per cent of all profits made by the said Henshaw, either directly or indirectly, from all oil lands or oil or gas discovered or produced from any lands or oil or gas interests either may acquire in the State of Wyoming, or either have acquired in the said State. This is intended to cover contracts, leases, conveyances, and other and all manner of methods of acquisition."

It would seem that no further evidence is necessary to prove conclusively the fraudulent scheme of these parties, but if so, it may be found in the record of the case of Wm. M. Fitzhugh et al. v. The Midwest Oil Co. et al. in the District Court of the United States for the District of Arizona, in the testimony of both William G. Henshaw and William M. Fitzbugh. For brevity I will not quote this testimony, but will refer to the "Memorandum on the bona fides of the Fitzhugh-Henshaw group of locators," submitted by A. B. Bouton, Esq., special assistant to the United States attorney, dated March 1, 1920, wherein the pertinent parts may be found. In all the testimony and statements of these parties, in their correspondence, and in their contracts it nowhere appears that any locator, except William G. Henshaw and William M. Fitzhugh, had any interest whatever, and William G. Henshaw claimed the "lion's share" of the profits and the right to control, because he furnished the capital. The contracts were executed by and between William G. Henshaw and William M. Fitzhugh only; and it does not appear that the other locators were represented therein or that their rights, if any, were taken into consideration. The provisions for the distribution of the profits and for the division of the capital stock of the corporation to be organized brand the locators as dummies, the locations illegal, and the whole plan as a fraud on the law and on the Government

The above analysis of the agreement between Henshaw and Fitzhugh makes the locations bad enough, but let us consider briefly the interpretation thereof by Henshaw and later by his grantees. Henshaw contended that as the agreement of November 16, 1909, provided "The said Fitzhugh shall have 25 per cent, and the said Henshaw shall have 75 per cent, of all profits made by the said Henshaw, either directly or indirectly, from all oil lands or oil or gas discovered or produced from any lands or oil or gas interests either may acquire in the State of Wyoming or either have acquired in the said State," he was entitled to three-fourths of Fitzhugh's one-fourth. Strange as it may seem, he did not admit that his construction would give Fitzhugh a one-fourth interest in his three-fourths.

This interpretation, of course, would make Fitzhugh and wife dummies, because it would give Henshaw 30 acres of the 40 acres of each location, presumably the property of Fitzhugh and wife. If it were Henshaw's idea that the agreement entitled Fitzhugh to a one-fourth interest in his (Henshaw's) share (20 acres) of each location (which nowhere appears) still this would make Fitzhugh and wife dummies, as Henshaw would then have an interest in each location equivalent to 45 acres, and Fitzhugh and wife together only 15 acres. This is assuming, of course, that Henshaw's associates each had an interest of 20 acres, which at all times must be done to give the locations validity. If it should be contended that this agreement gave Henshaw and associates a three-fourths interest in the share of Fitzhugh and wife and mutually give the latter a one-fourth interest in the share of Henshaw

and associates, then Henshaw would have had no basis whatever for the "claim" or cause of action against Fitzhugh which he asserted, because the ultimate outcome under such a construction would have resulted in Henshaw getting three-fourths and Fitzhugh one-fourth of each location, which was not Henshaw's position at any time. It is impossible to arrive at any conclusion other than that Henshaw set out to acquire for himself practically all of each location of 160 acres.

The Reed interests, of Denver, Colo.—so called because they were financed and controlled by Verner Z. Reed and associates—purchased the claims of Henshaw and Fitzhugh. The negotiations on behalf of the Reed interests were conducted by Oliver N. Shoup, secretary and general manager of the Reed Investment Co. and Karl C. Schuyler, attorney. Fitzhugh conveyed to the Midwest Oil Co., a Reed company, on June 3, 1911, for a consideration of approximately 33 cents per barrel for the oil. In this transaction it was understood that Shoup and Schuyler should negotiate with Henshaw for a partition or segregation of Fitzhugh's interest in each location; accordingly they went to California and entered into negotiations with Henshaw July 21, 1911, which resulted in the Reed Investment Co. taking an option to purchase Henshaw's interest. Soon thereafter this transaction was completed by conveyance to the nine "Little Reed Companies."

Notwithstanding the fact that Shoup and Schuyler were the agents, representatives, and attorneys of Fitzhugh, as well as the Midwest Oil Co., they purchased Henshaw's so-called claim or cause of action above mentioned against Fitzhugh and without Fitzhugh's knowledge.

This claim was taken in the name of one F. P. Evans, who assigned all rights and interests acquired by him to O. H. Shoup, "trustee."

It is stated in an affidavit subscribed and sworn to by Karl C. Schuyler on December 6, 1920, and submitted to the Secretary of the Interior December 7, 1920, that "affiant and said O. H. Shoup also felt that as soon as Fitzhugh's anger subsided he might and probably would be willing to pay the sum of \$25,000 to clear the matter up, especially if the claim should be asserted to some one other than the Henshaw interests, and for this reason the details of the transaction were not disclosed to Fitzhugh." At no time was Fitzhugh given an opportunity to settle the matter for \$25,000. (Apparently his anger, like Tennyson's Brook, ran on forever and forever.) Two years thereafter he was sued on this claim in Natrona County, Wyo., not in the name of Shoup or Schuyler or any of the Reed companies, but by the California Oil Lands Co., a concern organized by Shoup and Schuyler in California for the sole purpose of bringing the suit. Not then did they let Fitzhugh know that they had brought the "claim" and were "after him." They still pretended to be his friends and counselors and that Henshaw was "the villain who still pursued him." They urged him by every conceivable artifice to settle, not for \$25,000, but for 19 per cent of what he was to receive for his oil.

Fitzhugh in 1917 learned that he had been deceived, swindled, and defrauded, and soon thereafter filed suit against Shoup, Schuyler, the Midwest Oil Co. et al. in the District Court of the United States for Arizona, alleging the fraud and deceit above stated. This suit was compromised and all interest in the Salt Creek field purchased for the sum of \$2,250,000.

### IBA AND OTHER LOCATIONS

A large number of locations on the field were made under the placer mining law prior to the locations made by Henshaw and Fitzhugh. Socalled claims of title issuing from these locations have been acquired by the applicants, and it is contended that these claims confer preferential rights to leases. Space will not permit us to detail the facts relative to these numerous locations; in fact, we must be content with stating conclusions only. Evidence is abundant in contracts and documents of record, in statements, affidavits, and sworn testimony that these locations are fully as bad as those made by Henshaw and Fitzhugh. They were and still are void and in violation of the law, because none of said locations was made and maintained in good faith for the use and benefit of the locators, each with an interest not to exceed 20 acres of each tract, and none of said locations was made in good faith for the purpose of developing the petroleum resources of any of said tracts by the named locators, but were made in every case for the purpose of excluding real prospectors from the land by a pretense of complying with the law until the locations could be sold at a profit to the real party in interest.

As many as eight locations were made on the same tracts, some as early as February, 1883; but most of them were entirely abandoned. However, the locations made by one Cy Iba, in 1887, are alleged to have some vitality. As evidence of the "dummy" character of these locations, we quote from a power of attorney to Iba from his colocators, as follows:

"\* \* and having located the same, to appropriate the same to his sole use, together with all the right, title, and interest in the same, we selling and conveying the same to him as our grantee, for a valuable consideration." \* \* \*

(This is an example of volumes of evidence that might be included herein.)

Iba used the names of more than 100 persons from whom he obtained powers of attorney containing the above-named provision, before the

locations were made. None of his colocators ever claimed any interest or received any benefits or profits.

Certain of the above-named applicants before they had settled their differences and joined in their common cause against the United States, alleged and contended in a number of "adverse" proceedings in the district court of Natrona County, Wyo., that the Iba locations were void and unlawful, because the locators were dummies and the locations were entirely abandoned long prior to the order of withdrawal. Surely these same applicants will not now be permitted to avail themselves of the claims that they once contended were so bad.

The question naturally presenting itself is, Why were so many locations made and why were they invariably bad? The reason is simple. Some ambitious individual who had acquired some knowledge of the oil business would hear something about the prospects for oil at Salt Creek. Such an individual, of course, was not content with one location of 20 acres, or a number of locations in which he had an interest of only 20 acres, so he would borrow the names of his friends and relatives and proceed to locate for his own use and benefit vast areas of the public lands. Generally no pretense was made at complying with the law in any respect, except to make the "paper" location so as to acquire a color of title which might be sold at a profit to some real oil operator or promoter.

For several years delegations appeared before Congressmen, Senators, and other officials, beseeching "relief" for the poor, honest, oppressed prospectors, who were much discussed, but in truth unknown to the history of the Salt Creek field. If such ever existed they have long since, at the behest of the Midwest interests, vi et armis or otherwise passed on.

#### KNOWLEDGE OF FRAUD

The contracts above mentioned, between Henshaw and Fitzhugh, were on record in Natrona County, Wyo., wherein the Salt Creek field is situated, therefore, every applicant basing a claim on the Henshaw-Fitzhugh locations had notice of their contents, and consequently of their fraudulent character. The Iba powers of attorney likewise were of record. Moreover, the applicants had actual knowledge of the fraud, by and through the knowledge, acts, and conduct of their incorporators, officers, and agents.

Shoup and Schuyler from the beginning knew of the scheme of Henshaw and Fitzhugh. Because of the provisions in their contracts, which gave Henshaw control of Fitzhugh's interest, they secured a ratification by Henshaw of their transaction with Fitzhugh in which he conveyed to the Midwest Oil Co. The document signed by Henshaw expressly mentions his agreements with Fitzhugh of August 15, 1909, and November 16, 1909. The agreements are also mentioned in Henshaw's assignment of his "claim" against Fitzhugh to evidence.

Shoup, Schuyler, and Reed organized the Midwest Co., the Reed Investment Co., also the Crescent Oil Co., Control Oil Co., Bluestone Oil Co., Barbados Oil Co., Pinero Oil Co., Seattle Oil Co., California Oil Co., Fitzhugh Oil Co., and Henshaw Oil Co., commonly called the "Reed companies." They became the principal stockholders, officers, and directors; and had the active management and control of all these companies.

The Midwest Oil Co., which acquired Fitzhugh's interest, is an applicant for leases to 1,970 acres of the field. The Reed companies, which acquired the interest of Henshaw, conveyed to the Wyoming Associated Oil Corporation, an applicant to leases to 5,963 acres of the field. The latter was organized by the same group of promoters, and their knowledge of the fraud was knowledge to this applicant.

The applicants are all subsidiaries of the Midwest Refining Co., all organized by the same promoters and capitalists, all having very largely an identity of officers, stock ownership, management, and control. None of them were strangers to the true situation or innocent purchasers in any sense.

The general rule of law is that notice of a fact acquired by an agent while transacting the business of his principal operates constructively as notice to his principal; and as corporations from their nature can never act except through the instrumentality of agents, this principle applies with peculiar force to them. Notice to or knowledge of an officer or agent of a corporation obtained in the course of his employment, and with respect to a matter within the scope of his authority, or apparent authority, is notice to or knowledge of the corporation. (Simmons Creek Coal Co. v. Doran, 142 U. S. 417, 436; McCastill Co. v. United States, 216 U. S. 504, 515; Armstrong v. Ashley, 204 U. S. 272, 282; United States v. Coal Co., 246 Fed. 485; Mutual Investment Co. v. Wildman, 182 Ill. A. 137; Griffith v. Royal Arcanum, 182 Mo. A. 644, 656; Clark and Marshall on Corporations, vol. 3, secs. 718-724; Cook on Corporations, 6th ed., vol. 3, sec. 727; 10 Cyc. 1053-1062.)

When a corporation once gets knowledge, it continues to have it even though the officer or agent through whom the knowledge was obtained is no longer in its service. (Mechanics Bank v. Seton, 1 Pet. (U. S.) 299, 7 L. 3d 152; 10 Cyc. 1062, par. 2; Birmingham Trust Co. v. Louisiana National Bank, 99 Ala. 379, 13 S. 112; 20 L. R. A. 600; United States National Bank v. Forstedt, 64 Nebr. 855, 90 N. W. 919; Bird v. New York Central, etc., Railroad Co., 64 App. Div. 14, 71 N. Y. S. 734 (Aff. 172 N. Y. 637 mem. 65 N. E. 1113 mem.).)

#### EXCESS ACREAGE

Even should the question of fraud be decided in favor of the applicants, then they are entitled to leases in the Salt Creek field for 3,200 acres only.

Let us examine the so-called relief provision of the act, sections 18, 18a, and 19.

Section 18 provides:

"That not more than one-half of the area, but in no case to exceed 3,200 acres, within the geologic oil or gas structure of a producing oil or gas field, shall be leased to any one claimant under the provision of this section when the area of such geologic oil structure exceeds 640 acres.

"All leases hereunder shall inure to the benefit of the claimant and all persons claiming through or under him by lease, contract, or otherwise, as their interests may appear; subject, however, to the same limitations as to area and acreage as is provided for claimant in this section.

"That no lease or leases under this section shall be granted, nor shall any interest therein inure, to any person, association, or corporation for a greater aggregate area of acreage than the maximum in this section provided for."

Section 18a does not expressly provide an acreage limitation.

Section 19 provided that certain persons shall be entitled to prospecting permits upon "the same terms and conditions and limitations as to acreage as other permits provided for in this act."

The question is, How great an acreage is an applicant entitled to under the act? Was it contemplated that an applicant should be limited to a lease of 3,200 acres within the geologic oil or gas structure of a producing oil or gas field, or that an applicant should be entitled to 3,200 acres under section 18, an unlimited acreage under section 18a, and 2,560 acres under section 19? Of course, the act should be considered and construed as a whole. Undoubtedly the intention of Congress in providing an acreage limitation was to prevent monopoly, to insure competition, and to extend the privileges to the many and not to the few. To accomplish this purpose applicants are limited by the act to a maximum of 3,200 acres. Any other construction would, in effect, invalidate the acreage limitation provisions and circumvent the clear intention of Congress.

The desire to limit the acreage to each applicant is discernible throughout the act. In section 13, the first on "Oil and gas," it is provided that a permit shall be granted to prospect for oil and gas on not to exceed 2,360 acres. Section 14 provides that if the permittee discovers valuable deposits of oil or gas, he shall be entitled to a lease of one-fourth of the land embraced in the permit at a royalty of 5 per cent and shall be entitled to a preference right to a lease on the remainder of the land embraced in the prospecting permit at a royalty of not less than 12½ per cent. Section 17 provides that all unappropriated deposits of oil or gas situated within the known geologic structure of a producing oil or gas field and the unentered lands containing the same not subject to preferential lease may be leased to the highest bidder in areas not exceeding 640 acres.

When it comes to section 18, the first of the so-called relief provisions, Congress, in its liberality in extending a preferred right to honest claimants, goes further than in the preceding sections and increases the limitation to 3,200 acres. Section 18a in the original draft of the act in the House was a part of section 18; and it was by an amendment at a late hour of its consideration that it was separated from section 18. All of the provisos of section 18, such as the provision relative to the naval petroleum reserve, the question of frauds, the acreage limitation, etc., were not painstakingly added to 18a; but undoubtedly all these provisions were intended to apply to 18a the same as to 18. In fact, 18a is in a sense another proviso to 18 which authorizes the President to direct the compromise of a controversy by an exchange or division of land (very desirable under certain conditions) or the proceeds of opera-Will the idea be indulged that this section authorizes the President to direct the granting of a lease to a claimant guilty of fraud, or to an unlimited acreage, or that it extends any greater measure of relief in any case than section 18? If so, many of the provisions of the act absolutely are of no avail. It merely authorizes, first, the President to make or direct a settlement, and, second, to make it in a different manner from that authorized by section 18; but it is not intended that such a settlement shall violate the provisions of section 18.

Section 19 is for the purpose of protecting a bona fide claimant who had not made a discovery on or before the passage of the act. It authorizes the granting of prospecting permits to claimants "upon the same terms and conditions and limitations as to acreage as other permits provided for in this act." It further provides, "Where any such person has heretofore made such discovery, he shall be entitled to a lease thereon under such terms as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, unless otherwise provided for in section 18 hereof," clearly indicating that the lease must be granted under section 18 if the facts are such as to bring it within the provisions of that section; and if the claimant already had the maximum under section 18, then, of course, no further lease could be granted. In this connection it is important to note the provisions of section 18: "That no claimant acquiring any interest in such lands since September 1, 1919, from a claimant on or since said

date claiming or holding more than the maximum allowed claimant under this section shall secure a lease thereon or any interest therein, but the inhibition of this proviso shall not apply to an exchange of any interest in such lands made prior to the 1st day of January, 1920, which did not increase or reduce the area or acreage held or claimed in excess of said maximum by either party to the exchange." It will be seen that anyone who claimed an area in excess of 3,200 acres should not receive any benefit from the excess, either by obtaining a lease thereon or by the sale thereof, the idea being that a lease or leases on as much as 3,200 acres would be ample relief to any claimant. When the maximum is granted under section 18, surely an additional acreage is not permissible under section 18a or 19.

Let us next consider who these applicants are and what they are asking.

The applicants are "the allied and associated powers." They are closely related by contract, by stock ownership, and by corporate officials and directorates.

By the time oil was being produced in any considerable quantities the Salt Creek field in one way or another had passed largely into the hands of the Midwest Oil Co., the Reed companies, and the "Franco" companies (commonly so called because they were organized and controlled by citizens of France, Belgium, and Holland). These companies, for the purpose of combining their claims and interests into one operating company, early in 1914 joined in organizing the Midwest Refining Co., which in the beginning was made the biggest and most powerful of all the concerns interested in the field. It was made the overlord of the domain by contracts between it and its creators, which in substance gave it the exclusive right for a period of 20 years from January 1, 1914, to possess and mine for oil the lands claimed by these companies, respectively, and to possess and operate all pipe lines, refineries, wells, tanks, machinery, and equipment already installed for the extraction, storage, transportation, and refining of oil.

The Midwest Refining Co. agreed in substance to extract the oil from said lands, transport it to the refineries, refine it, sell the refined products, and to pay said companies one-half of the net proceeds of the refined products of the oil extracted from the lands claimed by them, respectively. These contracts are in reality leases. The result, if not one of the chief purposes of the organization of the Midwest Refining Co., was to secure a complete monopoly of the entire product of the field, and thereby enable it as the creature and agent of the combining claimants to purchase the crude oil produced from the few remaining tracts of the field at the cheapest possible price. The lands of the field not claimed by said combining companies were in the hands of various small operators who, in order to dispose of the oil they produced, were forced to enter into long-term contracts to sell such oil to the Midwest Refining Co. at a price arbitrarily fixed by it. Consequently, no lease to any part of this field can be granted that will not inure to the benefit of the Midwest Refining Co. In fact, a lease to any of the applicants above mentioned is indirectly a lease to the Midwest Refining Co.

### ANALYSIS STOCK OWNERSHIP

An analysis of stock ownership will throw considerable light on the respective interests of the Midwest Refining Co. and the applicants:

(a) The Mountain Producers Association owns 52 per cent of the stock of the Wyoming Associated Oil Corporation, an applicant for 5,963 acres. The Midwest Refining Co., by owning 32 per cent of the Mountain Producers Association, is interested in these applications to the extent of 992 acres.

(b) The Salt Creek Producers Association owns 60 per cent (possibly 76 per cent) of the stock of the Midwest Oil Co., applicant for 1,970 acres. The Midwest Refining Co., by owning 32 per cent of the stock of the Salt Creek Producers Association, has an interest in these lands equal to 416 acres.

(c) The Wyoming Oil Fields Co., owning all the stock of the Central Wyoming Oil & Development Co., an applicant for 920 acres. The Salt Creek Producers Association owns all of the stock of the Wyoming Oil Fields Co. and the Midwest Refining Co. by owning 32 per cent of the stock of the Salt Creek Producers Association, has an interest in these applications equal to 924 acres.

(d) The Petroleum Mastschappij Salt Creek applied for lease to 160 acres for the reason that its name had been used in a patent application. It long ago conveyed to the Wyoming Oil Fields Co., whose stock is all owned by the Salt Creek Producers Association; but the Midwest Refining Co., by owning 32 per cent of the stock of the Salt Creek Producers Association, is interested to the extent of 31 acres.

(e) The Salt Creek Consolidated Oil Co. has applied for 2,347 acres, but 50 per cent of its stock is owned by the Wyoming Oil Fields Co., Wyoming Associated Oil Co., and the Midwest Oil Co. The Salt Creek Producers Association owns the Wyoming Oil Fields Co. and 52 per cent of the Wyoming Associated Oil Corporation. The Midwest Refining Co. owns 32 per cent of the Salt Creek Producers Association and the Mountain Producers Association, and is therefore interested in these applications to the extent of 273 acres.

(f) E. J. Sullivan, "trustee," has applied for leases for 560 acres, not disclosing for whom he is acting; by written agreement (not of record), the Salt Creek Consolidated Oil Co. and the E. T. Williams Oil

Co. are each to have one-half of the lands if the leases are granted. As stated under (e), 50 per cent of the Salt Creek Consolidated Oil Co. is owned by the Wyoming Oil Fields Co., the Wyoming Associated Oil Corporation, and the Midwest Oil Co., and that the Salt Creek Producers Association owns 66 per cent of the Midwest Oil Co. The Mountain Producers Association owns 52 per cent of Wyoming Associated Oil Corporation and the Midwest Refining Co. owns 32 per cent of both the Salt Creek Producers Association and the Mountain Producers Association, and therefore has an interest of 32 acres.

(g) The Mountain & Gulf Oil Co. has applied for 960 acres, section 6, township 39 north, range 78 west, and the north half of section 11, township 40 north, range 79 west. The New Brandford Oil Co. (predecessor of the Salt Creek Consolidated Oil Co.) and the Northwestern Oil Co. at one time had an interest in section 6, but we have not the evidence to give the present ownership of this section. The north half of section 11 was leased by the Parkman Oil Co. to B. D. Townsend, onetenth of the oil being reserved to the Parkman Oil Co. assigned to the National Petroleum Co., who assigned to the Mountain & Gulf Oil Co., reserving 40 per cent of the net profits. The National Petroleum Co. deeded its interests to the Salt Creek Producers Association. Apparently, then, 10 per cent is owned by the Parkman Oil Co., 36 per cent by the Salt Creek Producers Association, and 54 per cent by the Mountain & Gulf Oil Co. The Midwest Oil Co. owns 95 per cent of the Parkman Oil Co. and the Salt Creek Producers Association owns 66 per cent of the Midwest Oil Co. The Midwest Refining Co. owns 32 per cent of the Salt Creek Producers Association, and therefore has an interest equal to 43 acres.

(h) The New York Oil Co. and the Midwest Oil Co. have applied for 160 acres—the southwest half of section 13, township 39 north, range 79 west. We do not know the facts relative to the interests involved, but have evidence that the New York Oil Co. is now controlled by the Midwest interests.

(i) The New York Oil Co. and the Northwestern Oil Co. are applicants for 480 acres—the southwest half of section 34 and the south half section 1. The New York Oil Co. has a royalty interest of one-eighth in the southwest quarter of section 34, the balance going to the Northwestern Oil Co., which is owned by the Boston-Wyoming Oil Co., and 41 per cent of the latter is owned by the Midwest Oil Co., which would give it 35% per cent interest in this 160 acres. The New York Oil Co. has a 23½ per cent interest in the south half of section 1. The Midwest Oil Co. has a 10¾ per cent interest plus the 41 per cent of the interest of the Boston-Wyoming, which makes it (sic) total interest in the south half of section 1, 28¾ per cent, or 149.3 acres. The Salt Creek Producers Association, owning 66 per cent of the Midwest Oil Co., would have an interest equal to 98 acres and the Midwest Refining Co., owning 32 per cent of the Salt Creek Producers Association, would have 31 acres.

(j) The National Petroleum Co. has applied for 960 acres formerly claimed by the Parkman Oil Co., who leased to B. D. Townsend, who assigned to the National Petroleum Co. This lease was assigned by the National Petroleum Co. to T. A. Dines, a vice president of the Midwest Refining Co., and we assume that any interest acquired by him went direct to the Midwest Refining Co. The National Petroleum Co. retained a 40 per cent interest. Therefore 10 per cent goes to the Parkman Oil Co., 36 per cent to the National Petroleum Co., and 54 per cent to T. A. Dines. The Midwest Oil Co., owning 95 per cent of the Parkman Oil Co., the Salt Creek Producers Association, owning 66 per cent of the Midwest Oil Co., and the Midwest Refining Co., owning 32 per cent of the Salt Creek Producers Association, plus the Dines share, would have an interest equal to 538 acres.

(k) The Federal Oil & Development Co. has applied for 320 acres, which was leased by it to B. D. Townsend, reserving a royalty of 15 per cent. This lease was assigned by Townsend to the National Petroleum Co., who assigned the northeast one-half of section 13 to T. A. Dines, and the southeast one-fourth of section 13 to the Mountain & Guif Co., reserving in each instance a royalty of 40 per cent of the net profits. The National Petroleum Co. and Dines then conveyed to the Salt Creek Broducers Association for stock in the latter. Then the Federal Oil & Development Co. holds an interest of 15 per cent, the Mountain & Gulf Oil Co. 25½ per cent, and the Salt Creek Producers Association 59½ per cent, the interest of the latter being 190 acres, of which the Midwest Refining Co. is credited with 32 per cent, or 61 acres.

(1) The Parkman Oil Co. has applied for 160 acres, which it leased October 1, 1915, to B. D. Townsend, reserving a 10 per cent royalty; Townsend assigning to the National Petroleum Co., and it assigned to T. A. Dines, reserving 40 per cent of the net profits. The National Petroleum Co. and Dines then conveyed to the Salt Creek Producers Association, the Midwest Oil Co. owns 95 per cent of the Parkman Oil Co., the Salt Creek Producers owning 66 per cent of the Midwest Oil Co., and all the interest of the National Petroleum Co., and Dines has an interest of 154 acres, of which 32 per cent, or 49 acres, is credited to the Midwest Refining Co.

By using the above-mentioned percentage of stock ownership, the acreage applied for by the respective claimants, and the total acreage applied for, we compile the following:

Applicants	Corporations		Salt Creek Consoli- dated		Wyoming Oil Field Co.		Wyoming Associated Oil Corpora- tion	
	Area	Per cent	Area	Per cent	Area	Per cent	Area	Per
Wyoming Associated Oil Corporation	Acres		Acres		Acres		Acres	20.00
Midwest Oil Co	1, 970	39, 95 13, 2					5, 963	39. 95
Central Wyoming Oil & Development	920	6, 16			920	6. 16		
Petroleum Maatschappy Salt Creek	160	1.07			160	1.07		
Salt Creek Consolidated Oil Co	2, 347		2, 347			2, 62		2. 63
E. J. Sullivan, trustee	560 640	3.75 4.3	280	1.9	46. 6	. 31	46. 6	. 31
Mountain & Gulf Oil Co	320	2, 15	*****					
New York Oil Co. and	120	.8			*******			
Northwestern Oil Co	480							
National Petroleum Co Federal Oil & Develop-	960	6. 5						
ment Co	320							
Parkman Oil Co	160	1. 07						
Total	14, 920	100	2, 627	17. 6	1, 517. 6	10.16	6, 400, 6	42.88

Applicants	Midwest Oil Co.		Salt Creek Petroleum Association		Mountain Producers' Association		Midwest Refining Co.	
	Area	Per	Area	Per	Area	Per	Area	Per cent
Wyoming Associated Oil Cor- poration	Acres		Acres		Acres 3, 101	30. 78	Acres 992	6, 65
Midwest Oil Co	1,970	13. 2	1,300	8, 17	0,101		416	2.79
Central Wyoming Oil & De- velopment			920	6, 16			294	1.97
Petroleum Maatschappÿ Salt	1		U.See	1		Serie	113 82	past.
Creek			160	1.07			51	0.34
Salt Creek Consolidated Oil	391	2.62	649	4, 35	203	1.36	273	1.83
E. J. Sullivan, Trustee	46.6			. 52				
Mountain & Gulf Oil Co New York Oil Co. and North-	30	.2	135	.9			43	. 29
western Oil Co	149.3	1	98	. 66	and the		31	. 21
National Petroleum Co Federal Oil & Development	91	. 61	60	.4			538	3.6
Co	Salar Conf	Ditte.	190	1, 27	-0.010	-	61	. 41
Parkman Oil Co	15	1	154	1. 03			49	. 33
Total	2, 693	18. 04	3, 743	25. 07	3, 338	32, 30	2, 780	18. 64

List of 10 individual largest holdings of capital stock in Midwest
Refining Co.

Total outstanding capital is \$25,000,000, divided 500,000 shares, of the par value of \$50 each.

The same state of the same sta	
Henry Bondonneau, Paris, France	
Equitable Trust Co., trustee for Mrs. Mary D. Reed Equitable Trust Co., trustee for Verner Reed	7,500
Verner Z. Reed Wyoming Securities Co	12, 144
Debenture & Securities Corporation	11, 487
Arthur S. Gibbs. International Securities Investment Corporation	15, 461

Were a list of the largest stockholders in a number of the corporate applicants accessible the names of those mentioned in the lists above would again be found.

Therefore, not only because of the contractual relationship, but also because of the interlocking stock ownership of the respective corporations in each other and of the large stockholders, do we find the same control and the same interests subserved in each and every application.

### OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

A list of the officers and directors of the Midwest companies is interesting. The names appearing in parentheses are officers, but not directors, the other officers being members of the board of directors in each instance:

"The Midwest Refining Co.: H. E. Blackmer, president; R. D. Brooks, T. A. Dines, R. S. Ellison, vice presidents; (C. E. Titus, secretary); (H. H. Brooks, treasurer); L. A. Reed, Tyson S. Dines, H. C. Naylor, E. S. Osler, John D. Clark.

"Mountain & Gulf Oil Co.: R. M. Aitkin, president; L. L. Aitken, vice president; A. C. Campbell, secretary-treasurer; H. L. Ritter, T. A. Dines, Vernon F. Taylor, Ralph Hartzell.

"Salt Creek Producers' Association: N. S. Wilson, president; T. A. Dines, vice president; T. A. Dedley, secretary-treasurer; H. A. DeCompiegne, B. D. Townsend.

"Midwest Oil Co.: L. L. Aitken, president; W. P. Schuyler, vice president; (T. A. Pedley, secretary-treasurer); J. L. Waren, C. A. Fisher, H. L. Ritter, R. H. Forbes.

Salt Creek Consolidated Oil Co.: James Owen, president: Warwick M Downing vice president: (F. C. Roberts, secretary-treasurer): C. E. Abbott, L. L. Aitken, F. S. Mitchell, Norwood Johnston, N. S. Wilson.

"Mountain Producers' Association: John T. Barnett, president: George T. Bradley, vice president; J. L. Waren, secretary-treasurer; Harold D. Roberts, A. C. Campbell,

Wyoming Associated Oil Corporation: John T. Barnett, president; D. M. Barrington, vice president; J. L. Waren, secretary-treasurer; F. C. Foberts, Verner Z. Reed, jr.

"Wyoming Oil Fields Co.: Otto Gramm, president; C. W. Burdick, vice president; B. O. Lummis, secretary; (H. C. Bretschneider, treasurer); W. R. Dubois, H. E. Mason, Patrick Sullivan, A. D. Johnston.

"Natrona Pipeline & Refinery Co.: C. W. Burdick, president; A. D. Johnston, vice president; A. C. Campbell, secretary; H. C. Bretschneider, treasurer; B. O. Lummis, W. E. Mullin, S. Ledeboer.

Central Wyoming Oil & Development Co.: H. C. Bretschneider, president; C. W. Burdick, vice president; (E. Percy Palmer, secretary-treasurer); A. C. Campbell, A. D. Johnston, L. A. Thompson, jr.

"Petroleum Maatschappij Salt Creek: C. W. Burdick, president; A. C. Campbell, vice president; B. O. Lummis, secretary; H. C. Bretschneider, treasurer; Wilfred O'Leary.

"New York Oil Co.: Frank G. Curtis, president; Alonzo G. Setter and H. D. Curtis, vice presidents; Minal E. Young, secretary-treasurer; O. Nelson Rushworth, Robert B. Stewart, Maxwell W. Winter.

"Northwestern Oil Co.: A. D. Aitken, president; L. L. Aitken, vice president; (A. W. Warren, secretary-treasurer); C. A. Fisher, H. L. Ritter, C. C. Dillard.

"National Petroleum Co.: B. D. Townsend, president; F. C. Rabb,

vice president; Hugh Thompson, secretary-treasurer.
"Federal Oil & Development Co.; H. L. Ritter, president; H. J. Barry, secretary; A. D. Aitken, treasurer; Valentine Mix, Maurice W. Samuels.

"Parkman Oil Co.: Eugene Mackey, president; H. L. Ritter, vice president; D. S. Hare, secretary-treasurer; E. G. Quinn, Janet Mackey.' CONCLUSION

The paramount reason urged by the applicants in support of their claims is that they innocently and in good faith have expended vast sums in the development of the field, but the true facts render this contention impotent, because almost all the capital used, not only for development but also to purchase claims, was the money received for the oil taken by these trespassers from the public lands. So resourceful were these promoters and capitalists that at no time did they risk any considerable part of their own means. They let the property pay for itself and for its development. It will be remembered that the Fitzhugh claims were secured by an agreement to purchase the oil to be produced at 33 cents per barrel, only \$10,000 in this case being advanced, and that the Henshaw claims were purchased for \$325,000, but this consideration was not paid till it was derived from the oil. Any other capital that was used very largely came from France and Holland.

The crowd asking such valuable concessions at the hands of the Government already have become immensely wealthy at its expense. They have no equities worthy of consideration. It is true that stocks have been sold to the public, but surely the Government should not sacrifice the public property, a greatly needed natural resource, to make these oil stocks good.

The Midwest Refining Co. has an absolute monopoly of the Salt Creek field, and in one way or another controls every one of the above-named applicants. It is interested in every acre sought by them, and a lease to any one of them will inure to its benefit. Its claims are based on titles that are thoroughly saturated with fraud, and from the beginning its promoters, officers, and directors unquestionably have had full knowledge of the fraud. It not only is not acting honestly and in good faith, but it now is compounding fraud by seeking to secure leases on a greater acreage than the maximum allowed by law. For several years it maintained a large force of paid lobbyists, lawyers, and agents at the Capitol to secure the passage of the act with the relief provisions included, and evidently it will continue so to do till its subsidiaries have s leases thereunder. They are not "in the court with clean hands."

When the leasing bill was before Congress it was emphatically asserted and maintained that the Standard Oll Co. had no interest whatever in the Midwest Refining Co. or the applicants, and that it was not concerned with the relief provisions, but now it is conceded that the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana absolutely controls the Midwest Refining Co. Only a little while ago the Government was courageously engaged in "dissolving" the Standard Oil Co., but now it is requested to dispense relief to this object of charity and to bestow upon it leases to the most valuable known oil acreage in the world-public property of the value of at least \$1,000,000,000. Is this the character of claimant Congress intended to relieve?

The relief provisions extend rights and privileges to claimants which they did not have under the preexisting law and enable them to take advantage of claims they could not establish or defend in the courts; therefore the law very justly confines the relief to honest claimants and limits them to leases on a maximum of 3,200 acres.

This matter demands the most careful consideration, and under the circumstances leases should not be granted on an ex parte showing, but a hearing before the register and receiver of the local land office in Wyoming should be ordered, so that all the evidence pro et con may be taken, a complete record made, presented, and fully considered before a final action is taken.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT C BELL

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

JANUARY 18, 1921.

#### INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the action of the House of Representatives insisting on its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 39 to the bill (H. R. 15089) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot] that the Senate recede from its amendment No. 39 to the Interior Department appropriation bill.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. If the motion of the Senator from Utah shall be adopted,

will that displace the unfinished business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the question before the Senate is in the nature of a message from the House of Representatives, and that makes it privileged.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I understand, of course, that the

receipt of a report of a conference committee is privileged; but this, as I understand, is a motion to proceed to the consideration of the conference report, which is not privileged.

If the Chair will indulge me a moment, I will call attention to Rule XXVII, which reads:

The presentation of reports of committees of conference shall always be in order, except when the Journal is being read or a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending, or while the Senate is dividing; and when received the question of proceeding to the consideration of the report, if raised, shall be immediately put, and shall be determined without

Then it becomes the business before the Senate, and, of course, will retain its place as such until disposed of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will suggest that paragraph 7 of Rule VII provides as follows:

The Presiding Officer may at any time lay, and it shall be in order at any time for a Senator to move to lay, before the Senate, any bill or other matter sent to the Senate by the President or the House of Representatives, and any question pending at that time shall be suspended for this purpose. Any motion so made shall be determined without debate.

The pending motion refers to a message from the House of Representatives.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Will the Chair advise us what the nature of the message is?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, February 19, 1929.

Resolved. That the House further insists on its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 39 to the bill (H. R. 15089) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and for other purposes."

Mr. WALSH of Montana. The motion is not relevant to the message, which simply advises us that the House disagrees to the Senate amendment

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion that the Senate recede from its amendment No. 39 to the Interior Department appropriation bill.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Yes; but that brings up for con-Mr. WAISH of Montain. Test, but that brings up for consideration, does it not, the original bill?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hamp-

shire will state his point of order.

Mr. MOSES. This being a conference report presented, and a motion made to proceed with its consideration, the question is not debatable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair holds that this is only a message from the House of Representatives and is not itself a conference report.

Mr. MOSES. Did not the Senator from Utah present a conference report?

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Utah made a motion that | the Senate recede from its amendment No. 39.

Mr. MOSES. What has become of the existing conference? Does not this relate to the Interior Department appropriation bill?

Mr. SMOOT. It relates to the Interior Department appropriation bill, all the amendments to which have been agreed to except amendment No. 39.

The bill has been in conference nearly all win-Mr. MOSES.

ter, has it not?

Mr. SMOOT. It has been in conference for quite a while. was taken back to the House, and, as I stated this morning when I made the motion, the House voted 304 to 28 against the amendment. We have been in conference for a long time; I have tried in every way in my power to get the House to yield. It will not yield; and, that being the case, rather than see the bill fail, I have made the motion that the Senate recede from its amendment No. 39.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That is the very question now. What is the status of that motion? That, of course, presents for consideration the appropriateness and the wisdom of the Senate amendment to the House bill. Now, the question is, Does that motion displace the unfinished business, and is that now the

business before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will hold that it does not displace the unfinished business.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I desire to say that the discussion of this matter will take considerable time.

Mr. MOSES. Very well, let us proceed with its discussion. Mr. SMOOT. It will be necessary to have it, sooner or later,

or else let the bill fail.

Mr. MOSES. We might as well have it now.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. We might as well let the bill fail one way as another. The question is whether the Senate, whenever the House disagrees to its views, shall simply subside and let the House have its way, which really means in this particular case, as well as in most questions arising on an Interior Department appropriation bill, that Mr. CRAMTON shall have his way.

Mr. MOSES. I am of the opinion, Mr. President, that the matter comes here in rather a difficult form. If it had come here in the form of a conference report, the procedure would have been very simple, but it having arisen in the form in which it has, and the Chair having made the ruling which he has just made. I do not see why we might not as well proceed now with the discussion of the question, under the motion made by the Senator from Utah, as to let it wait until some other time in the session. Of course, I am not unmindful of the implied threat contained in what the Senator from Montana has said with reference to the time which it will take, because I am fully aware that the few remaining days of the session should be consumed as I have seen them consumed on previous occasions somewhat similar to this.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I think the matter can be very

readily solved.

Mr. MOSES. In what way?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. By the Senate promptly rejecting the motion made by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. MOSES. And let the bill fail?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Let the bill fail. The responsibility is not on this House any more than it is upon the other. Mr. MOSES. But whether the Senate wants to take the

responsibility

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Let me give this information to the Senate, and to the Senator from New Hampshire for his enlightenment, upon the situation. The only matter in controversy is the question whether the Senate amendment, which strikes out a provision of the bill giving to the Secretary of the Interior full authority to condemn as he pleases any land in the national parks, shall be retained.

Mr. MOSES. The Senator from New Hampshire is familiar with that because he sat in the chair during the prolonged and illuminating discussion which was carried on here in regard

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I thank the Senator, but something has transpired since, of which the Senator from New

Hampshire is, perhaps, not so fully advised.

Let me say, Mr. President, that the argument is made that the great trees in the Yosemite Park are imperiled unless this legislation shall be immediately enacted; that the owners of the lands upon which these valuable trees grow are about to cut the timber. I put a telegram and a letter in the RECORD a week or 10 days ago from the owners of these lands saying that they had no such purpose whatever.

Mr. MOSES. I recall it.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Then the Senate conferees proposed to the House conferees to make the provision in relation to the condemnation applicable only to the Yosemite Park, which would take care of the trees there. That was rejected.

The Senate conferees then proposed to the House to make the provision applicable to all timberlands in all of the parks—that is to say, giving the Secretary of the Interior power to condemn any lands in any of the parks chiefly valuable for the timber. That proposal was rejected.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment in order that I may ask him a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Yes, Mr. WARREN. I take it for granted that the Senator wishes at some proper time to extend his remarks quite largely. if it would be agreeable to him to suspend now, in order that I may take up an appropriation bill?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Yes; just as soon as I finish this statement. I wish to make just a few further remarks to show the situation to the Senator from New Hampshire and the rest

of the Senate.

The Senate conferees then proposed to the House conferees that the provision be made applicable to timberlands in all of

the parks. That was rejected,

They then proposed that the provisions for condemnation be made applicable to all lands except those occupied by homes, and that was rejected.

Now the thing simply stands as a controversy between the two Houses as to whether the Secretary of the Interior shall be given power to condemn homes in the national parks.

Mr. MOSES. Without any reference to the subject matter involved, I will say to the Senator from Montana that that is not at all a unique position for conferees on the part of the House to take. They have become increasingly insistent in recent years upon having exactly their way or legislation would fail.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, just in that connection I may add that the House conferees are proposing right now and have determined right now to let the first deficiency bill fail because they are asked to comply with their five-times-repeated promise to take a certain matter back to the House for a recorded vote.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I want to say to the Senator that I have done everything that it was possible for me to do to secure an agreement upon this one amendment. The Senator has recited the circumstances just exactly as they have taken place. Finally we had to decide this question, or else the bill would fail, so I said to the chairman of the House conferees, "I am not going to ask the Senate of the United States to recede on this amendment unless the matter is taken back to the House and there is a vote of the House-not a standing vote, as you had before, but a yea-and-nay vote of the House—upon this one proposition." The only way to do that was to have the House The only way to do that was to have the House reject the report, and have the matter come back here for a conference, and have us reject it and send it back to them, so that they could get a yea-and-nay vote. That was done, and on Monday the vote was taken on this one amendment, and the vote was 304 against the amendment and 28 for it.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, let me interrupt by saying, however, if the Senator will permit me, that the House never has been apprised by anybody of these various proposals of compromise between the members of the conference com-Its Members are voting upon the matter just as it was originally, without any suggestion of a change at all.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I understand from what Mr. CRAMTON says that they were fully aware of the amendment, because of the fact that the Member from Montana introduced in the House a bill on the subject, and the bill was voted upon in the House in about the same proportions.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. That was quite a different matter. Mr. SMOOT. I am only saying what was reported to me by the conferee

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. May the Chair make a sug-

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Montana has the floor.

Mr. NORRIS. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. WALSH of Montana. I agreed to yield to the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN].

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator from Wyoming desires to take up an appropriation bill.

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Very well; then I yield to the

Senator from Nebraska, Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I deplore the fact that we are in this terrible condition here; but I desire to caution Senators that we shall have to swallow a whole lot of legislation that we do not like, because the 4th of March is just ahead of us, and we shall have to adjourn then, and all this legislation will die; and, in accordance with the usual thing that happens every two years, we must overlook a lot of jokers and a lot of bad things and let them go into the law in order that we may be prepared for adjournment on the 4th day of March.

I hope, therefore, that Senators will not take up the time in quarreling over a controversy which, after all, is only a method of procedure; and in the interest of haste, in order that we may get as much done as we possibly can by the 4th of March, I ask that the motion be taken up, unless otherwise disposed of, and

voted on,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. May the Chair make a suggestion in the interest of time? If the Senator from Utah will withdraw his motion for the present, the message from the House may lie upon the table, and then the Senate may proceed with the bill the consideration of which is requested by the Senator from Wyoming. The Senator from Montana then will have preserved all of his rights.

Mr. SMOOT. I shall make that request, then; but I want it distinctly understood that the conference report is lying on the

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The motion of the Senator

from Utah may be renewed at any appropriate time.

The Senator from Utah withdraws his request; the message from the House lies upon the table, and the Senator from Wyoming asks unanimous consent for the temporary laying aside of the unfinished business in order that the Senate may proceed to the consideration of H. R. 17053, the legislative appropriation bill. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I am not going to object. I simply wanted to add to what I said a while ago, that if we

can induce the great political leaders in the country, and particularly in the House of Representatives, to agree to the constitutional amendment that the Senate has passed four times doing away with the "lame-duck" sesssion of Congress, we will never get into this difficulty again.

Mr. BLEASE. Mr. President, some of the "lame ducks" we

have here are the brainiest men here.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. President, I desire to add to what I said that there is something more involved here than the particular question presented by the Senator from Montana. If this body has one particle of self-respect left it should and will put an end to a literally intolerable condition.

There are one or two people in another House who insist upon controlling the legislation of this body. I want to say that in my judgment the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot] has done everything he possibly could do in reason to meet this situation; but this is not the only situation. As I have already indicated, the great deficiency bill has practically been abandoned, and the avowal has been made that it will be abandoned because conferees are unwilling to keep faith with their own House, and, in the face of a promise five times made, refuse to carry a bill back for a yea-and-nay vote.

In the 30 years that I have been a Member of one or the other

of these Houses there never has been such an exhibition of moral timidity and such a defiance of the authority of this body.

I have nothing to say as to the merits of this question. I should not like to see the Interior Department bill beaten upon a question of this sort; but, as I have indicated, it has resolved itself into a question of the right of this body to legislate and to assert its power and its dignity. I want to say, furthermore, that it is going to be very difficult, if not impossible, to get through this body before the 4th of March another deficiency appropriation bill embodying every provision of that which has been abandoned except the one provision objected to by House conferees.

The conferees of the other House were assured that if they would comply with their promise, five times made, and have a yea-and-nay vote over there, the matter could be settled in conference in 15 minutes thereafter, regardless of the result of the yea-and-nay vote; and they rejected even that suggestion

So far as I am concerned, I have never indulged in a filibuster for three minutes in my life; but I think it is time that the Senate of the United States ought to let another branch of Congress know that it is the Senate of the United States and can not be controlled by one or two contumacious Members of another

## APPROPRIATIONS FOR LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 17053) making appropriations for the legislative branch of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, may I say now that we have three appropriation bills yet unacted upon. It takes time to have conferences, even when all are in good temper. There are perhaps some indications of bad temper, as my colleague on the committee has stated. In my judgment we should pass these three appropriation bills early enough so that they can go through conference and be carefully considered, and the result of the conference reported to this House.

Of course, it is nothing to me personally whether these bills fail or whether they pass, so far as I am pecuniarly concerned; but I have some pride in the fact that we are not only ready and willing to do our duty here but that we can actually accomplish it, and there should be no delay upon any one of these

three bills

The one that I ask to take up now I do not believe will take 15 minutes, because we have made scarcely any amendments so far as the amount of money is concerned, and only perhaps half a dozen amendments of all kinds.

So, Mr. President, I ask that the formal reading of the bill may be dispensed with, and that the bill may be read for con-

sideration of the committee amendments.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wyo-ming asks unanimous consent that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with and that the bill be read for action on the committee amendments first. Is there objection?
Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

there not a request for unanimous consent to take up the con-

ference report?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. No; that has been laid aside. The motion of the Senator from Utah was withdrawn, and the message from the House of Representatives lies upon the table. Is there objection?
Mr. NORRIS. What is the request?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Unanimous consent has been asked and granted for taking up the legislative appropriation bill. A unanimous-consent request is now pending for dispensing with the formal reading of the bill, and reading the bill for action on the committee amendments only. Is there objection?
Mr. KING. Let the bill be read. Some of us have not had

a chance to see what it contains.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is made, and the formal reading of the bill will be proceeded with.

## THE CIVIL SERVICE

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to offer a resolution which simply seeks information from one of the departments of the Government, and before the resolution is read I ask that a telegram be read from a newspaper called the Chief, which is devoted to civil service and the promotion of the competitive civil-service system.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, unless the matter leads to debate, I will yield.

Mr. WAGNER. If it leads to debate, I will ask that the resolution go over after it is read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair hears no objec-

tion. The Secretary will read the telegram.

Mr. WAGNER. I desire to say, for the benefit of the reader, that the words "The Chief" refer to a newspaper of that

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 18, 1929.

Hon. ROBERT F. WAGNER,

United States Senate:

The Chief, in the interest of honest enforcement of the Federal civil service law, appeals to you in behalf of the large number of men and women who competed in civil-service examinations conducted by the United States Civil Service Commission for positions in the Prohibition Bureau. Notwithstanding the fact that eligible lists were established in August, 1928, almost two years after the law took effect which placed the Prohibition Bureau under civil service, those in charge of the Prohibition Bureau in various parts of the country, particularly in the city of New York, have failed to make all the appointments from said eligible lists, thus ignoring the act of Congress of March 3, 1927, placing these positions in the competitive class. In disregard and defiance of said law those in charge of the Prohibition Bureau have appointed persons without qualifications for the positions in question presumably for political reasons and as political patronage. Therefore The Chief urges that you introduce a resolution in the Senate of the United States so that an investigation of the entire matter can be had. As an outline we suggest the following points for development:

- 1. Why the eligible list for prohibition agent was never made public.
- 2. The names of temporary incumbents who have been retained in office in violation of the act of Congress of March 3, 1927.
  - 3. The names of those appointed from the eligible list.

4. Causes for the delay in establishing civil-service eligible lists and | reason for holding three examinations for prohibition agent.

5. Amount of money spent on examinations for Prohibition Bureau and amount paid in salaries in violation of the civil service law.

Unless this situation is corrected the merit system, in so far as the Federal civil service is concerned, is a farce and a mockery. The Chief appeals to you as Senator from the State of New York, where many of the violations referred to have occurred, to assist in correcting the conditions.

THE CHIEF, FRANK J. PRIAL, Editor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the resolution submitted by the Senator from New York?

Mr. WARREN. I object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is made,

Mr. WAGNER. I ask that the resolution be read for the information of the Senate. I understood that unanimous consent had already been granted me for the reading of the reso-Intion

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair thinks the Senator from New York is correct. The resolution will be read.
The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 332), as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury and the Civil Service

Commission be requested to inform the Senate on or before March 4, 1929, concerning the following matters:

(1) The reasons for the failure to publish lists of eligibles for appointment to the field service of the Bureau of Prohibition.

(2) The names of all persons employed in the field service of the Bureau of Prohibition who have not been appointed pursuant to the provisions of the civil service laws as contemplated by the act of March 1927, entitled "An act to create a Bureau of Customs and a Bureau of Prohibition in the Department of the Treasury."

(3) The names of all persons employed in the field service of the Bureau of Prohibition who have been appointed pursuant to the pro-

visions of the civil service laws.

(4) The sums expended for examinations held for appointment to

the field service of the Bureau of Prohibition.

(5) The total amount of salaries paid to employees of the field service of the Bureau of Prohibition not appointed or retained pur-suant to the act of March 3, 1927, entitled "An act to create a Bureau of Customs and a Bureau of Prohibition in the Department of the

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will lie over, under the rule.

Mr. WAGNER. Was objection made to its present consideration?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] objected.

### UNIFICATION OF RAILBOADS

Mr. FESS. Mr. President, I wish to announce that on Saturday, as soon as the Journal is read, if we adjourn on Friday, I shall address the Senate upon the bill (S. 5817) to authorize the unification of carriers engaged in interstate commerce, and for other purposes, at which time I shall make a report from the Committee on Interstate Commerce on the bill.

### FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I have here an able and interesting statement by former Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma. He is discussing the recent action of the Federal Reserve Board. No Member of Congress had more to do with creating the Federal reserve banking system than did Robert L. Owen. He is one of the authors of that great system. I ask unanimous consent that his statement be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York World, Wednesday, February 20, 1929] COAUTHOR OF FEDERAL RESERVE ACT ACCUSES BOARD OF USURPING POWER IN ITS DRIVE FOR CURBING OF CREDIT

# By Basil Manly

Washington, February 19 .- The action of the Federal Reserve Board in issuing its blast against excessive speculation was unwise, unnecessary, and unjustified by the condition of the Nation's industry, commerce, and finance former Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, one of the authors of the Federal reserve act, said to-day.

"The remedy chosen by the Reserve Board," says Senator Owen, " may produce conditions more serious than the disease which they are

seeking to cure.

"The board's admonition may curb speculation by destroying the confidence of the trading public in the existing market and in the credit situation. But there is a real danger that its warning may have the effect of producing a totally unwarranted lack of confidence in the

fundamental stability of our industrial and commercial structure and thus create a depression which is totally unjustified by the present condition of busines

"I do not believe," continued the former Senator from Oklahoma, "that it is a part of the functions of the Federal Reserve Board to attempt to regulate and control the use which American citizens make of their money and credit. If they choose to utilize their credit in stock-market speculation, they do so at their own risk.

#### DUTY OF THE BOARD

"It is, of course, the duty of the board to protect the reserves of the system and to use the machinery with which they have been provided by law to maintain them in sound condition. An examination of the latest available reports on brokers' loans shows clearly that these loans are not based upon credit secured from the banks but are largely financed with credit loaned by corporations and individuals.

"The report for February 15 shows that the loans made by the New York banks for their own account amounted to only \$1,097,000,000 and the loans for the account of out-of-town banks amounted to \$1,859,-000,000. This is a total of less than \$3,000,000,000 for the account of all banks and is only slightly more than half of the total brokers' loans outstanding. The loans made by the banks on stock-market collateral are now substantially the same as they were a year ago, when the Federal Reserve Board officially assured the Senate that there was

no reason to be concerned about the situation.

"The New York Stock Exchange and the minor exchanges in other cities perform a legitimate and useful function in providing a market where citizens may at any time buy and sell securities at a definitely ascertainable price. That there have been abuses connected with the operations of these exchanges is true. It is also true that the present prices of certain securities may be much higher than the earnings of those corporations warrant. Radio stock, for example, has reached heights which have amazed the officers and directors of that company. The future may or may not justify these present quotations, but certainly it is the business of nobody except those who are doing the trading.

"Any attempt by the Federal Reserve Board to force deflation of the stock market," Senator Owen declared, "is as unjustifiable as would be action on its part to stimulate the market artificially."

#### CALLS ACTION UNWISE

"The present action of the board seems to me as unwise as the drastic deflation policy which it instituted in 1920, which led to the depression of 1921," Senator Owen declared with emphasis. "As early as the summer of 1919 I registered with the board my protests against the policies which it was pursuing and warned it of the disaster which was certain to follow. When these private communications failed to alter the board's policies I took the matter to the floor of the Senate and forecast the agricultural and business depression which would inevitably result from such deflationary policies. In a few months my prophecies were exceeded by the terrible conditions which came upon the country. Agriculture was prostrated, 3,000 banks failed, great industries were forced to liquidate their stocks of commodities in a falling market and some of the greatest financial institutions in the country were for a time imperiled.

"The Federal reserve system was created to provide the Nation with an elastic currency and credit, and not to act as a regulator of industry, commerce, finance, or speculation. The board should limit itself to its legitimate and proper functions-safeguarding its own reserves and those of the member banks-and leave whatever speculative fever may

have seized upon the country to run its natural course." "Do you believe," the writer asked, "that the action of the board in maintaining low interest rates during the latter part of 1927 and a part of 1928 in order to assist the Bank of England and other European central banks in reestablishing the gold standard was responsible in any large measure for the development of speculation in this country?"

## INTEREST RATES IGNORED

"No; I do not," replied the Senator. "Exhaustive studies by the Harvard School of Business Research and other authorities have proved that interest rates do not control stock-market movements. Easy money will not make a bull market. The dullest markets usually are found when interest rates are at rock bottom. I believe that the action of the Federal reserve system in cooperating with the central banks of Europe for the purpose of enabling them to put the fiscal systems of their respective countries in sound condition was highly desirable, and I do not believe that the maintenance of low rediscount rates during that period had any appreciable effect in promoting speculation in this country."

"What do you consider the greatest defect in the present operation of the Federal reserve system?" the writer asked.

"One of the fundamental defects, which must be apparent to all, is the fact that the system is primarily under the control of the sellers of credit," was the reply. "The Bank of England is governed by a board made up of merchants and other large users of credit. policy of the Federal reserve system, on the other hand, is primarily

controlled by the class A directors, who are bankers, and who naturally look at the situation from the standpoint of those who sell credit rather than from that of those who use it. I believe that it would be wise and desirable for American merchants, manufacturers, and other business executives to have a larger voice in the control of the system."

### MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE NEAR BROWNVILLE, NEBR.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (8. 4861) authorizing the Brownville Bridge Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Brownville, Nebr., which were, on page 3, line 11, to strike out "twenty" and insert "five"; on page 6, after line 3, to insert:

Sec. 8. All contracts made in connection with the construction of the bridge authorized by this act and which shall involve the expenditure of more than \$5,000, shall be let by competitive bidding. Such contracts shall be advertised for a reasonable time in some newspaper of general circulation published in the States in which the bridge is located and in the vicinity thereof; sealed bids shall be required and the contracts shall be awarded to the lowest responsible bidder. Verified copies or abstracts of all bids received and of the bid or bids accepted shall be promptly furnished to the highway departments of the States in which such bridge is located. A failure to comply in good faith with the provisions of this section shall render null and void any contract made in violation thereof, and the Secretary of War may, after hearings, order the suspension of all work upon such bridge until the provisions of this section shall have been fully complied with.

And on page 6, line 4, to strike out "8" and insert "9."

Mr. NORRIS. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendments. I make this motion at the request of my colleague [Mr. Howell] who is ill and unable to be present.

The motion was agreed to.

### RELATIONS WITH THE PHILIPPINES

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I desire to present for the consideration of the Senate some observations concerning what has come to be known as the Philippine question. I am led to a brief discussion of this matter because it is understood that Congress will soon be convened in extraordinary session for the purpose of enacting a tariff law, and attempts will be made to incorporate therein provisions seriously affecting the Filipinos.

An extensive propaganda is being carried on in the United States in favor of either limiting the amount of sugar produced in the Philippine Islands which may be brought into the United States or imposing a tariff upon all sugar imported into the

United States.

In 1916 the policy of the United States with respect to the Philippine Islands was announced in an act, "To declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands."

The act contains this language:

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipiency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.

Following the language which I have just read are provisions relating to the government of the Philippine Islands. When this bill was under discussion it was understood that the Philippines were soon to have their independence.

It is true there were some imperialists in the United States who insisted that the Philippine Archipelago should be held for exploitation and that the Filipinos should be treated as a conquered race. Those entertaining this view were unwilling to extend the provisions of the Constitution to the Filipinos or to incorporate their country into the United States. This view assumed that there was no inconsistency in a republic such as this holding colonial possessions and subjecting the inhabitants thereof to military rule. They repudiated the position of Senator Hoar and other patriotic Americans, who protested against the conquest of the Philippine Islands and the adoption of a

policy looking toward holding them as a colonial possession for an indefinite period. Those who contended for the independence of the Filipinos in that memorable contest during and immediately following the war with Spain were unsuccessful in having their views adopted. But as the years went by the American people perceived that it was not in harmony with American ideals and with democratic institutions for an alien race to be subjected to military control and to have imposed upon it a government not of its own choosing.

It soon became apparent that the Filipinos, with their different traditions, customs, language, and culture, were unwilling to become a part of this Republic, and regarded with resentment the suggestion that their land should be held as a territorial possession, and that they should be subject to any form of government—military or otherwise—which the United

States willed to impose upon them.

There never has been a time since American military forces landed upon Philippine soil that the Filipinos were willing to be an American colony or even an American State. They have desired to be free and independent; they have had confidence in their ability to govern themselves and to maintain an independent and sovereign state, possessing a liberal form of government and adequate to protect its people and discharge its international obligations.

I believe that a majority of the American people regarded the Jones Act, from which I have read, as a solemn pledge upon the part of the American people to grant independence to the

Filipinos.

It can not be contended that the declaration contained in the Jones Act, that "it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government would be established therein," is ambiguous or meaningless; and I sincerely hope that it will not be urged that it was made for the purpose of deceiving the Filipinos, if not the people of other countries.

The United States can not afford to be insincere or to indulge in sharp practice or to trifle with a proud and progressive people. The Philippine Islands belong to the Filipinos, not to the United States. They are demanding that this Government redeem its promise and withdraw its sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and recognize the independence of the Filipinos. They have demonstrated their capacity for self-government; they have a stable government; they have made progress and are advancing in a satisfactory manner along the pathway of national development and intellectual and moral progress.

I regret to say that there are unmistakable evidences that the party in power intends to disregard the pledges made by the United States and to hold the Filipinos under American control, and at the same time deny to them the rights of American citizens. They are to be treated as outside the Constitution and to be denied constitutional guaranties and constitutional protection, and are not to be permitted to set up their own government and to be a free and independent people. The letter and the spirit of the Constitution are to be violated in order that the Philippine Islands, thousands of miles away, may be held as a colonial possession and its inhabitants subjected to unconstitutional and un-American rule.

Mr. President, I protest against any course that would subject this Republic to the charge that it had violated its plighted faith; that it was guilty of Punic faith; that while professing the principles of democracy and the right of self-government it had refused independence and freedom to an alien people who were competent to govern themselves and coveted only the liberty and freedom to which the people of the world are entitled.

It is apparent that within the past few years the party in power has exhibited a less liberal attitude toward the Filipinos, and has been seeking pretexts for refusing to grant them the independence which they covet and to which they are entitled. President Coolidge made it clear in a statement prepared by him a short time ago that the Filipinos need not expect independence in the near future. I think the statement, properly interpreted, was the announcement of a backward and reactionary policy, and was intended to advise the Filipinos that the promises contained in the Jones Act would not be redeemed, and that their aspirations for independence were not to be realized, at least for many years to come. This statement was a rebuff to the Filipinos. It was a challenge to their requests for independence. It was equivalent to a declaration that the United States was under no obligation to withdraw its sovereignty or to permit the Filipinos to establish their own government.

I have offered measures in the Senate providing the necessary steps to be taken for the redemption of the promises made to the Filipinos. I have asked the Senate upon various occasions

to grant independence to the Filipinos, to enact legislation that would enable them to call a constitutional convention in order that the fundamental law which is to be the basis of their government might be prepared. All appeals have been in vain. The majority party has not only indicated its purpose to prevent such legislation but it has signified its intention to enact laws that would fasten more powerfully the grip of the United States upon the Filipinos.

Mr. DILL. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Fess in the chair). Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Has the Committee on Territories held hearings Mr. DILL

on this subject?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, there have been hearings in the House and in the Senate dealing with the question of independence for the Filipinos. As stated a moment ago, I have offered measures providing for the calling of a constitutional convention and for the adoption of such procedure as would bring about the withdrawal of American sovereignty from the Philippine Islands and the establishment of an independent government by the Filipinos. There were hearings upon one of my bills by the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate.

Mr. DILL. When was that?

Mr. KING. My recollection is that it was about four years

Mr. DILL. There have been no hearings since then?

Mr. KING. As I now recall, the last hearings upon the measure to which I have referred were in 1924 or 1925. There have been hearings upon some other bills since that time. These bills, however, were as interpreted, for the purpose of con-ferring upon the United States additional authority, and were intended to further restrict the liberties and independence of the Filipinos.

Was a vote taken upon reporting the Senator's Mr. DILL.

bill?

Mr. KING. My recollection is that no official vote was had in the committee. There was opposition to it and all efforts to secure a favorable report were abortive. I was not a member of the committee but appeared before it, and also had the opportunity of presenting witnesses who testified at some length, and conclusively demonstrated that the measure which I offered was just and fair and that the Filipinos should have independence and were competent to govern themselves and to set up and maintain a stable and progressive republic.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, will the

Senator yield?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. I was a member of the committee at the time. The Senator will recall that the committee had progressed so far in the discussion of the subject in 1924 that they had really gotten down to considering the number of years in which they would agree to give independence to the I recall that there was considerable discussion as to Filininos. whether independence should be granted the Filipinos within 5 or 10 years after the enactment of the legislation then under consideration. As I recall the situation, the Senate committee never made a report before the Congress adjourned.

I would like to ask the Senator if it has not been his observation that the longer we are postponing action on this question of independence for the Filipinos sentiment seems to be steadily increasing against independence? My observation is that there is less sentiment in favor of Filipino independence in the Congress to-day than there was when I first came here, and it seems to be getting less and less each year. Has that

been the Senator's observation?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I hesitate to criticize my associates in this body or those engaged in legislation at the other end of the Capitol. I regret, however, to be compelled to con-fess that the tide of opposition to Filipino independence is stronger to-day than it was a number of years ago. American capital has been invested in the Philippine Islands and many Americans have been diligent in spreading propaganda against independence for the Filipinos and in favor of the United States holding the Philippine Islands indefinitely. A number of American capitalists have reported that the resources of the Philippine Islands are very great, and that their retention by the United States would be of material and financial advantage to the American people. I remember that one American business man spoke about investing \$100,000,000 in acquiring land and in developing a certain industry. It is known that Americans have large investments in cane-sugar lands and in sugar factories, and that those who are investing their capital in the Philippine Islands are insisting that independence shall not be granted to the Filipinos.

I think the Senator from Massachusetts is correct in his statement that there is less sentiment in favor of withdrawing our sovereignty from the islands than there was a number of

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. That is my observation. Mr. BROUSSARD. Is it not a fact that that is due to the

increasing amount of capital invested in the Philippine Islands? Mr. KING. Undoubtedly the large investments by Americans have had much to do with the development of a sentiment hostile to Philippine independence. Some Americans undoubtedly desire that the United States hold the Philippine Islands for economic exploitation. They see in them a profitable field for American investment. They are not concerned in the political and moral problems involved; nor have they much concern in the aspirations of the Filipinos for independence. Undoubtedly they are patriotic Americans, but some can not comprehend that Filipinos can be patriotic and possess passionate longings for a free and independent nation. There are some Americans who seem determined to regard the Philippine Islands as a mere accessory to American business. They insist upon American goods being admitted free of duty into the islands. There are others who are demanding that, while we force free trade, so far as American products are concerned, upon the Filipinos, we may impose tariff duties upon their products which are brought to American shores

Mr. DILL. Mr. President, at the present time we are confronted with proposals to exclude certain of their products, although the islands are under our flag. This is particularly

Mr. KING. The Senator is correct. The proposition will be submitted to Congress to impose a tariff upon Philippine sugar. Another proposition is to restrict the amount of sugar which may be brought from the Philippine Islands to the United States.

These propositions are regarded by many Americans as being contrary to our theory of government, if not at variance with the principles of justice and morality which should govern the United States in its dealings with peoples under its control. The view is urged by some that the Constitution does not follow the flag; that the United States may conquer distant lands and alien peoples and hold them as subjects, denying to them the rights which we enjoy. This policy is not democratic. It finds no place in our political institutions or the political philosophy by which Americans should be governed. Persons worthy to live under our flag are worthy to enjoy all constitutional guar-anties. This great Republic can not afford to embark upon imperialistic policies. It would weaken our institutions, corrode the spirit of liberty and denrocracy which should guide our lives and determine our national policies. Lincoln perceived that the United States could not exist half free and half slave. This Republic can not be imperialistic and at the same time preserve its integrity, its ideals, its democratic institutions.

We must have a democratic republic, and if we depart from

the ideals and the spirit of a government of that character, and embark upon the tempestuous sea of conquest, of colonial possessions, of imperialism, economic or otherwise, the work of our fathers will be in danger and the foundations of this Republic

imperiled.

Mr. BROUSSARD. Mr. President, does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BROUSSARD. Mr. President, I happen to be a member of the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate. The committee reported two years ago, I think it was, at the time Senator Willis was chairman, a bill to carry out the pledges made to the Filipinos. I am for turning them loose myself, and so voted in the committee. Those people have increased their sugar production in the last eight years from 40,000 tons to over 500,000 tons, and that sugar is competing with our sugar, and there is no status for those people. am perfectly willing to turn them loose. As a matter of fact, do not believe any naval officer or any Army officer will claim that we could hold those islands at the initiation of any war we might enter into. We would lose them, and have to sacrifice human life and treasure to regain them. There is no reason for us to carry out the pledge we made to them.

So far as the question brought up by the Senator from Washington is concerned, I propose, when the proper time comes, to ask that we tax every pound of sugar that comes from the

Philippine Islands.

Mr. KING. I think the Senator is in error in his statement that two years ago the committee of which he is a member voted to give independence to the Filipinos. There were measures before the committee of which Senator Willis was chairman, but I have no recollection of my measure which called for Philippine independence or any other similar measure being favorably acted upon. There were measures reported by the committee which sought to increase the power of the Governor of the Philippine Islands and to provide a special fund to furnish him with experts and fiscal aid. I am glad the Senator favors the withdrawal of American sovereignty from the Philippine Islands, and I feel sure that he will join with those in the Senate who are seeking to redeem the promises made by our Government to grant independence to the Filipinos,

I desire to state, however, to the Senator that in my opinion we can scarcely defend the policy which forces the Filipinos under American rule and denies to them the right to export

their products free of duty to the United States.

It seems to me violative of the Constitution and unjust, if not immoral, to hold the Filipinos as a conquered race; to treat them as aliens and then exploit them; to force upon them our products and deny to them the right or opportunity to ship their products to our shores.

Mr. DILL. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. DILL. Does the Senator know whether or not there has ever been any diplomatic representation to other countries, particularly Japan and England, proposing that a joint pro-tectorate be established over the islands and they be given their

independence?

Mr. KING. Upon a number of occasions I have introduced resolutions authorizing and directing the President of the United States to enter into negotiations with all powers having territorial interests in the Pacific and adjacent thereto with a view to agreeing upon a treaty under which the independence of the Philippine Islands would be recognized. The Senator is familiar with the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Bel-gium which was signed by Germany, Great Britain, and France. When I first introduced the bill for Philippine independence I offered at the same time a resolution of the character just indicated.

Mr. President, I have made some inquiry in regard to this matter and it is my opinion that all powers who have interests in the Pacific would willingly join with the United States in a treaty which would bind the signatories to a recognition of the independence of the Filipinos and pledge them to respect the territorial integrity of the Philippine republic. Indeed, Mr. President, I believe if it were desired by the United States, the terms of the treaty would go further and afford guaranties for the protection of an independent Philippine government. I have made some investigations concerning this matter, and I have no hesitancy in saying that the Pacific powers would not look with disfavor upon an independent government in the Philippine Islands, and that neither would look with covetous eyes upon the territory of the new government set up.

Mr. DILL. Such a treaty should remove the objections which are raised as to their status.

Mr. KING. Undoubtedly a treaty of the character indicated would be of advantage to the Filipinos and would remove the objections of those who desire that the Filipinos shall have independence, but are not free from apprehension as to the security of the Philippine government against aggression from some other power. I have often heard the statement made that if the Filipinos were granted independence the islands would quickly fall a prey to Japan.

Mr. President, such statements are without foundation, and I regard them as most unjust to Japan. There is not the slightest evidence indicating a desire upon the part of the Japanese Government to acquire the Philippine Islands or to exercise control over the Filipinos. As a matter of fact, at one time Japan had a foothold in, if not control over, the Philippine

Archipelago but voluntarily relinquished such control.

It is worthy of note that though the Japanese population is increasing at the rate of nearly 700,000 per annum, there has been no inclination to find in the Philippine Islands homes for the Japanese. Only a very limited number of Japanese resided in the Philippine Islands when they were partly, if not entirely, under the political control of Japan, and during the past hundred years, notwithstanding, as I have stated, Japan's rapid increase in population, only a few thousand Japanese have gone to the Philippines. Under American control there have been no bars against Japanese immigration, and yet there are only 5,000 or 6,000 Japanese among the 11,000,000 inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

My recollection is that there are fewer Japanese in the Philippines now than there were 25 or 50 years ago. The climate does not suit the Japanese. They are looking toward the mainland of Asia, not to Polynesia or to the Philippine Islands. China has no designs upon the Philippines, nor has Great Britain, France, Germany, or Holland, or any other country. This

Republic is the only nation that seems to covet the Philippine Archipelago, and the American people, or at least a portion of them, seem to be the only people who are unwilling that the Filipinos should have their independence.

Mr. President, if the President of the United States should enter upon negotiations with the countries referred to, I have no doubt that within a short time a treaty could be negotiated which would afford all the guaranties that the Filipinos might desire, and that would give to us every assurance that no other power would attempt to conquer the Filipinos or obtain from them privileges and favors of a special and discriminatory char-And the Filipinos, if we should grant them independence, would be so grateful that they would repel any suggestion that some other nation should obtain special favors or benefits. If we shoud redeem our solemn promises and permit them to have their own government they would regard this Republic with an affection that would bind them as with hooks of steel to this Republic.

Mr. NORRIS. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. KING. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. Will it disturb the Senator if I interrupt him at this point?

Mr. KING. Not at all.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator has stated something upon this subject upon which I would like to have a little more light, not because I doubt his statement but because I would like to have it get as much publicity as possible. How long has it been since Japan has had some control over the Philippine Islands?

Mr. KING. I do not recall definitely, but it was several

centuries ago.

Mr. NORRIS. Has the Senator heard of anything of a substantial nature which would indicate that there is anything to the argument made against the freedom of the Philippine Islands on the ground that Japan would immediately lay claim

to the islands?

Mr. KING. I have made diligent inquiry, not only in the United States but in other countries, with a view to ascertaining whether there was anything to indicate that any country or government coveted the Philippine Archipelago or had any purpose, if independence came to the Filipinos, to molest them or attempt to annex any of their territory. It has been my privilege to meet leaders of Japanese thought, as well as a number of leading Chinese who were in a position to judge the aims and policies of the Chinese. I have also spoken with representatives of European nations concerning various problems, including the question of Philippine independence and the future of the Filipinos. I failed to discover a scintilla of evidence indicating that if the Filipinos were given their independence they would be molested by any nation or their independence interfered with in the slightest degree.

It is true that I found among some a feeling of skepticism concerning the promises made by the United States to give independence to the Filipinos. I met some persons who did not hesitate to say that they believed that the United States would never relinquish its grasp upon the Philippine Archipelago. But among those who expressed this view there was nothing to indicate that if the promises of the United States were fulfilled and the Filipinos were given their independence that their country would be in danger of invasion from any quarter.

An examination of the situation in the Pacific and in the Orient will, I feel certain, justify the conclusion which I have reached and the statements which I have made. China has troubles of her own and for many years to come will be occupied in working out her own internal problems and consolidating any gains that may be made in social, industrial, and politi-

cal fields.

The evidence is conclusive that China never coveted the Philippine Islands and, though the closest neighbor, made no attempt whatever to colonize the Philippines or to acquire political influence therein. Holland, interested as she has been for centuries in island possessions not far remote from the Philippine Archipelago, has never evinced any interest in the Philip-pine Islands or indicated any purpose to acquire or control them. France with her interests in China has never looked with envious eyes upon the Philippine Islands. And Germany, when she was a powerful factor in the western Pacific, was indif-ferent to the Filipinos and their island possessions. Great Britain, with her large interests in the Pacific, never sought control over the Philippine Archipelago, and notwithstanding the proximity of these islands to Australia, neither Great Britain nor any of her colonies manifested any desire to control or acquire the Philippines.

I have referred to Japan. I repeat when I say that Japan, though she acquired Formosa, and under the treaty of Versailles obtained a mandate over two or three groups of small and unimportant islands in the Pacific, was wholly indifferent

them, but was not sufficiently interested in holding or controlling them to remain.

I regret that there have been so many unjust and wanton attacks in the American press upon Japan. Even in this body I have heard serious charges made against Japan, her good faith, her national honor. I have upon a number of occasions defended Japan against what I believed to be unwarranted and unjust criticism. I have called attention to her problems, to her insular position, to her precarious situation with China and her teeming millions, and Russia with her enormous population and her great resources blocking the way to expansion in perhaps the only direction where it is possible for Japan to go.

Mr. NORRIS. I would like to say to the Senator, if he will permit me, that it seems to me the objection to the freedom of the Philippine Islands is almost discourteous to the Government of Japan, especially if it is made, as I believe it is made, without any foundation in fact for the making of it. I have not made the same investigation that the Senator has, at least not nearly so extensive, but I have never heard or seen anything from a reliable source that would indicate that there is any truth in the statement whatever, yet continually it is offered in this country. It is really a criticism against a friendly nation, and it seems to me it is unjust.

Mr. KING. I am in accord with the views just expressed by the Senator. I believe that it is an unwarranted and unjust attack upon Japan to say that she nourishes a secret ambition and purpose to acquire the Philippine Islands. I have referred to the fact that, though the resources of Japan are limited and her arable land is wholly inadequate for the needs of her people, she has not encouraged them to colonize the Philippines, nor has she attempted to secure any foothold—economic, military, or otherwise—in any part of the Philippine Archipelago. Japan realizes that her future is dependent largely upon industrial development and that any expansion must be in the direction of the mainland. She recognizes that there is no opportunity for her surplus population to secure lands in North America or in Australia. There is the island of Sakhalin lying to the north, and a part of which belongs to her, which is susceptible of development and will be available for further colonization.

But Chosen and Manchuria and the Asiatic mainland will be the avenues into which the Japanese will enter after Japan has reached the saturation point. Let us not, therefore, Mr. President, offer excuses and false pretexts for refusing to perform solemn obligation—the liberation of the Filipinos from American rule. I called attention a few moments ago to the fact that I had offered a resolution with reference to the negotiation of a treaty with Pacific powers to secure the independence of the Filipinos. Since I have been speaking I have had the Secretary of the Senate bring to me a copy of the resolution which I offered in the Senate in December, 1925. The resolution reads as follows:

Whereas the Congress of the United States by the act approved August 29, 1916, entitled "An act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands," vested in the Philippine Legislature, created by said act, general legislative power with respect to the Philippines, 'n order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers the people of the Philippines might become prepared to assume the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of complete independence;

Whereas the Congress of the United States in said act expressly declared that it was the purpose of the Government of the United States to withdraw its sovereignty from the Philippine Islands and to recognize the independence of the islands as soon as a stable government should have been established therein; and

Whereas in conformity with the provisions of said act, a stable government, founded upon principles of political liberty and upon popular franchise, has been erected in the Philippine Islands and is exercising political powers therein, subject only to the powers vested in the Governor General of the Philippines and other officials appointed by the President of the United States, and certain supervisory powers exercised by the Secretary of War, and the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States from final judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President enter into negotiations with the powers having territorial interests in the Pacific, or adjacent thereto, for the purpose of concluding a treaty or treaties whereby said powers agree to recognize the Philippine Islands as an independent state, and covenant to respect the political independence and territorial integrity of such Philippine state, when such state shall have been established and declared by the United States.

If the administration's refusal to carry out the provisions of the Jones Act and withdraw our sovereignty from the Philip-

to the Philippines. As I have said, at one time she dominated pine Islands rests upon the assumption that Philippine independence would be menaced by Japan, the falsity of such assumption can quickly be established by entering into negotiations with Japan, together with other Pacific powers, for concluding a treaty under the terms of which the signatories thereto covenant to respect the political independence and ter-ritorial integrity of such Philippine state.

Mr. President, I think that the obstacle to Philippine inde-pendence is not Japan or China or any government on earth except this Republic. The greedy eyes of some American capitalists see in the Philippine Islands a rich field for exploitation. Under the pretense of a broad humanitarianism and a desire to protect and civilize the Filipinos, they proclaim with great vigor that the United States must hold the Philippine Islands, and govern them not under the Constitution but outside of its beneficent provisions.

Mr. President, notwithstanding the constant asseverations that we are not imperialistic, there are more than symptoms of imperialism in our attitude toward and treatment of other countries. There is economic imperialism as well as other forms. American capital is flowing in golden streams from the borders of the United States. Enormous investments are being made in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Nicaragua, and various countries of South and Central America, the Philippine Islands, and in other lands and climes. Large investments are being made in Cuba. Sugar plantations are being developed in the Philippines by American capital, and important American interests are acquiring control of resources which will strengthen the grip of the United States upon them.

(At this point Mr. King yielded to Mr. Bingham to present conference report on the District of Columbia appropriation bill.)

Mr. KING. When I was interrupted by the conference report I was referring to the important investments being made in the Philippine Islands and the economic control which is being obtained by American capitalists. Undoubtedly there are some benefits to be derived by large investments of foreign capital; but there are also resulting evils and dangers the extent of which may not always be foreseen. American capital is being invested in Haiti.

If aliens are permitted to acquire land in Haiti, within a few years those who were formerly landowners will be wretched tenants and peons. It is a menace to the security and prosperity of a country having a large population and a limited area of land to permit foreign capital to acquire large landed estates. The agrarian problem is not a new one. In Italy and in other countries in centuries past slavery followed the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and the control of the arable lands by the rich. In the long run it will be highly disadvantageous to the Filipinos if foreign capital controls their resources and alien landlords acquire large holdings of agricultural lands. Undoubtedly temporary advantages will result from an invasion of foreign capital; there may be temporary booms and superficial prosperity, but finally the day of reckoning will come. If the mass of the people work for foreigners, foreign capital will suck the stream of prosperity from It were better for the conscience of the American Nation and for the preservation of American ideals if we do not hold the Philippine Islands for economic exploitation. will be better for us and better for the Filipinos if we give them their independence. It will be to our everlasting honor if we can say to the world, "We have aided in setting up another republic and unfurling another flag to float over a free and independent state in the great blue that envelops this little world of ours." Mr. President, let us redeem our promises and take steps looking to the liberation of the Filipinos!

I have referred to measures which I have introduced providing for the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippine Islands. I desire to invite the attention of the Senate to one of the bills which I offered dealing with this question. On the 6th of December, 1927, I offered the following bill, which I ask the clerk to read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the clerk

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 711) providing for the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippine Islands

Be it enacted, etc., That in conformity with the act entitled "An act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands," approved August 29, 1916, the Philippine Legislature is hereby authorized to provide for a general election of delegates to a constitutional convention, which shall prepare and formulate a constitution for an independent republican government for the Philippine Islands, and that upon the ratification and promulgation of said constitution and the | election of the officers therein provided for, and as soon as the government provided for under said constitution is organized and ready to function, the President of the United States shall recognize and proclaim the independence of the Philippine government under said constitution and shall notify the governments with which the United States is in diplomatic correspondence thereof, and shall invite said governments to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands, and that the President is directed to withdraw the military forces of the United States from said islands within six months after said proclamation recognizing the independence of said Philippine government.

That the debts and liabilities of the Philippine government, its Provinces and municipalities and instrumentalities, which shall be valid and subsisting at the time of the approval of the proposed constitution shall be assumed by the government established thereunder.

That if the Philippine government fails to pay any of its debts and liabilities referred to in the foregoing section or the interest thereon when due, the United States Government may thereupon take over the customs offices and administration of the same and apply such part of the revenue received therefrom as may be necessary for the payment of such overdue indebtedness or interest. When such overdue indebtedness, liability, or interest shall have been paid the United States Government shall restore to the Philippine government the control and administration of its customs offices and the revenues derived therefrom.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the last paragraph of the bill does not accurately express my views. I inserted it, after having drafted the bill, out of deference to the views of some of my colleagues who shared with me the conviction that the time had come for the United States to withdraw from the Philippine However, they were of the opinion that some of the opposition to the bill would be overcome if provision were made which would assure the payment of all obligations of the Philippine government which had been incurred while the control of the Philippine government was in the hands of the United States.

Senators will recall that since the United States has been in control in the Philippine Islands bonds aggregating millions of dollars have been issued, the proceeds derived therefrom being devoted to internal improvements and governmental purposes. The interest upon these bonds has been promptly met; the provisions of the sinking fund have been scrupulously observed, and there is no reason to doubt that the bonds as they mature will be promptly cared for, whether the United States retains control of the Philippine government or the Filipinos are given their independence. But to meet the views of skeptics I consented to insert the provision referred to, which gives to the United States the right to take over the customs offices and their administration in order to meet any debts and liabilities incurred when the United States was in control of the government if there shall be default in meeting such obligations.

Mr. President, there are nearly 12,000,000 Filipinos inhabiting scores of beautiful islands in the Philippine Archipelago. All of them are Christians except approximately 800,000, who are Mohammedans. They are a unit in asking for independence. Every member of the Philippine Legislature, whether Christian or Mohammedan, whether elected by the people or appointedas a few of them are-by the Governor General, is asking that American sovereignty be withdrawn and that the Filipinos be permitted to set up a republican form of government. they appreciate the strength and power of this Republic and appreciate the benefits which they have derived from American control, they possess national aspirations and are discontented

In a speech which I delivered in the Senate about two years ago I stated in considerable detail the economic, industrial, educational, and political conditions prevailing in the Philippines. I showed the large number of schools with nearly a million children attending them; the progress which had been made in education; the agricultural development; the large number of landowners; the natural resources which constitute a reservoir from which the future may draw for material advancement and the welfare of the people. I referred to the interest taken by the people in political matters, the zest with which they entered into public affairs, and the manifold evidences of their capacity for self-government.

I shall not traverse the same ground at this time or enter into details in regard to these questions. I shall only say in a general way that the Filipinos have a stable government; that they have demonstrated their ability to build a commonwealth, to maintain law and order, and to carry forward liberal and pro-gressive policies that will insure the stability of the state which they may be permitted to organize. It is quite likely that when they shall have independence they will encounter many obstacles and perhaps make serious mistakes. What nation has been free from mistakes? Our own Republic has encountered

difficulties and has been torn by civil strife. The difficulties and dangers and problems encountered will be tests of their capacity These national problems and dangers are schooland ability. masters indispensable to national growth and material and moral advancement.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President-

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

Mr. KING. I yield. Mr. BRUCE. Does not the Senator think that we had a perfectly good title to the Philippine Islands in the first instance? Mr. KING. I am unwilling to concede that our title was the best or entirely free from taint or imperfection.

It seems to me it is the best title that one coun-

try ever did have to the soil of another one.

Mr. KING. By conquest, yes; if conquest confers the best title—a fee-simple, indefeasible title—using the words of lawyers with respect to land titles, then perhaps the United States does have, if not the best, at least a title which will defeat some other country claiming the Philippines.

Mr. BRUCE. Not only by conquest, but by purchase as well. It was a dual title, it seems to me. First, title by conquest, and

then title by purchase.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the question of our title to the Philippine Islands was learnedly discussed when the treaty of Paris was before the Senate and when Congress was considering what it would do with the Philippine Islands and what form of government it would impose upon the Filipinos. views of the Senator from Maryland were accepted by many who contended, as the Senator has, that the United States had conquered the Philippines and driven Spain from the islands and had subsequently acquired Spain's title by payment of \$20,000,000. Perhaps under the accepted principles of international law the United States does have some form of title to the Philippines. If it be conceded that a nation may make war upon a people and conquer them, and thus acquire title to their country, then there is a basis for the claim that we have a good title to the Philippine Archipelago; and if we accept the doctrine that the defeat of a nation by a more powerful one, and the defeated nation has certain dominion over distant lands and peoples and by its defeat has lost its control and has the legal right to deed away or barter away those lands and peoples, then perhaps the United States has an additional source of title.

Under that view the Turks acquired title by cruel war to Armenia, to the Byzantine Empire, to the territory out of which Rumania and the Balkan States have been carved. By the sword it held control for centuries over Christian races, over Slavs and Hellenes and representatives of the Aryan race. Spain conquered the Filipinos several centuries ago. She imposed upon the Filipinos a cruel and despotic rule. There was a century or more of intermittent strife. Revolution followed revolution, the Filipinos seeking to throw off the foreign yoke and to set up a government of their own choice. Spain held similar title to Cuba and other countries which she lost. Did Spain have a good title to the Philippines? I deny it. Did she own the Philippines? I repudiate the suggestion. Rizal, the last great Philippine martyr, saw the coming independence

of his people.

Spain's rule in the Philippines was ended before American troops landed upon the shores of the Philippines. The Filipinos set up a government and were proceeding to organize a They were free from Spanish rule. They were an independent people. Spain had no title to convey to the United States. The \$20,000,000 which we paid to Spain for the Philippines and the Filipinos gave us no title. It is true we asserted title under the pretended grant from Spain, and it is true that we waged war against the Filipinos and defeated them, and superimposed upon them American rule. For years Little by little the harshness of it was a military rule. rule was softened, and finally under the Jones Act the Filipinos were given a liberal, autonomous government.

No one can deny that we made war upon the Aguinaldo government, which was not only a de facto but a de jure government. It represented the will of the Filipino people. functioning as a government and discharging its obligations.

Mr. President, I can not believe that we obtained title by purchasing the Filipinos at \$2 a head. Spain had no title to the Filipinos; she could not sell them; we could not buy them. I do not believe we can get title to human beings by paying money for men, women, and children.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator if he

thinks there would have been any insurrectionary movement in the Philippines that would have amounted to anything but for

the prospect of American intervention?

Mr. KING. I have no hesitancy in answering in the affirmative. The Senator will recall that there was insurrection in

Cuba; that there had been numerous revolutions in this Pearl of the Antilles, covering a period of more than 100 years. There were revolutions in the Philippines synchronizing with Cuban revolutions. The revolutionary movements, both in Cuba and the Philippines, were often crushed; but from the ashes of defeat rose patriotic Cubans and Filipinos who raised the standard of liberty and rallied their countrymen to renewed assaults upon the Spanish Government. For a number of years preceding the Spanish-American War the fires of revolution had been burning in the Philippines. The struggle in Cuba undoubtedly strengthened the resolve of the Filipinos to achieve their independence, and it is certain that if the United States had not engaged in war with Spain the Filipinos would have thrown off the Spanish yoke and set up an independent government.

Mr. BRUCE. It seems to me the real question is whether our

hands are tied by the Jones Act.

Mr. KING. If I understand the Senator, he means that if it were not for the Jones Act we would have the right to remain in the Philippine Islands indefinitely.

Mr. BRUCE. That is the inquiry I am suggesting.

Mr. KING. With profound respect for the views of the Sen-

ator, I must express my dissent from his position. I agree that the Jones Act binds us to withdraw from the Philippine Islands and give the Filipinos their independence. But I contend that, without the solemn promise contained in the Jones Act, it is the duty of the United States to withdraw from the Philippines and return to the Filipinos the control of their own country. think there is a moral question involved which transcends in importance any legal question. When we deal with human rights, with the liberties of peoples, legal formula must not stand in the way of justice and liberty and the rights of humanity. We have been led to believe that a new day is dawning; that the right of self-determination exists and that the inarticulate masses of the world have a right to be heard. know there is a school of philosophy and there are historians who take the view that upon this little globe there must be a few strong and powerful nations, controlling, directing, and protecting the smaller states. They see the United States controlling this entire hemisphere, and Europe under the control of two or three powerful nations. The movement toward concentrated authority and concentrated wealth is most powerful, and the gravitational forces now in operation throughout the world, in the political and industrial world, give emphasis to the philosophy to which I have referred and seem to support the views of its exponents. But I believe that a different philosophy must prevail; that there must be decentralization of authority, a diffusion of power as well as a diffusion of wealth. There are changes undoubtedly resulting from the groupings of numerous small states and weak peoples around some powerful political sun, but the welfare and happiness of humanity will best be realized under dual forms of government rather than a unitary system. Small states have performed important functions and have made contributions of incalculable value to the freedom and happiness and progress of the world. We must not return to the days of autocratic government; to the rule of powerful states which exercise dominion over distant lands and alien peoples. Rather must we encourage democracy, a spirit of liberalism, the development of smaller units, the recognition of the individual as the real vital unit, and the most important factor in the social, political, intellectual, and moral development of the world.

Mr. President, the Senator from Maryland, I think, must concede that the Jones Act does tie our hands, to use his expression. Permit me to read a statement of Theodore Roosevelt which contains his interpretation of the promise or pledge contained in the Jones Act. He said:

In order to use the Navy effectively we should clearly define to ourselves the policy we intend to follow and the limits over which we expect our power to extend. Our own coasts, Alaska, Hawaii, and the Panama Canal and its approaches should represent the sphere in which we should expect to be able, single handed, to meet and master any opponent from overseas.

I exclude the Philippines. This is because I feet that the present administration has definitely committed us to a course of action which will make the early and complete severance of the Philippines from us not merely desirable but necessary. I have never felt that the Philippines were of any special use to us. But I have felt that we had a task to perform there and that a great nation is benefited by doing It was our bounden duty to work primarily for the interest of the Filipinos; but it was also our bounden duty, inasmuch as the entire responsibility lay upon us, to consult our own judgment and not theirs in finally deciding what was to be done.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President-The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. KING. I yield. Mr. BRUCE. How does the Senator think we should deal with those parts of the Philippine Islands which do not desire independence, which prefer to continue under American rule?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the Senator, I submit, is in error in assuming that there are any parts of the Philippine Islands which do not desire independence or which prefer to continue under American rule. The fact is that the Filipinos are a unit in desiring independence. I stated a few moments ago—perhaps the Senator was not in the Chamber—that there was not a single representative in the Philippine Legislature who was not earnestly in favor of Philippine independence. The Senator knows that the Governor of the Philippine Islands is given the authority by act of Congress to appoint some of the members of the Philippine Legislature. But even the governor's appointees join with all other members of the legislature and vote with them in favor of Philippine independence. I aver that there is no sentiment in the Philippine Islands among the Filipinos in favor of American control over the archipelago.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. KING. I yield. Mr. BRUCE. Does the Senator think that if they obtained their independence they would be able to preserve it as against the encroachments of the other parts of the Philippines? Be-cause, as the Senator, of course, knows, traditional animosities have existed between the different races of the Philippines for generations.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I admit that there are animosities, though not so deep-seated nor so important as the Senator's statement would imply. But these animosities are forgotten in the universal demand for independence. The Senator knows that in Mexico there are many tribes speaking different lan-There are animosities among the Mexicans, and yet I gnages think it will be conceded by all that in no part of Mexico can be found those who would tolerate even the suggestion of foreign control in Mexico.

The Yaqui and other tribes of Indians, the inhabitants of Yucatan, and the numerous divisions and groups of Mexicans with racial and tribal differences and animosities, speak one language when the question of independence of their country is involved

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. Did the Senator from Maryland ask if there were animosities among the different tribes in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. KING.

Mr. WHEELER. Let me say to the Senator that I went all over the Philippine Islands, into every nook and corner of them, last year. I found no animosities among the people over there excepting those that were being stirred up by a few Americans, who stirred them up just for the purpose of trying to show the United States that we ought to keep hold of the islands.

Mr. BRUCE. I thought there were quite bitter animosities

for generations between the Moros and Filipinos,

Mr. WHEELER. There have been, but they have been practically done away with. I went down to the Moro settlements, down in Mindanao and all through there, and there were no animosities to amount to anything at all. The Moros and the Filipinos get along together. It is true that when Mr. Carmi Thompson, of Ohio, was sent over there by the President of the United States, there was an attempt to line them up on different sides of the road; but if you talk to most of the Moro leaders down there they will tell you that they are getting

That is very interesting, because it helps to Mr. BRUCE. clear up some difficulties that have occurred to me in connection with the Philippine independence. I have always been inclined to the view that the thing for us to do was to do what we did in Cuba, to get out and to let them run their own government:

Mr. WHEELER. As I said a moment ago, I went all over the Philippine Islands, went clear down to Jolo, where the Moros are, and went to Mindanao, and most all of the intelli-gent leaders down in Mindanao and in Jolo told me that they would not have any difficulty in getting along together. there has been opposition to independence on the part of some Americans who are over there, who want the United States to keep those islands because of the fact that they think it means more to them and their property is worth more if they do. But another influence that is working in the Philippine Islands against independence is certain British interests; at least, some, of the British do not want us to grant independence. They do

not want us to give the Philippines their independence because of the effect it would have upon India and their other holdings in their spheres of influence,

Mr. BRUCE. Great Britain has large commercial interests

in the Philippines, too?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; Great Britain has large commercial interests in the Philippines. As one Britisher said to me, "The United States can not give the Philippines their independence. If you do, it just means that the next thing India will want her independence." That is uppermost in the minds of Great Britain, that if the United States says to the people of the Philippine Islands, "We are going to give you your independthen it will encourage the other people of the Orient to want their independence.

I heartily concur in what the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] has said. We had some very interesting experiences. If the Senator will pardon me, as a matter of fact, there were a large number of Congressmen, and one of them in particular was very bitter against the independence of the Philippine Islands until he himself went over there, and I might say to the Sena-tor that he voted against it, but he completely changed his mind when he got over there and saw what the real situation

Mr. BINGHAM. Is it not true that quite a good many have

changed their minds the other way?

Mr. WHEELER. That may be true, too. I could not speak as to that, because I do not know about that; unless it might be that the Senator from Connecticut has changed his mind.

Mr. KING. The Senator from Connecticut changed his mind on the Monroe doctrine; he may have changed his mind as to the Philippines.

What does the Senator from Montana think Mr. BRUCE. would be the likelihood of Japan taking possession of the Philip-

pines in case we retired from the islands?

Mr. WHEELER. I do not think they are any more likely to take possession of them than they would be now. Frankly, if we were going to give them their independence, I would feel that we ought to enter into some kind of a treaty with Great Britain and Japan to guarantee the Philippine Islands their independence.

Mr. BRUCE. Then we would have all the risk of the pres-

ent situation without any of the advantage.

Mr. WHEELER. We would not have any risk if we entered

into some understanding with them.

Mr. KING. I may say to the Senator that I discussed that question before he entered the Chamber. I stated that I offered resolutions expressing it as the sense of the Senate that the administration should negotiate a treaty with Japan and all powers interested in the Pacific for the neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

I feel certain that the powers interested in the Pacific would not besitate to negotiate a treaty which would recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands and bind the signatories

to the treaty to respect this territorial integrity.

Mr. BRUCE. If we should retire, just what reservations does the Senator think we ought to make for our national protection?

I have heretofore discussed one of the provisions Mr. KING. of the bill which I offered, which gives the United States the right to take possession of the customhouses in the event the Philippine government defaulted in meeting obligations incurred while the United States controlled the Philippine government. I may say that leading Filipinos made no objection to this provision or reservation, with their knowledge of their country and its resources, and with their understanding of the people and their confidence in their capacity to maintain an orderly and stable government, they are confident that all obligations will be met and the honor and credit of their country will be preserved. Another suggestion has been made, and representative Filipinos have expressed their willingness to have it embodied in a formal instrument connected with the withdrawal of the United States and the setting up of an independent government. The suggestion is that the United States may have such naval bases as it desires in the Philippine Islands and also suitable cable and radio stations.

Mr. BRUCE. Does the Senator think the Philippines would be willing to give us any trade or commercial guaranties?

Mr. WHEELER. They would be perfectly willing.

Mr. KING. I have not discussed this question in any detail with representatives of the Philippines. Speaking for myself, I would not be disposed to require or even suggest that the United States be given advantages in trade and commerce over other countries. Perhaps I should modify this generalization and say that there might be a situation which would result in

mutual advantages to the two countries, which would warrant some special agreement or treaty the execution of which would not be unfair to other countries or jeopardize in any way the perpetuity of cordial and friendly relations between the Philippine Government and other governments. I have no doubt that the Filipinos would feel so grateful to the United States that they would be willing to enter into any agreement that would be just and right, looking to the development of trade between the two nations.

Mr. WHEELER. I was going to say that I discussed the matter with a number of leading Filipinos while there, and as a matter of fact I am sure I could say to the Senator from Maryland that they would be delighted to make almost any kind of a concession that the United States Government wanted, even

though they considered it absolutely unfair.

I want to say to the Senator further, I am not at all sure but that, looking at it from the standpoint of the Filipinos themselves, it is not better that the Government of the United States should be over there, but looking at it from the standpoint of an American citizen, it is inconceivable to me that the people of the United States would want to keep the Philippine Islands, except those Americans who are located in the Philippine Islands. I can readily understand why they want us to stay there. They feel that it enhances the value of their property, and they can get cheap labor over there and ship their products back.

Mr. BRUCE. It looks as if I might be able to reconcile my views as to this Philippine situation with the views of the Senator from Montana and those of the Senator from Utah.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, may I say-and I shall not take more than a moment, because there are appropriation bills waiting, and I do not desire to delay the argument for more than a moment-in view of what the Senator from Montana has said, and in view of the fact that he and I went to the Philippines about the same time, my own visit being a few weeks after his, I can not let all that he said go without the challenge that at some future time I may venture to disagree with him in most of what he has said. I would like also to add this, that from the best information which I am able to secure, the situa-tion with regard to the desire of the Filipinos for independence has changed very greatly since he and I were there. In fact. one of the Delegates from the Philippines, Mr. Gabaldon, who went home from the United States last year in high dudgeon because he was not satisfied with the progress being made toward independence, and ran on a platform declaring for the securing of complete independence, was defeated on that platform, and the best information which I could secure is that the leading Filipinos to-day do not desire independence as they did at a time when the propaganda was most active.

Mr. KING. The Senator's information, I respectfully submit, is inaccurate. His statement concerning Mr. Gabaldon is, I feel sure, quite incorrect. The facts are that Commissioner Gabaldon resigned in order that he might seek the nomination for the Philippine House of Representatives. He departed from Washington for his home in March, 1928, while Congress was in session, and pending the consideration of the so-called Willis-Kiess bills, which provided for an increase in the power of the auditor for the Philippine Government and also increased the salaries of the Governor General and other officials. The Filipinos were very much opposed to these measures. In the contest for election to the Philippine Legislature he was charged by his opponent with having left his post of duty in Washington. On this single issue Commissioner Gabaldon was defeated. nent was then governor of the Province of Neuva-Ecija; and he was, and is, in favor of Philippine independence. In the local election campaign the question of Philippine independence was not an issue, for both the majority and minority political parties in the Philippines are committed to immediate, complete, and absolute independence for the Philippines.

Mr. WHEELER. I was going to say that the Senator knows, no doubt, that the president of the senate, Mr. Quezon, and all of the leaders over there, are still advocating independence, and there has not been any change.

Mr. BINGHAM. The Senator is mistaken.
Mr. WHEELER. I am not at all mistaken.
Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KING. I yield. Mr. TYDINGS. I would like to ask the Senator a question which has often been in my mind when considering the Filipino problem. If we were to grant independence to the Philippines, would the Senator think it incumbent upon the American Government, in keeping with their independence, to assure them an extension of the Monroe doctrine, generally speaking?

Mr. KING. No. We might by treaty with other nations having interests in the Pacific agree to respect the territorial

integrity and political independence of the new government. And it is possible that with such nations the independence of the Philippine government might be guaranteed.

Mr. TYDINGS. Does the Senator feel that if we were to give them independence our obligation would cease definitely, and that we would retain no other relation than that we bear to

France or England or Australia or Canada?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I would not go that far. doubtedly the United States would have an interest in the new government which it had aided in establishing, and would regard with interest, if not with solicitude, its progress and devel-We would undoubtedly regard as unfriendly any act which would be an attack upon the integrity of the new republic, and it is quite likely strong representations would be made to any government that assumed a hostile or unfriendly attitude toward the Philippine government. The Senator was not in the Chamber when I referred to the resolutions which I offered directing the President of the United States to enter into negotiations with all powers having interests in the Pacific for the purpose of securing an agreement or treaty under the terms of which the signatories thereto would agree to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of the Philippine government. As I stated a moment ago, the powers, including those entering into such a treaty, might be willing to guarantee the protection of the Filipinos against any government seeking the overthrow of their government. The Senator will recall that the United States has agreed to protect the Republic of Panama, and under the Platt amendment we may have obligations with respect to Cuba.

Personally, as I have stated, I see no danger to the independence of the Filipinos from any foreign power. In my opinion, when we withdraw from the Philippines and an independent government is established, the Filipinos need have no fear that any foreign power will attack them or seek the overthrow

of their government.

Mr. TYDINGS. I thank the Senator. In my mind, in the consideration of this problem, always there has been the thought of what would happen if that were done, and without that being considered in conjunction with the question of Filipino independence I do not think we have the whole picture. The Senator has partially answered my question and I thank him.

Mr. KING. I call the Senator's attention to the statement made by Theodore Roosevelt-and his views are shared by naval experts—that the retention of the Philippine Islands by the United States is a source of weakness to us instead of strength. We are not permitted under treaties which we have entered into to fortify the Philippine Islands, and if some naval power with a strong fleet operating in the vicinity of the Philippines should attack Manila we could not defend the Philippine Islands. This would particularly be true if the attacking fleet had a naval base near the Philippine Archipelago. pine Islands, therefore, are of no benefit to the United States, materially or otherwise. If we give them independence and extend friendly counsel in the days of their youth, they will be so grateful and so much attached to this Republic that we will derive greater benefit from trade and commerce than we now enjoy, and no other country would supplant us in their affec-So if material advantages are sought by the United States, they will sooner be realized through Philippine independence; and the moral advantages which we will derive will immeasurable value. The world will acclaim our course and peoples everywhere who now criticize because they fear we are imperialistic will be disarmed and will add their voices to the chorus of praise and good will which I feel sure will be heard in all parts of the world. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that the 4-power treaty to which the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France are signatories will be a protection to the Philippine Islands; and doubtless it would be construed, or, if not so construed, supplemented so that the Philippines will be brought within its protecting terms.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator has referred to a treaty which

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator has referred to a treaty which he suggests should be entered into between the United States and various Pacific powers having for its object an obligation to respect the independence of the new Philippine state. I would like to ask the Senator whether the treaty he refers to would be put into operation prior to the granting of the

independence?

Mr. KING. In my view they should be contemporaneous. As stated, I believe that the powers referred to would be perfectly willing to sign a treaty of the character indicated. It would, of course, rest upon the fact that the Philippine Archipelago is to have an independent government. If it were signed before the independence were granted, it would not, of course, be effective until an independent Philippine government were established.

Mr. TYDINGS. In considering this problem I have wondered whether or not, if we were to grant the Filipinos independence, and they were to be attacked after they had independence, we would then be called upon to help defend their territory, and whether or not the granting of independence would probably lay them open to attack; in other words, even though I might theoretically be in favor of the thing called "independence," if I felt that in the long run it was a long run it. if I felt that in the long run it would do the Filipino people an injustice, that it would lay them open to attack from some outside source, I would be inclined not to give them their independence, not because I was opposed to the idea but because I believed it would be bad for the Filipinos and bad for ourselves if they were permitted to get into the condition where they would be subject to an attack from a stronger nation, so that instead of getting independence they would become the vassals, so to speak, of some other nation that might not deal with them as kindly as the United States probably intended to do when we took control of the islands.

I would like to say to the Senator that I believe that idea is in the minds of many other Senators who feel kindly toward the idea of Philippine independence, but are afraid of some of the things which might happen if it is granted to the Filipinos, and it is very difficult for us to vote on this question because the possibilities make it a thing with so many different ramifications, whereas if it were simply the matter of Philippine independence most of us, I believe, would be inclined to look on it with a great deal more favor than possibilities which we can imagine permit us to look upon it now. If we were assured that the Filipinos would not be worse off under independence than they are now, I feel that I myself would be inclined to go along with the Senator to the full extent, but I am a little afraid perhaps that something might happen that

would make me regret the action.

Mr. KING. With all due respect to the Senator, I submit that his argument is one which has been made by strong nations in justification of their continued control over conquered nations. A powerful nation which controls a weak nation finds many pretexts for denying the latter liberty and independence. The claim is not infrequently made by a nation which has imposed its will upon a people that some other nation is lying in wait to devour them if they are given their independence.

It is my opinion-and I have expressed it several times during this discussion-that if the Filipinos are given their independence there will be no foe to menace them; no government which will seek to conquer them. It may be, as the Senator has suggested, that the Filipinos would derive greater material benefits—at least for a number of years—if they remained under the control of the United States. Undoubtedly there are advantages flowing from the present connection between the United States and the Philippines. But it is certain that material advantages not now enjoyed would come to the Filipinos if they were an independent nation. But there are questions that rise above materia, oenefits and advantages. It is quite likely that some of 'me small European states would enjoy commercial and other benefits superior to those which they now possess if they were a part of some adjoining state. There are many individuals who would enjoy greater prosperity if they walked under the wing of some powerful financier and business magnate. I repeat, material things are not the choicest things in life. There are moral and spiritual values that rise above all earthly values. There are great souls who have more happiness and joy in the knowledge of some great truth, in the possession of an artistic soul, than others who possess millions.

The Filipinos, like many other peoples, have aspirations—longings for independence. They see other peoples, fewer in number, who have set up enduring and progressive states and who enjoy the prestige resulting from citizenship within a state of that character.

When the flag of the United States was raised over Chapultepec after our forces had won great victories, we did not say that we will remain in Mexico and govern her as an American possession or province. We did not argue that if we withdrew some other power might be tempted to invade Mexico and de-

spoil her of some of her territory.

Mr. President, this argument does not justify our Government in imposing its will upon the Philippine Islands, or the right to govern a country which has been subject to our military control. It is not a democratic argument; it is incompatible with the spirit of republican institutions and with the genius of our Nation.

This argument has been made by Great Britain with respect to some of her possessions. It was made by Rome concerning her conquered colonies. It will be made again by powerful nations when they seek to justify their conduct in denying liberty and independence to nations and people brought within the circle |

of their power.

Mr. TYDINGS. I must admit that the Senator's remarks are not without a great deal of logic. I would like just to add this word, however, that the situation with reference to the Philippines is not entirely parallel to the situation in reference to

Mr. KING. We may not always find a parallel, but we often find analogies. But the Mexican illustration is more than an

analogy. It certainly affords an object lesson.

Mr. TYDINGS. We do know that a nation near the Philippines has taken a great deal of territory unjustly from another nation, where it is expanding and sending its excess population; and having that precedent before me I am wondering whether or not it might not be in the better interests of the Philippines to look a little more carefully into the question of her independence than would be necessary were this condition which I have mentioned not present.

Mr. KING. The argument which the Senator is making against independence for the Filipinos was made by Lord North and by others of the Tories in the Parliament of Great Britain against granting independence to the Colonies. They were afraid that France might seize the infant colonies and subject them to its rule. I say it is the argument always made by a strong nation that has imposed its authority by force upon a weaker nation.

Mr. TYDINGS. In some cases the strong nations have actually seized the weaker nations,

Mr. KING. Granted. That is one of the unfortunate con-

ditions in the development of humanity.

Mr. TYDINGS. That does not make it right.

Mr. KING. There will be injustices. I would rather face the possibility of injustice or of some other nation committing a wrong against the Filipinos after they had their independence than to have my country perpetrate a wrong by subjecting the people of the Philippines against their will to American rule, even though it be conceded that under American rule they are deriving material and other benefits more important for the moment than if they enjoyed independence. We do not measure ultimately human rights or, indeed, progress by a few years or the span of a century. We measure the progress of humanity by centuries, by cycles. For a few years or a hundred years it might be less advantageous for the Filipinos to be independent than to be under American rule; but we must look into the future and determine what, based upon the lessons of history and the experience of nations, will be the final rewards and benefits in character, culture, and those qualities which constitute the foundations of true civilization. There are moral values and spiritual and social questions that must be considered in dealing with the issues involved in the relations of governments and peoples.

The important question is, What is right, what is just? Not what does it profit us or others financially or materially. The Filipinos have aspirations which we must not ignore and rights which we must not deny. They may fall below the American people in intelligence and capacity to govern them-selves, but they have aspirations and ideals; they have their own culture and their own views of life, and we have no right to impose upon them our views by force, even though our views and civilization measure up to a higher standard.

Mr. TYDINGS. I thank the Senator for permitting the interruption and, while I do not go all the way with him, I am

very sympathetic with most of his arguments.

Mr. KING. I am going to read a few words from the planks in three Democratic national platforms. The Senator from Maryland is a Democrat and he voted for those platforms and therefore has pledged himself to give to the Filipinos their independence.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. TYDINGS. I voted for some platforms, I will say to the Senator, not with reference to the Filipinos, but some other

things, with a great deal of misgiving.

Let me interrupt the Senator again, before he does that, to say that Congress itself in the Jones bill gave a promise to the Filipino people that they would eventually get independence.

Mr. KING. I have read that.
Mr. TYDINGS. That certainly would take precedence over a party platform, and if we in Congress, the authorized representatives of all the people, have promised the Filipinos their independence certainly we should either repeal the law or give them their independence and not make promises we can not or will not fulfill.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I stated that I would read from Democratic platforms.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, while the

tion to a report made by the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House in 1924. The majority report provided for the giving of independence to the Filipinos within 20 years and the minority report, signed by eight Members of the House of Representatives, provided for immediate independence of the Filipinos. Nothing ever came of the report upon the bills then before that committee providing for independence of the Filininos.

Mr. McKELLAR. What was the date of the report?

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. It is report No. 709 of the House of Representatives, Sixty-eighth Congress, third session. The report was made by Mr. Fairfield for the majority of the Committee on Insular Affairs on May 10, 1924.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I read from the Democratic plat-

form of 1928:

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by the Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

I now read from the Democratic platform of 1924:

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they honorably covet.

May I say that, as a delegate to the convention, I had the honor to prepare that plank, but I copied it almost verbatim from one of the last messages to Congress delivered by President Wilson.

In 1920 we declared in our national platform:

We favor the granting of independence without unnecessary delay to the 10,500,000 inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

Other platform declarations appear in preceding platforms of the Democratic Party.

Mr. President, when I was interrupted some time ago I was reading from an article written by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt shortly before his death. May I conclude the reference to that article?-

The present administration-

That is, speaking of the Wilson administration-

was elected upon the outright pledge of giving the Filipinos independence.

That is the interpretation placed by Mr. Roosevelt upon the Democratic platform and upon the declaration in the Jones bill, which I have read to the Senate.

Apparently its course in the Philippines has proceeded upon the theory that the Filipinos are now fit to govern themselves. Whatever may be our personal and individual beliefs in this matter, we ought not, as a nation, to break faith or even to seem to break faith.

I commend these words of a great Republican to my Republican friends, especially the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BINGHAM] upon the other side of the Chamber.

In another article written by Mr. Roosevelt the following

I hope, therefore, that the Filipinos will be given their independence at an early date and without any guaranty from us which might in any way hamper our future action or commit us to staying on the Asiatic coast. I do not believe we should keep any foothold whatever in the Philippines. Any kind of position by us in the Philippines merely results in making them our heel of Achilles if we are attacked by a foreign power. They can be of no compensating benefit to us. If we were to retain complete control over them and to continue the course of action which in the past 16 years has resulted in such immeasurable benefit to them, then I should feel that it was our duty to stay and work for them in spite of the expense incurred by us and the risk we thereby ran.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, can the Senator tell me how much it has cost us each year to run the Philippines?

Mr. KING. No; but it is more than a billion dollars since we took possession of the islands. I recollect that Senator Hoar, at the time he delivered his remarkable address in this Chamber in behalf of the independence of the Filipinos, declared that we had expended more than half a billion dollars.

I continue the quotation from Mr. Roosevelt:

But inasmuch as we have now promised to leave them, and as we are now abandoning our power to work efficiently for and in them, I do not feel that we are warranted in staying in the islands in an equivocal position, thereby incurring great risk to ourselves without conferring Senator is looking for that plank I would like to call his atten- any real compensating advantage, of a kind which we are bound to take

into account, on the Filipinos themselves. If the Filipinos are entitled to independence, then we are entitled to be freed from all the responsitions, "You have no right to be free; you are a subject race and can only have those rights and privileges which we, in bility and risk which our presence in the islands entails upon us.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Brookhart in the chair).
Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I would like to get the Senator's idea about our real duty to the Filipinos. It comes about, because of the recent agitation which, I presume, has reached the ears of the Senator from Utah as well as the rest of us, concerning a new tariff bill which it is proposed to pass in the special session of the next Congress. It is claimed, and I think we will find it to be true, that there will be quite an attempt made to put a tariff on some of the products of the Philippine Islands. I would like to get the Senator's idea on this question. Regardless of the legal aspect, which is more or less technical, have we any moral right, holding the Philippine Islands as we do, to levy a tariff on the products of those islands that come into the United States?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, while the Senator was temporarily absent from the Chamber the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Broussard] stated that he proposed to support a tax—I think he used the word "tax"—in the approaching tariff bill. Of course, the tariff is a tax imposed upon the people for the purpose of raising the prices upon commodities for the benefit of the American producer. The tariff is a tax upon consumption.

The Senator from Louisiana declared his purpose to support a tax upon Philippine sugar brought into the United States in order that the price of the domestic product as well as that imported might be increased to the American consumer. I have realized, Mr. President, that the tariff bill which will soon be before us will present in an acute form the Philippine question. There are those who will insist that we should tax Philippine products and commodities brought to the United States; that we should subject the same to our tariff laws, though we force upon them free trade and insist that our commodities taken to the Philippine Islands shall there be admitted free of duty. There are Americans who contend that this policy is immoral and violative of the letter and spirit of the Constitution. are unwilling to hold alien people for exploitation, denying to them the rights of American citizens. I have believed that in view of this purpose to violate what many conceive to be moral and constitutional principles we should free the Philippines and bid them go their way as an independent nation.

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

yield?

Mr. KING. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. NORRIS. I have no desire either to engage in or to lead the Senator into a discussion of the tariff. The question I shall ask is, in my judgment, away beyond any consideration as to the kind of a tariff we are to have.

Mr. KING. I agree with the Senator if I understand him,

that there is a question of morality involved.

Mr. NORRIS. We shall honestly disagree as to what the tariff should be and as to the policy that ought to be pursued by our Government; but I am asking the Senator the question whether, as a matter of honor and good morals, we have the right to hold a people in subjection—for it is, more or less, subjection in which we are holding them, even conceding that we are doing right in holding them; I am not raising that issue—and when we do so hold a people, especially a people different from our own, have we in honor a right to levy a tax on any of their products? I know that the effort will be made to put a tariff on sugar—perhaps such a tax ought to be levied; I am not saying that it should not be-but if a tax can rightfully be levied on sugar, of course, it follows that we can levy a tax on any or all of the commodities those people produce. Mr. KING. Unquestionably.

Mr. NORRIS. In what position shall we be in before the civilized world if we hold a people against their will under subjection, and then levy a tax on everything they produce that comes into this country? For the purpose of this question I do not care anything about the tariff on any particular article; I am talking only about the principle, whether we have a right

to do that?

Mr. KING. I have indicated that I would regard the policy suggested by the Senator as against good morals, and may be subject to challenge upon constitutional grounds. I can not bring my conscience to accept the view that we should conquer an alien race situate in remote lands; that we should regard them as outside the protection of the Constitution and unworthy of the rights of American citizens; that we should adopt colonial policies and those programs which have been followed by autocratic and imperialistic powers; that we should say to

a spirit of graciousness or mercy, shall feel disposed to grant you; we may cut off your trade with our own country and with other countries; we may exploit you and treat you as appendages to our commercial and business interests, or as fit subjects to aid our capitalists and adventurers who may profit beyond the borders of their own country; we may force free trade upon you and may deny entrance into the United States of your commodities and products and subject them to high tariff duties and thus prevent your prosperity and prohibit your material and commercial progress." Mr. President. this view to me is dangerous to republican institutions and to democratic ideals, and may not be defended upon the principles of honor and morality which should guide the conduct of a Christian nation.

Can the Senator give us any information as Mr. NORRIS. to what history discloses that other governments have done in this respect in the case of peoples they have held in the way we

are holding the Filipinos?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, the pages of history reveal the tragic fate of conquered nations subjected to discriminatory legislation and unjust laws. They further reveal that conquering and oppressive nations have been compelled to expiate their crimes and injustices. The sands of the deserts cover once powerful nations, destroyed by their own sins and transgressions, their injustices to feeble states and backward peoples. tion can oppress a people and escape the punishment that will be inflicted by a just God. Wrongs committed by nations are as certain to be punished as are wrongs committed by individuals. The life of a nation may be long, but its transgressions will be discovered; its injustices punished.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. KING. I yield. Mr. BLACK. The Senator from Utah will recall that one of the chief causes of complaint against England by the American colonists was that she had a monopoly on the business of the Colonies and prevented them from trading with other nations of the world. One of the protests in the Declaration of Independence, one of the charges against England, was the cutting They required us off of our trade with all parts of the world. to trade with them and required us to send our goods directly to England. That was one of the underlying causes and one of the chief elements of tyranny which brought about the uprising in America.

Mr. KING. I thank the Senator for his interruption. I say to him that there is a powerful movement to extend our coastwise laws to the Philippine Islands. If this policy prevails the Filipinos can not ship their products or import commodities from other countries except in American ships.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me

further?

Mr. KING. I yield. Mr. NORRIS. If we claim the right to extend our coastwise shipping laws to the Philippine Islands, assuming that right to exist, it seems to me it follows as night must follow the day that we have no right to levy a tariff on their products that come into this country. We have not any moral right, so far as I can see, to say, "You shall ship your products in American vessels, but when those products come to our shores we will levy a tax on them."

I should like to call attention to the fact that, as suggested by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Black], the slogan in revolutionary days was "no taxation without representation." Are we not, if we undertake to levy that kind of a tax, taxing them without giving them a voice, without giving them representation; in fact, are we not doing the same thing that we de-nounced the mother country for doing in the prerevolutionary days and which was one of the reasons why the Revolutionary

War was fought?

Mr. KING. Undoubtedly, Mr. President, the Senator has stated the situation accurately; and yet that is the course we

propose to pursue with respect to the Filipinos.

The Senator will recall that Carmi Thompson was sent to the Philippines by Mr. Coolidge to make a survey. seen his report, if he made one—and doubtless he did—but many feared, and I expressed that fear in the Senate when he was appointed, that he had gone there for the purpose of surveying the opportunities for American capital. Almost contemporaneous with his visit a manufacturer in the United States proposed to invest one or two hundred million dollars in the islands for the purpose of developing rubber, and other American capitalists are seeking opportunities to make large investments in various enterprises in the Philippines. That I deplore, because, Mr. President, the results are found ultimately to be disappointing; just the same as in Haiti the Haitian people appreciated the dangers which would menace them if foreign capital came into Haiti and aliens should acquire land. is only a small island of about 10,000 square miles; and, having more than 2,000,000 people, they have to depend upon agri-They appreciated that if large holdings were acquired by foreigners they would become a nation of peons, whereas before the Americans went there in 1915, conquered Haiti, and subjugated it by bayonet rule to the control of the United States, 95 per cent of the Haitian people owned plots of ground upon which most of them worked out their livelihood. we took their Government away from them we abolished their constitution; we wrote another constitution, and in the new constitution we superimposed upon them at the point of the bayonet a provision that foreigners, and corporations, too, for that matter, might acquire territory; and thousands of acres of the very best lands in Haiti have been acquired by American capitalists and the Haitians ousted, and they are now working as tenants, as peons for American capitalists. The result will be, of course-and it can not be otherwise-the deterioration of the manhood of the Haitians, the loss of courage and independence, and more and more they will sink into the position of peons and economic slaves.

Americans have complained about the situation in Mexico because large property owners held millions of acres of land and reduced more than 80 per cent of the population to a condition of peonage. If we are to hold the Philippines for exploitation, if American capital is free to enter, then little by little the lands and resources of the archipelago will be drawn into the maelstrom of American capitalism. This will produce serious consequences—weakening the people, debilitating their courage, and diminishing their capacity for self-government.

The policy is wrong. Give them their independence and let them fight their way upon the great international seas. They are willing to take the risk; and people who are willing to take the risk of winning and maintaining their independence should

have the opportunity to do so.

Mr. President, I have here an article written by a Filipino. I may not agree with all his statements, but I ask that it may be read for the information of the Senate. It points out some of the difficulties that are to be encountered, some of the dangers before us, and some of the questions involved in the proposed tariff legislation that will be brought before us in the coming Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to reading the article? The Chair hears none. The article will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

[From the Nation of January 23, 1929] JUSTICE TO FILIPINOS

By Vincente G. Bunuan

The greatest single problem that confronts the United States to-day ith reference to the Philippine question is the conflict that has arisen

with reference to the Philippine question is the conflict that has arisen in the economic interests of the Philippines and the United States. For America is beginning to realize that the Philippines constitute a source of danger to her own economic well-being. And this clash will assume increasing proportions if the present political relations between the two countries remain unchanged. Already steps have been taken by the particular concerns affected to protect themselves from Philippine incursions into American life and interests.

The free-trade relationship between the United States and the Philippines should first be considered. American beet sugar is menaced by Philippine sugar, and so in behalf of that industry the Timberlake bill, which would limit the exportation of Philippine sugar to this country to 500,000 long tons, was introduced in the last session of Congress. Were this bill enacted into law it would place the Philippines at a further disadvantage in the free-trade relations between the two countries, because under the present free-trade arrangement Philippine products exported to the United States containing 20 per cent of foreign material can not be admitted here free of duty, while all American products containing any amount of foreign material are admitted free of duty in the Philippines.

Philippine copra is proving itself a menace to the dairy industry of the United States and quite naturally efforts are being made to counteract the danger by the proposal to limit the importation of this product or by the imposition of duty upon it.

Competition with Philippine lumber has caused a great deal of worry to American concerns engaged in the lumber industry. They have succeeded in securing a prohibition of the use of the trade name "Philippine mahogany" on certain species of Philippine lumber which has borne that name during the last two decades.

It will be noted that free trade between the Philippines and the United States has the effect of placing our goods in competition with

American products. The Filipinos do not blame American concerns for seeking relief, but it does not seem quite just and fair that there should be a duty or limitation on our products and none on American goods. America, the sovereign power, on the one hand, can not assume the unrestricted privileges of free trade and, on the other hand, impose on the Philippines, the subject colony, the disadvantage of limitation. Reciprocity to be real must be mutual. Aside from the effects of free trade there are other manifestations of the conflict of interests between the Philippines and the United States. The presence on the Pacific coast of a large number of Filipinos is proving itself a menace to American labor. With a view to protecting the interests of the latter in this connection, a bill was introduced by Representative Welch, of California, at the last session of Congress barring Filipinos from the United States.

Also, out on the Pacific coast the right of a Filipino to own land has been questioned. It is a significant coincidence that this became the object of public discussion at the very time Governor General Stimson was urging the Philippine government to liberalize land laws for American capital. Again, at the last session of Congress an amendment that had already been incorporated in the new merchant marine bill and which had already passed the House which would have permitted the Filipinos the same privileges of employment, as to number and rank, in American vessels that American citizens, including Hawaiians and Porto Ricans, possess, was stricken out at the last minute by the conference committee of both Houses. Under the present arrangement Filipinos are treated in this connection just like foreigners. The unfairness of this situation becomes even more apparent when one considers the fact that Americans may be employed without restriction of any kind in vessels of Philippine registry.

Then, too, Filipino officers in the United States Army can only be assigned to the Philippine Scouts. As the highest rank in that branch of the United States Army is as yet only that of colonel, they can not rise beyond that rank, at least for the present. Incidentally it may be stated that during the Spanish régime Filipinos could rise to the highest military rank, and command, as they did, Spanish troops. Filipinos have occupied the post of Prime Minister of Spain.

The question of the naturalization of a Filipino is another instance of conflict. Previous to 1925 Filipinos were held eligible to become citizens of the United States. Many Filipinos took advantage of this ruling in many States of the Union and are now American citizens. In 1925, however, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled, in a decision rendered in the case of Toyoto against the United States (268 U. S. 402, May 25, 1925), that Filipinos, except those who have served in the Navy three years, are not qualified for American citizenship. Although Toyoto was a Japanese, the decision also ruled specifically on Filipino eligibility.

It will be seen from the foregoing that Filipino interests constitute a menace to this country and measures have been taken, with others sure to follow, to counteract this danger. In so far as the Filipinos are concerned, their contention is—and all fair-minded people will agree with them—that it is only just and fair that while we are under the American flag, and that against our will, we are entitled to all the rights and privileges which that flag affords to all that come under it. We are willing to have America impose duty and limitation upon our goods in the selfsame manner that it is imposed upon the goods of other foreign nations. But to do that she must first set us free. We are ready to have her apply to the Filipinos the restrictions of her immigration law as they are now applied to foreign peoples. But she must first give us our liberty.

She may continue treating us as foreigners with respect to limitation of employment in her merchant marine. But we should first be as free as the foreign peoples upon whom this limitation is now applied. She may impose any restriction or forbid us altogether from owning land in the United States, but she must place us on a plane of political equality with her. She may continue to set a limit to the rank to which we may attain in her Army and in her Navy, or prevent us from joining them entirely, but first we should be made free.

She may prevent us from becoming citizens of this great country, but first she must sever the political bonds that now bind the two peoples together.

The granting of independence to the Philippines, as pledged not only in the Philippine organic act but also by authorized spokesmen of the American people, is the best way out of the tangle in which the Philippine problem has become enmeshed—the best for us because it satisfies our natural and legitimate longing to live an entirely free and independent national life; the best for the American people because it provides a way out of the danger to her own interests, economic and otherwise, without discriminating against us. If this is done, then the United States would be fully justified in safeguarding her own interests in the manner the concerns affected propose. We are either under the American flag or we are not under the American flag. Despite all the advantages and the blessings which we have derived from our very fruitful association with America, for which we are eternally grateful, we prefer separation, for only in that way can we preserve our national identity, no matter how humble that may be.

A new era has dawned in the Philippines, an era fraught with problems that challenge the highest type of statesmanship; the new governor general on the one side and the Filipino leaders on the other are making an earnest endeavor to approach these problems with sympathetic under-standing. And in the atmosphere of mutual friendship which now happily obtains in the islands, the Philippine problem should come to an early solution.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS-CONFERENCE REPORT During the delivery of Mr. King's speech, Mr. BINGHAM submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 16422) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of such District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 1, 5, 7,

13, 14, 15, 17, 33, and 50.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, and 58, and agree to the

Amendment numbered 32: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 32, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$1,658,500"; and the Senate agree to the

Amendment numbered 35: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 35, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows: "Provided, That effective July 1, 1933, that portion of section 3 of the act of the Legislative Assembly of the District of Columbia, approved June 23, 1873, entitled 'An act to establish a normal school for the city of Washington' (section 42, chapter 57, of the Compiled Statutes in force in the District of which provides that the graduates of the normal schools in the District of Columbia shall have preference in all cases when appointments of teachers for the public schools are to be made, is hereby repealed"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 37: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 37, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$5,982,600"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 44: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows: "Provided, That upon completion of such building, the building now occupied by the Business High School shall be used as an elementary school"; and the Senate agree to the

Amendment numbered 49: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 49, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows: ": Provided, That hereafter no more than \$50 per annum shall be paid as extra compensation to members mounted on bicycles, and no more than \$312 per annum to members who may be called upon to use motor vehicles furnished, and maintained by themselves"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 56: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 56, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following: "For the study and preparation of plans for a sanatorium for the care, treatment, and education of tubercular children, to be immediately available, and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall submit such plans with recommendations to the first session of the Seventy-first Congress"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference have not agreed on amendment numbered 36.

HIRAM BINGHAM, L. C. PHIPPS, CARTER GLASS. JOHN B. KENDRICK, Managers on the part of the Senate. ROBT. G. SIMMONS, WM. P. HOLADAY, ANTHONY J. GRIFFIN, Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. BINGHAM. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the conference report.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator make some statement about the conference report?

Mr. BINGHAM. I shall be very glad to do so.
Mr. BLEASE. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] should be notified so that he may be present when the conference report is considered.

Mr. BINGHAM. I will say to the Senator from South Carolina that there is nothing in the conference report regarding the street railway merger, if that is the matter he has in mind.
Mr. BLEASE. Very well.
Mr. McKELLAR. Is there anything of a controversial

nature in it?

Mr. BINGHAM. The matter of a controversial nature was with regard to the fiscal relations, as to which the Senate had to recede as the House was unwilling to grant any part of the increase

Mr. McKELLAR. Was that the principal difference? Mr. BINGHAM. That was the principal controversial matter. Another was with regard to a sanatorium for tubercular children or children afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis, for which the Senate had appropriated \$150,000. The House conferees believed the plans were not sufficiently advanced to enable us to know just what it would cost, and the Senate conferees receded so far as to agree to provide \$1,500 to be immediately available for a study of the situation and of the needs for a sanatorium for tubercular children, and accepted the House request that we recede from the \$150,000. There was only one other controversial matter, to which the Senator from Washington [Mr. Jones] will undoubtedly refer.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I say to the Senator from Tennessee, as a member of the committee on conference and as a member of the District of Columbia Committee, that I am familiar with the report and I am quite satisfied with it.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator from Utah is satisfied I

believe we should agree to the conference report.

Mr. BINGHAM. I think it is generally considered to be a pretty good bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. There was nothing about the street-car

companies in it at all?

Mr. BINGHAM. The only reference to the street-car companies was with regard to the repairs of the bridge over to

Mr. McKELLAR. I recall that provision. Mr. BINGHAM. The Senate believed that the street-car company should pay for that part of the repairs which came between the rails and 2 feet at each side of the rails and that the District should pay for the rest of the repairs; but the House did not agree to that and insisted that the street-car company should pay one-half of the cost for the rest of the bridge repairs, and, in view of certain representations made to the Senate conferees, they receded.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senate conferees receded on that matter?

Mr. BINGHAM. Yes. That was the only reference to the street-car companies

Mr. KING. May I say to the Senator from Tennessee that I think this is a very fair bill? Of course, it does not represent the views of all of us. There are some things I should like to see in the bill which are not there, and perhaps a few things are there that I would have preferred to have deleted, but, taking the bill all in all, I think it is a wise piece of legislation, and I commend the able Senator from Connecticut for the splendid service he has rendered in the formulation of the measure.

Mr. BINGHAM. I thank the Senator from Utah.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I agree absolutely with all the Senator from Utah has just said. I did not sign the conference report because there is one provision in it, inserted by the House, which contains a principle that I feel that I could not approve. That deals with the matter of the employment of school-teachers in the District. I am not going to discuss the matter at any length at all. The conferees have made a provision very much more in accord with my view by extending the time when the limit on the employment of teachers coming into the District from the outside shall be raised. They have put it up to 1933 instead of 1931, and that goes a long ways toward meeting my views in regard to the matter. The limit of 25 per cent practically in the employment of teachers in the District or, rather, providing for the employment of teachers from outside the District when 25 per cent of the required number has been filled by teachers from within the District is not in accordance with my view. I do not think it ought to be done.

That is all I am going to say. I am heartily in favor of every other proposition in the bill. As the Senator from Utah has

said, it is really an exceptionally good bill. I am not going to

discuss the principle, but conscientiously I felt that I could not affix my signature to the report. I do not want to do anything to delay the bill.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, what the Senator from Washington has stated arouses my curiosity to know just what that contention is which pertains to the public schools,

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, may I tell the Senator?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I want to hear about it.

Mr. BINGHAM. I will say to the Senator that the present law requires the Board of Education to fill vacancies among the teachers in the elementary schools entirely from graduates of the normal schools in so far as there are graduates of the normal schools applying for those positions.

Mr. NORRIS. Does the Senator mean the normal schools of

the District of Columbia?

Mr. BINGHAM. I refer to the normal schools of the District of Columbia. As a matter of fact, the graduates of the colored normal school are so numerous that less than 10 per cent of them can find employment in the District because there are so few vacancies. Of the graduates of the white normal school about 50 per cent find employment because of vacancies. The percentage varies from year to year. Some years 60 per cent and other years 40 per cent may find such employment. The Senator from Virginia [Mr. Glass] pointed out that it was to the interest of the children of the District that the Board of Education be able to secure the very best teachers obtainable in the United States.

Mr. JONES. I think I ought to say right there, that I am heartily in favor of giving the people in the District the best education facilities possible. I refrained from entering into that question because I did not care to arouse any extended

discussion of it.

Mr. BINGHAM. I did not mean to get into any disputatious subject. I was trying to explain to the Senator from Nebraska just what the point was.

Mr. JONES. The Senator spoke of what was really a matter

of contention.

Mr. BINGHAM. I avoid the contentious point, and say to the Senator from Nebraska that what the committee has done is as follows: The suggestion of the chairman of the Board of Education to the committee was that if the committee would provide for the people of the District a teachers' college with a 4year course, leading to a degree, as many States provide for their citizens, he would have no objection then to doing away with the existing law requiring the Board of Education to employ the graduates of the normal schools. The committee did provide that there shall be a teachers' college and a 4-year course and a degree, and at the end of 1933 the vacant positions in the elementary schools will be filled by competition, in which everyone will have a chance to compete.

Mr. NORRIS. All over the United States?

Mr. NORRIS. All over the United States?
Mr. JONES. Yes.
Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I think the universal practice is, so far as I know, in all the States that the board of education or the authority having the power to select teachers may have the entire world from which to make selections.

Mr. NORRIS. All over the United States?

Mr. BINGHAM. That is true. Mr. NORRIS. It seems to me that is very wise. not like to circumscribe such selections by geographical boundaries. The people of the District of Columbia ought to have just as good schools as can be found anywhere in the entire world, and there should be the same latitude in the selection of teachers. It occurred to me that possibly one reason for providing that the teachers of elementary schools should be selected from the District and the board not be allowed to go outside the District was because in Washington, perhaps more than in any other city in the United States, there is danger of political influence being brought to bear upon the appointing power, there being so many public officials in the District, and teachers might be appointed because of political reasons rather than giving a 100 per cent consideration to their qualifications.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that I inquired of the superintendent of education the other day with regard to how appointments were made on competitive examination, whether they took an applicant at the top of the list or exercised some judgment in the matter, and he said they took the one at the top of the list; so that political considera-

tions do not enter into the selections.

Mr. NORRIS. Are the teachers selected from a certified list? Mr. BINGHAM. Teachers for the high schools and for the junior high schools are now selected by open competition.

Mr. NORRIS. It would be a serious objection, as everyone

will concede, if in any possible way the teachers for the Dis-crict should be selected on account of political influence.

Mr. BINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. I have in mind an incident that was cited to me as an actual occurrence where such political influence was used, and if I have been told the truth about it, it was, in my judgment, absolutely without justification. An assistant superintendent of one of the schools was selected, not because of his qualifications but because of political influence that was brought to bear upon the appointing power. I suppose there is more danger of that in a city like Washington than, perhaps, in any other city of the United States; and if there would be one thing that would justify confining the selection of teachers to graduates from the normal schools of the District it would be that. I can not conceive of any other.

Mr. BINGHAM. That is true. Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, do I understand the Senator to say that all teachers in the high schools and in the junior high schools are selected by competition from the top of the list?

Mr. BINGHAM. My understanding is that they are selected by open competition to-day, and that the law merely applies to teachers in the elementary schools.

Mr. NORRIS. And that they are selected in order from the top of the list?

Mr. BINGHAM. Yes; in open competition. Mr. JONES. Mr. President, permit me to say just one more word. One of the greatest objections I had was, it seemed to me, that such a provision ought not to have been incorporated in an appropriation bill, but ought to have been dealt with by a legislative committee, where the matter could have been gone into much more carefully than it has been.

Mr. BINGHAM. I will say to the Senate that amendment No. 36 is the amendment providing for the 4-year-course teachers' college, which, since it is new legislation, must go before the House and be voted on, especially before it can be agreed to by the conferees. The conferees on the part of the House, however, assured us that it would meet the approval of the House.

Mr. JONES. As a matter of fact, the conferees on the part of the House agreed to it, but they had to take it back to the House.

Mr. BINGHAM. That is true.
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Fess in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. BINGHAM. I thank the Senator from Utah for yielding. PRESERVATION OF THE NIAGARA FALLS

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit a resolution to be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 333) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized and directed during the sessions, recesses, or adjourned periods of the Seventy-first Congress to investigate the subject of the convention and protocol between the United States and His Majesty the King of Great Britain for the preservation and improvement of the scenic beauty of the Niagara Falls and rapids, concluded at Ottawa on January 2, 1929.

For the purposes of this resolution such committee or subcommittees is authorized to hold hearings, to sit and act at such times and places, to employ such stenographic and other assistance, to require by subpæna or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony and make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of such stenographic service to report such hearings and testimony shall not be in excess of 25 cents per 100 words. The expenses of such committee or subcommittee, which shall not exceed \$2,500, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers properly approved.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, is it the purpose to investiate how much more water can be taken out for power purposes by the two Governments and how much more water can be used by the power companies and still not destroy the scenic beauty of the Falls?

Mr. BORAH. We are going to investigate the entire subject. We have a treaty which we have negotiated with Canada, and there are some people who desire to be heard in opposition to it. This is simply to give them an opportunity to be heard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be re-ferred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

## APPROPRIATIONS FOR LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 17053) making appropriations for the legislative branch of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and for other purposes.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I ask the Senator who objected to dispensing with the formal reading of the appropriation bill if he cares for further formal reading, and if we may not now consider the bill for committee amendments?

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I can not understand what the

Mr. CURTIS. Will the Senator from Utah waive his request for the formal reading of the bill?

Mr. KING.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the formal reading of the bill is dispensed with. The Secretary will read the bill for action on the committee amendments.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the bill.

AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL PROHIBITION ACT

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I desire to bring to the attention of the Senate briefly a matter which concerns the Senate itself. The Washington Post of to-day contains three distinct insults to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. WARREN. I hope the Senator will wait.
Mr. HEFLIN. It will take only two or three minutes to read

the statements and say what I feel should be said.

George Rothwell Brown, who writes the column entitled "Postscripts," for the Washington Post, has insulted this body a number of times recently. He seems to be offended because on yesterday the representatives of the American people in the Senate of the United States registered their will here on the prohibition question in a manner opposed to Brown's wishes. You know, a "postscript" is always found at the bottom of a letter and below everything else, and that is where this "postscript" writer belongs-at the bottom of the list of all the newspaper writers-good, bad, and indifferent.

Listen to what he says of the action of this body on yesterday when Senators representing the sovereign States of this Union cast their votes in favor of a bill to punish violations of

the Constitution and laws of this country:

The once great United States Senate, now a little stuffed fox terrier, listens to "its master's voice."

How long will real red-blooded Senators permit such a man as that to occupy a seat in the Senate press gallery? The time has come when we will have to lay down some rules regarding such insults to and such cowardly and brazen misrepresentation of the Senate of the United States. One of them sat there the other day-one of these agents of Romanism, an individual by the name of little Ray Tucker-and deliberately lied about me and what occurred on the Senate floor, misrepresenting me from start to finish as to what occurred here during the flag amendment debate. So now this man, George Rothwell Brown, boldly and vulgarly insults this body.
Listen, Senators, to this. He says:

The new reign of terror begins as the adoption by the Senate of an amendment to the prohibition law making the penalty for selling a pint of gin as severe as that for manslaughter or burglary reveals the fact that, deplore it as one may, the real Government of the United States of America to-day is not Congress and the Executive but the Anti-Saloon League.

Mr. President, he asserts that the greatest government in all the world has passed out of existence, that the Anti-Saloon League is the Government, and that we have no Congress and no President. It is an insult to President Coolidge; it is an insult to Congress; it is an insult to the people whose Government this is to permit such a miserable specimen of humanity to occupy a seat in the Senate press gallery and insult this body and all the high officials of our Government. I am getting tired of these agents of the whisky interests and other crooked interests

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President— Mr. HEFLIN. Sitting around here and firing from their hiding places in the dark into the backs of United States Senators.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President, I make the point that it is disorderly for a Member of this body to speak in such scurrilous terms of the representatives of the press, who are in no position effectively to retaliate.

Mr. HEFLIN. Then, Mr. President, the Senator from Maryland defends this sort of slur and slander against the Senate.

Mr. BRUCE. I know nothing about Mr. George Rothwell

Brown

Mr. HEFLIN. I am reading from his article.

Mr. BRUCE. He is one of the wittiest and most charming paragraphers in this country. Unlike the Senator from Alabama, he is the mortal foe of dullness. So far as his observations on the Senate-

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. BRUCE. I make the point that it is disorderly con-

Mr. HEFLIN. The Senator can not make a point against me for what I may say about some outside person's act against some Senator or the Senate itself.

Mr. BRUCE. I make the point that it is disorderly conduct for the Senator to insult the Members of the Senate-

Mr. HEFLIN. I repudiate the Senator's statement—Mr. BRUCE. I make the point——

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not yield to the Senator from Maryland. Mr. BRUCE. The Senator does not have to yield. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Fess in the chair). The

Senator will state his point of order.

Mr. BRUCE. I say that it is disorderly conduct on the part of the Senator, and that it tends to bring the Senate into public discredit and disgrace.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair overrules the point of order. The Senator from Alabama will proceed in order.

Mr. HEFLIN. The people of Maryland have certainly done great service to this body

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state-

Mr. HEFLIN. And to the American people-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama will suspend just a moment. The Chair will state to the Senator from Maryland that if there is any word used by the Senator from Alabama which is disorderly, the procedure will be to order it taken down, and then to ascertain whether it is a matter of disorder. The Chair did not rule that what the Sena-

tor said was in disorder, but that he should proceed in order.
Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
Mr. HEFLIN. I do not yield to the Senator from Maryland for anything. A Senator who wants to protest against a Senator when he rises to defend this body, its honor, its integrity, its dignity, its self-respect, and who defends a newspaper man who insults the Senate can not interrupt me with my permission now. That is not all that this newspaper man does. He refers to the Senate down here in the most scandalous and scurrilous terms. He says, "The Senate and the Chicago gangsters continue to set the country an example of lawlessness.

When are we going to put a stop to such insults from these rum and bootleg agents who infest this Capitol-

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President— Mr. HEFLIN. Who slander the good men and women of the country who stand here and fight for clean living and good morals, and who fight for a sober and healthy generation of boys and girls? When will the time come when we can perform our duty without having some handy man up in the press gallery insult this body in a Washington newspaper flaunting in the faces of Senators every morning?

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

Mr. HEFLIN. I yield to the Senator. From what paper was the Senator reading? The Washington Post. Will the Senator tell the Senate who is the Mr. NORRIS.

Mr. HEFLIN.

Mr. NORRIS. owner of the Washington Post?

Mr. HEFLIN. Why, certainly; Ned McLean.
Mr. NORRIS. Is he the same man who undertook to deceive the Senate by writing a false letter to the Committee on Public Lands?

Mr. HEFLIN. He is.

Mr. NORRIS. When they were investigating Teapot Dome? He is; and this man Brown is one of his hirelings. He is the man who writes this insulting and untruthful stuff about the Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, I submit that the Anti-Saloon League people, the good men and women who know of the evil, the suffering, and the serrow and the curse of the open saloon, who are banded together to keep the saloon out-they helped to drive if out—and they have a right to keep on fighting against those who are seeking to return the saloon. The agents of the opposition here, paid highly by somebody, move around this Capitol and insult Senators who fight against the return of that wicked and abominable system. And when we are insulted the Senator from Maryland gets up and asks to have a Senator rebuked for resenting the insult offered to the Senate itself.

I do not know what is getting into the Senator from Mary-

land. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. HEFLIN. Yes; I yield to the Senator,

Mr. BRUCE. The Senator will remember that before that paragraph of George Rothwell Brown appeared he addressed a most opprobrious insult not only to a member of the press gallery but also to two Catholic priests who happened to be sitting in one of the galleries.

Mr. HEFLIN. Who did? Mr. BRUCE. The Senator from Alabama did.

Mr. HEFLIN. When?

Mr. BRUCE. A day or so ago.
Mr. HEFLIN. What did I say about them?
Mr. BRUCE. The Senator spoke of the priests in the gallery in the most contemptuous terms, and then addressed to a member of the press gallery language that I will not offend the decency of the Senate by repeating.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, can we not proceed to transact

business now?

Mr. BRUCE. My remarks are not, of course, prompted by any feeling about prohibition. I know the Senator has sufficient opinion of me to acquit me of any such idea as that. I think it is due to parliamentary decency that the members of the press should not be insulted when they are in no position to retaliate, and the servants of God, priests or ministers or pastors who happen to be in our galleries, should not be so insulted.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I had about finished and I will

take but a few more moments, I assure the Senator from

Wyoming.

Mr. WARREN. I ask the Senator to be as brief as he can.

Mr. HEFLIN. The Senator from Maryland [Mr. Bruce] is always quick to come to the rescue when you name a Roman Catholic priest, but the Senator himself attacks Bishop Cannon and Doctor Straton and Billy Sunday; and others who believe as he does do the same. They hold these three great Protestant leaders up to ridicule, but if you say anything about their pets, the Roman priests, then you are trespassing upon the Pope's preserves, and doing something radically wrong.

Mr. President, I did refer to the presence in the gallery of Roman priests who were there the other day smiling their approval when the flag amendment was defeated. Was there anything wrong in saying they smiled on that occasion? I for one am getting very weary of Senators who are for protecting "one particular" class of ministers in this country and who are attacking, repudiating, and slandering those of Protestant denomi-

I think one of the greatest men in this country is Bishop Cannon, of Virginia. He is a man of superb intellect and great learning, a man of broad vision, and a man of fine moral courage and Christian character.

Doctor Straton, of New York, an able and eloquent Baptist preacher, a man of fine parts and high ideals. He is one of the foremost and best-beloved leaders of Protestantism and Chris-

tianity in America.

Billy Sunday, the greatest evangelist since the days of Sam Jones, is a terror to liquor dealers and bootleggers and to all manner of sin and crime against our country. He is still going about doing good to those who love and serve our country. And yet, Senators, you have heard these great Americans attacked and denounced right here in the Senate. But if you dare refer to a Roman priest who is smiling his approval from the gallery,

then you have done something terrible.

Now, Mr. President, since the Senator has seen fit to refer to my reference to the priests in the gallery on the day the Senate voted down my flag amendment, I am going to tell of an incident that occurred here last Monday. A Protestant preacher, I think he is a Baptist, sent his card in to me from the reception room. I went out to see him, and he was very indignant. It was the day Senator Borah and Senator Reed made their speeches on the prohibition question. This man had gone up to the gallery of the Senate. He had a card from a Senator and was standing there with others in a little group waiting for the doorkeeper to get them in. A Roman Catholic Senator took three Catholic priests up to the door ahead of the group in which the Protestant preacher stood and spoke to the doorkeeper, and the doorkeeper said, "Very well," and he put them in ahead of that group already there waiting to be assigned to seats. This Protestant preacher stepped up, thinking they were showing some special preference to ministers of the gospel, showed the doorkeeper his card, and said, "I am a minister of the gospel."

The doorkeeper said, "There is nothing doing." The preacher was very indignant. He came down and sent in for me and told me about his experience. I said, "You come with me," and I took him up to the Senate Members' gallery and escorted him to a seat up there, and he heard the debate even after a certain doorkeeper in the gallery had told him, "There is nothing doing." Let the Senator from Maryland remember that as he goes along.

Mr. President, I want to treat everybody right and be fair to I am not trying to keep newspaper men from writing articles about what happens here. I want them to express themselves freely and decently. I believe in a free press, and I believe in constructive criticism; but I do not believe in allowing one of these little, insolent, squirrel-headed fellows to sit up there and insult this body-

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President—
Mr. HEFLIN. Without having rules under which he can be punished and denied a seat in the Senate press gallery.

Mr. BRUCE. I rise to a question of order. Mr. HEFLIN. Such a one should be barred from the press gallery

Mr. BRUCE. I ask that the words of the Senator be taken down.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I will repeat them for the Senator. I said that we ought not to permit one of these little insolent squirrel heads to insult this body. The Senator objects to the "squirrel head." [Laughter.]
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mary-

land ask that the words of the Senator from Alabama be

taken down?

Mr. BRUCE. If the Senator from Alabama wants to be truly insulting, let him compare their heads with his own.

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not yield to the Senator from Maryland. I am utterly astounded at the Senator. I am really sorry that he has taken the stand he has here to-day. His attitude is indeed strange and deplorable. He is seeking to prevent me from properly characterizing and castigating an occupant of the press gallery who has deliberately insulted the Senate of the United States. There are those in the Senate press gallery who know how to express themselves without insulting the Senate. I am going to formulate some rules and submit them, that when a newspaper man in that press gallery deliberately falsifies the record as to what occurs here, or uses language about a Senator or the Senate, which, in the judgment of a certain committee of this body, is an insult, he shall apologize, and then the committee shall determine whether or not his privilege to sit in that gallery shall be revoked. I am tired, I repeat, of these conscienceless whisky agents coming here and using our press gallery to insult Senators who are fighting their develish program to bring the barrooms back.

I want to tell these Senators who sympathize with that side that millions of men and women in the Nation rejoice to-day when they read that the Senate had passed another bill looking to continued war on the bootleggers; and I want to tell them that while some men to whom they have referred are demanding whisky and more whisky, their wives and children are praying to God that the stuff may be kept out of their way, and that the money being spent in that harmful and unlawful way may be used to support their families and educate their children.

The Anti-Saloon League is a great organization. It has a great many Christian men and women in it. It is fighting for good morals. It fought to put out and is now fighting to keep out the greatest evil that ever cursed this country; and now its home-loving, patriotic members and officers are being denounced as a bunch of scoundrels who seek to control and ruin the Government, and it is said that we who put the happiness of the home and the welfare of our country above the interest of the bootleggers are doing nothing but obeying the Anti-Saloon League. I had rather go along with the Anti-Saloon League than to follow this blind-tiger brigade of rum runners who have their lobbyists here and who are resorting to all kinds of miserable tactics to bring the barrooms back. They are spending money corruptly, and some of it amongst the newspapers to hurl insults into this body. We owe it to ourselves and those who sent us here to take the steps necessary to protect this Senate and its honor from insults and slander.

# APPROPRIATIONS FOR LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 17053) making appropriations for the legislative branch of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will continue the

reading of the bill.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 18, line 14, before the words "the words," to strike out "Whenever" and insert "Wherever," so as to read:

Wherever the words "during the session" occur in the foregoing paragraphs they shall be construed to mean the 212 days from December 1, 1929, to June 30, 1930, both inclusive.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Architect of plies, and all other incidental expenses in connection with the custody the Capitol." at the top of page 23, to insert:

Ventilation of the Senate Chamber: The unexpended balance of the appropriation "Senate and House ventilation, 1928 and 1929," is continued and made available during the fiscal year 1930, and in addition thereto the sum of \$3,725, to be available for the same purposes and under the same conditions of expenditure.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I inquire what disposition has ever been made of the plan to tear down and rebuild the Senate Chamber !

Mr. WARREN. There is nothing in the bill now before us relating to the reconstruction of the Senate Chamber. amendment now before us merely reappropriates the money heretofore appropriated.

Why should we reappropriate it? Mr. KING.

Mr. MOSES. Mr. President, I think the chairman of the committee misunderstood the inquiry of the Senator from Utah. The item now before the Senate is for ventilation of the Chanber and is something that has to be done whether the Chamber is reconstructed or not. The item merely provides an appropria-tion for ventilation of the Senate Chamber. The other resolu-tion, I will say to the Senator from Utah, is held wholly in abeyance, and by a vote of the Committee on Rules the further consideration of it was postponed until a later and wholly indeterminate date, which will probably be some time after the 22d

Mr. KING. Is there any possibility of the proposed change

going forward without further action of Congress?

Mr. MOSES. In spite of my name, I have not the prophetic genius and can not say.

Mr. McKELLAR. It will not go through during this session.

Mr. KING. I hope there is nothing in the pending appropriation bill that authorizes it and permits it to be carried out.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 24, line 16, after the word "Rules," to strike out "\$93,628" and insert "\$95,628," so as to read:

Senate Office Building: For maintenance, miscellaneous items and supplies, including furniture, furnishings, and equipment, and for labor and material incident thereto, and repairs thereof; and for personal and other services for the care and operation of the Senate Office Building, under the direction and supervision of the Senate Committee on Rules, \$95,628.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 24, after line 16, to insert:

To enable the Architect of the Capitol to procure preliminary plans and estimates of cost for the completion of the Senate Office Building, including the erection of the wing on the First Street side of said building, the completion of the C Street side of the said building so as to conform with the development of the park area to the north, the completion of all approaches heretofore incompleted, and for landscape treatment of the court, \$10,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 25, line 24, after the numerals "\$545,000," to insert a comma and "to be immediately available," so as to read:

Capitol power plant: Stoker equipment, \$162,000; new turbine, \$190,000; new electrical distributing equipment, \$110,000; annex, \$65,000; renewal, steam piping Supreme Court section, Capitol, \$13,000; lowering flood lights, Capitol, \$5,000; in all, \$545,000, to be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Library Bullding and grounds," on page 26, line 16, after the word "worker," to strike out "\$1,860" and insert "\$1,728," and at the end of line 20 to strike out "\$42,992" and insert "\$42,860," so as to

Salaries: Chief engineer, \$2,520; chief electrician, \$2,520; decorator, \$2,000; painter, \$1,728; assistant engineer-1 at \$1,860, 2 at \$1,764 each; sheet-metal worker, \$1,728; 2 machinists at \$1,764 each; 3 assistant electricians, at \$1,800 each; carpenters-one \$1,800, one \$1,728; plumber, \$1,740; skilled laborers-2 at \$1,320 each, 5 at \$1,260 each; general mechanic, \$1,800; 2 laborers at \$1,020 each; in all, \$42,860.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Library Building," on page 33, line 7, after the word "stationery," to insert "uniforms for guards," so as to read:

For mail, delivery, and telephone services, rubber boots and rubber coats for workmen, stationery, uniforms for guards, miscellaneous sup-

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was concluded.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment which I was authorized by the committee to present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the

amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 30, line 26, after the numerals 1929," to insert a colon and the following proviso:

Provided, That so much of the act approved February 10, 1927, as requires the librarian to biennially report to Congress an index and digest of State legislation is repealed, and the Librarian of Congress is directed to have such indexes and digests printed and bound for official distribution only.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WARREN. I have another committee amendment authorized by the committee, which I now send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated. The CHIEF CLERK. On page 35, line 25, after the word sum," to insert a colon and the following additional proviso:

Provided further, That hereafter such printing, binding, and blankbook work authorized by law, as the Public Printer is not able or equipped to do at the Government Printing Office, may be produced elsewhere under contracts made by him with the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing.

The amendment was agreed to.
Mr. WARREN. That is the last amendment on behalf of the

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is in Committee of the Whole and open to amendment.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I want to make some comment about the last section of the bill, section 4, which provides for the appointment of a joint committee to try to equalize the salaries of employees of the Senate and the House.

Some time ago, really on behalf of my colleague [Mr. Howell]. because the information came from an employee who was of his patronage and came to me because my colleague was ill and could not give it attention, I gave some attention to the salaries which some employees of the Senate are receiving, something to which I never gave any attention before, and I suppose most Members of the Senate have not, either. I found that this particular employee and another one with him were stationed at one of the doors of the Senate as doorkeepers, and that at that door there is more business transacted and more duties to perform on the part of the employees than at any other door without any question; yet they were getting salaries \$500, \$600, \$700, or \$800 less per annum than other employees at other doors doing much less work.

I think it is conceded that the two employees at the east door of the Senate Chamber are as courteous and as efficient and do their work as well as any of the employees of the Senate anywhere. Most of the Senators come in through that door and see them and know them. Surely, more inquiries are made at that door than any place else by visitors to the galleries. If Senators have taken the pains to listen to the conversations or watch the conduct of those employees, they have noticed that anyone making inquiry there is always treated with the utmost courtesy. I do not believe there can be any possible fault found with their conduct.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. NORRIS. In Just a moment. Without making any complaint, of course, about any of the other employees, we all know that the work at the east door of the Chamber requires that they do twice as much of that kind of work at least, I should say, as any other doorkeeper, and yet they are getting less salaries than any other employee. Upon inquiry I found that other doorkeepers had had their salaries increased from time to time on appropriation bills. No one had looked into the matter except the committee, because no one was looking after these particular employees, and so their salaries remained the same.

I took up the matter with a member of the Appropriations Committee, and he called my attention to section 4 of the present bill which undertakes to appoint a committee that will equalize the salaries of employees doing similar work both in the House and the Senate.

I yield now to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that various members of the Committee on Appropriations have had a great many applications for the correction of just such discriminations as apparently the Senator has in mind. After a most careful and thorough study of the situation, the committee

discussing it for quite a while-and it has been discussed before in our committee—it was concluded that section 4 provided the fairest possible way in which all these matters could be straightened out so as to do even justice to all of the employees. I be-lieve the Senator upon reflection will find that that is the very best possible method of arranging the matter justly and fairly

to all.

The Senator from Nebraska made one statement with which I am obliged to disagree. One of the employees on the door to which he referred is not courteous. He has been very discourteous on a number of occasions. I dislike very much to make the statement, but it is the absolute fact. However, notwithstanding that he is an elderly man and there may be some excuse of health or something else that can be offered for him, if he is entitled to a better salary, as long as he does the work he ought to have that salary. But the Senator paid a high tribute to him, and I just felt that that should not go unchallenged, because I know he has been very discourteous on occa-

Mr. NORRIS. I, of course, am not in a position to contradict the statement made by the Senator from Tennessee and I accept it at 100 per cent. Since the matter was called to my attention I have necessarily thought of the situation and watched it somewhat. I was impressed with the courteous treatment that both of these men give everyone, apparently, and I do not know to which one the Senator refers—

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know his name myself.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not ask for his name, and perhaps for the purpose of the discussion it ought not to be given.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think it ought not to be given, anyway. Mr. NORRIS. I am not finding fault with section 4 of the bill, I will say to the Senator from Tennessee. I am not contradicting the justness of it, but I think in carrying out section 4 we will probably reach the proper solution. The thing that seemed to me to be unfair was that while this was going on this discrepancy still exists, and the men who are doing the most work are getting the least salary. It may be that we can not remove it in any other way.

I am told by the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot], with whom I took up the matter some time ago, that there are a great many similar instances both on the House side and on the

Senate side.

Mr. McKELLAR. There is no way in the world it can be

better worked out than under this plan.

The committee has evidently worked it out so as to be satisfactory to everyone concerned. I commend I am not finding fault with their plan. The only thing that seemed to me to be just in the matter, if this were the only instance of the kind that existed, would be to try to secure an amendment to the bill now before us to equalize the situation. That would have been agreeable, I think, to the Senator from Utah; but when he called my attention to the fact that there were so many other instances, I realized that it could not be done in that way. He told me how many others there were, some 17 or 18

Mr. WARREN. More than that,
Mr. NORRIS. More than that, the Senator from Wyoming
says. It seemed to me, therefore, that probably we would not
be able to equalize the matter in the limited time we have to
give consideration to the bill. If we had a longer time to consider the appropriation bill, if we man a longer time to consider the appropriation bill, if we were not now right up against the 4th of March, and if it were not necessary to pass bills almost without reading them in order to get through by the 4th of March, I think I would have undertaken to try to get some equalization of the matter while the proposed joint committee is working out the problem. It will probably be a year before they can make their report and any results can be had.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I think the Senator will approve of the plan we have worked out. I shall be very glad to confer with him at the earliest possible moment in regard to the parties he has mentioned and others as well, because we want

early decisive action in the matter.

Mr. NORRIS. I think the Senator is right. When the matter was fully explained I could not point out a better way. I want to say to Senators, however, that I am not speaking for any-body in particular. The particular person who has been called to my attention is not an employee of mine or one recommended by me. He was an appointee of my colleague, and that is the reason I have gone into it; because my colleague is sick and can not do so. I have no personal complaint to make.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I merely wish to suggest that the provision in the bill authorizing the appointment of a joint committee requires a report at the next session of Congress, which will probably convene in April.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

this time

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

### PROPOSED NICARAGUAN CANAL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 117) authorizing

an investigation and survey for a Nicaraguan canal. Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, the hour is still early, it being only a quarter after 5 o'clock, and I should like to have the Senate remain in session for a while longer. If any Senators are opposed to the unfinished business, which is now automatically before the Senate, I wish them to take this opportunity to make any remarks they desire to make. I do not want to take the time of the Senate. I have discussed the joint resolu-tion on several occasions. It provides, I will say in a few words, merely for the gathering of information which the Congress must have before it can formulate any policy as to the subject matter of the joint resolution. If there be any Senators who desire to speak in opposition to the passage of the

joint resolution, I should very much like to hear them do so at Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll. The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst Barkley Bayard Edwards Fess McMaster McNary Mayfield Moses Fess Frazier George Gerry Gillett Glass Glenn Goff Gould Smith Smith Smoot Steck Steiwer Stephens Swanson Thomas, Idaho Thomas, Okla. Trammell Bingham Black Blaine Noses Neely Norbeck Norris Nye Oddie Blease Borah Bratton Brookhart Bruce Burton Greene Hale Harris Harrison Overman Phipps Pine Pittman Tydings Tyson Vandenberg Capper Caraway Copeland Couzens Wagner Walsh, Mass. Walsh, Mont. Hastings Hawes Hayden Heffin Ransdell Reed, Mo. Robinson, Ind. Warren Sackett Schall Sheppard Shipstead Shortridge Waterman Watson Wheeler Curtis Dale Johnson Jones Kendrick King

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-six Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present. The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute for the joint resolution having been heretofore amended, and as amended having been agreed to, the joint resolution is not open to further amendment as in Committee of the Whole except upon a reconsideration. The joint resolution will, therefore, be reported to the Senate. It will be open to amendment in the Senate.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended. The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution is in the Sen-

ate and open to amendment.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, I desire to submit a request for unanimous consent. I ask unanimous consent that upon completing its business to-day the Senate shall adjourn and that after 3 o'clock to-morrow debate on the joint resolution and any amendments thereto shall be limited to 10 minutes.

Mr. HAWES. I will have to object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, the joint resolution was made the unfinished business with the distinct understanding on the part of the Senate that it would not interfere with appropriation bills. In view of that understanding inasmuch as there is an appropriation bill waiting to be considered by the Senate, it seems to me that any understanding in connection with the pending joint resolution is abrogated. To-day it developed that the unfinished business could not be temporarily laid aside by unanimous consent. Consequently the naval appropriations bill is completely at the mercy of one man in the Senate so long as any unfinished business is pending. I wish to serve notice that I am not going to permit that condition to continue if I can prevent it. I am not willing for the naval appropriation bill

to be delayed until toward the eve of adjournment. I object to the proposed agreement submitted by the Senator from New Jersey. I am willing for the clash to come right how as to whether the unfinished business shall take precedence over the naval appropriation bill, when it was understood distinctly that measures which were made unfinished business would be made so with the understanding that they would not interfere with

appropriation bills.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, when the request was made earlier in the day that Senate Joint Resolution 117 should be temporarily laid aside in order to consider the naval appropriation bill, as the Senator from Virginia very well knows, I was entirely agreeable that such consent should be granted, but as the Senator has indicated there was objection. As there is objection to the naval bill, while a vote to displace the unfinished business might prevail in the Senate, nevertheless that would not stop the debate. It is practically assured that the joint resolution can be disposed of to-morrow, while the naval bill, of course, can not be disposed of to morrow, and so I do not know why the Senator would object to having the debate limited to 10 minutes, which will afford practical assurance that the joint resolution will be disposed of to-morrow afternoon.

Mr. SWANSON. Then, after to-morrow afternoon there will only be eight days of the session left for various other measures. It was understood, I repeat, that all understandings in connection with the pending joint resolution as the unfinished business would be abrogated if it should interfere with appropriation bills. It has now developed that the unfinished business does

interfere with the naval appropriation bill.

Mr. EDGE. I am quite in sympathy with the naval appropriation bill: but I should like to ask the Senator if he would be in any better position if he should move to take up the naval bill to-morrow and the motion should prevail and the naval bill should then be laid before the Senate?

Mr. SWANSON. Whether Senators are willing to come to a vote I do not know. Whether a filibuster will develop I do not know, and by this procedure it may never be known.

I can answer the Senator's question for him. Mr. GLASS. I know there will be.

Mr. EDGE. I think it is indicated that there will be a filibuster.

Mr. SWANSON. I do not know what the Senator who has charge of the joint resolution proposes to do, and the responsi-bility is with him; but I am not going to consent to any more unanimous-consent agreements or arrangements until the naval

bill has had a chance in the Senate.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I had intended to follow the course to-morrow of moving to lay aside the unfinished business and substituting for it the naval appropriation bill. If I thought the Senator from New Jersey could secure unanimous consent to vote on the joint resolution, and could thereby get action before 4 o'clock to-morrow, I would be willing under the circumstances to let him do so. Otherwise, I should like to notify the Senate that I shall move to displace.

Mr. EDGE. Of course, I can only transmit to the Senate the information which I have secured through personal conferences with Senators who have evinced interest in the joint resolu-tion. The Senator from Washington [Mr. Dill] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. King] have assured me at different times that they wanted to speak briefly on the measure, but had no desire

to interfere with a final vote upon it.

Mr. DILL. What is the request about the limitation of

debate on the resolution?

Mr. EDGE. The unanimous-consent request as made was that at 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon debate be limited to 10 minutes on the bill and on any amendments thereto.

Mr. DILL. I would not agree to that, Mr. President. Mr. EDGE. Then there is nothing to do but to go on.

Mr. SWANSON. In order to ascertain whether or not there is a disposition to filibuster against the naval bill, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the naval appropriation bill.

Mr. EDGE. I myself have no objection to that being done.

Mr. BLAINE. I object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, it seems to me that we are getting into the wrong mood regarding the appropriation bills. The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Edge] has been very obliging thus far. He has shown every evidence of a disposition to help. There has been no reasonable cause, it seems to me, for any heat.

I think those who have at heart the best interests of the country should be able to get together and work together. I do not believe we are going to have a filibuster that is going to defeat the naval bill or that is going to defeat any other appro-

priation bill. We have another very large bill to follow the naval bill.

RESIGNATION OF SENATOR CURTIS

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication, which the clerk will read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE, COMMITTEE ON RULES, February 18, 1929.

Hon. CHARLES G. DAWES,

Vice President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR DAWES: I am handing you herewith a copy of a letter which have this day forwarded to the Governor of Kansas, tendering my resignation as a United States Senator from the State of Kansas, to take effect March 3, 1929.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES CURTIS.

UNITED STATES SENATE, COMMITTEE ON RULES, February 18, 1929,

Hon, CLYDE M. REED.

Topeka, Kans. MY DEAR REED: I hereby tender my resignation as a United States Senator from the State of Kansas, to take effect upon March 3, 1929. Very truly yours,

CHARLES CURTIS.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. CURTIS. I move that the Senate proceed to the con-

sideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened; and (at 5 o'clock and 36 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 21, 1929, at 12 o'clock meridian.

### GENERAL CONVENTION OF INTER-AMERICAN CON-CILIATION

In executive session this day the following convention was ratified and, on motion of Mr. Borah; the injunction of secrecy was removed therefrom:

The Senate:

To the end that I may receive the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of a General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, signed by the plenipotentiaries of 20 American Republics at the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, at Washington, on January 5, 1929.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 26, 1929.

The President:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a certified copy of a General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, signed by the plenipotentiaries of 20 American Republics at the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, at Washington, on January 5, 1929.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK B. KELLOGG.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, January 24, 1929.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES ON CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 10, 1928-JANUARY 5,

GENERAL CONVENTION OF INTER-AMERICAN CONCILIATION

The Governments of Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Perú, Honduras, Guatamala, Haiti, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Panamá, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Mexico, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and the United States of America, represented at the Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration, assembled at Washington, pursuant to the Resolution adopted on February 18, 1928, by the Sixth International Conference of American States held in the City of Habana:

Desiring to demonstrate that the condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, set forth in the above mentioned resolution, constitutes one of the fundamental bases of inter-American relations;

Animated by the purpose of promoting, in every possible way, the development of international methods for the pacific settlement of differences between the States;

Being convinced that the "Treaty to Avoid or Prevent Conflicts between the American States," signed at Santiago de Chile, May 3, 1923, constitutes a notable achievement in inter-American relations, which it is necessary to maintain by giving additional prestige and strength to the action of the commissions established by Articles III and IV of the aforementioned treaty;

Acknowledging the need of giving conventional form to these purposes have agreed to enter into the present Convention, for which purpose they have appointed Plenipotentiaries as follows:

Venezuela:

Carlos F. Grisanti. Francisco Arroyo Parejo.

Chile:

Manuel Foster Recabarren.

Antonio Planet.

Bolivia:

Eduardo Diez de Medina.

José Pedro Varela.

Costa Rica:

Manuel Castro Quesada.

José Tible-Machado.

Hernán Velarde. Victor M. Maúrtua.

Honduras:

Rómulo Durón.

Marcos López Ponce.

Guatemala:

Adrián Recinos.

José Falla.

Haiti:

Auguste Bonamy.

Raoul Lizaire.

Ecuador:

Gonzalo Zaldumbide.

Colombia:

Enrique Olaya Herrera.

Carlos Escallón.

Brazil:

S. Gurgel do Amaral.

A. G. de Araujo-Jorge.

Panamá:

Ricardo J. Alfaro.

Carlos L. López.

Paraguay:

Eligio Ayala.

Nicaragua:

Maximo H. Zepeda.

Adrian Recinos.

J. Lisandro Medina.

México:

Fernando González Roa.

Benito Flores.

El Salvador:

Cayetano Ochoa.

David Rosales, Jr.

Donrinican Republic:

Angel Morales.

Gustavo A. Díaz.

Cuba:

Orestes Ferrara.

Gustavo Gutiérrez.

United States of America:

Frank B. Kellogg. Charles Evans Hughes.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form by the Conference, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the procedure of conciliation established by this convention all controversies of any kind which have arisen or may arise between them for any reason and which it may not have been possible to settle through diplomatic channels.

The Commission of Inquiry to be established pursuant to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty signed in Santiago de Chile on May 3, 1923, shall likewise have the character of Commission of Conciliation.

The Permanent Commissions which have been established by virtue of Article III of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923, shall be bound to exercise conciliatory functions, either

on their own motion when it appears that there is a prospect of disturbance of peaceful relations, or at the request of a Party to the dispute, until the Commission referred to in the preceding article is organized.

The conciliatory functions of the Commission described in Article 2 shall be exercised on the occasion hereinafter set forth:

(1) The Commission shall be at liberty to begin its work with an effort to conciliate the differences submitted to its examination with a view to arriving at a settlement between the Parties.

(2) Likewise the same Commission shall be at liberty to endeavor to conciliate the Parties at any time which in the opinion of the Commission may be considered to be favorable in the course of the investigation and within the period of time fixed therefor in Article V of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923.

(3) Finally, the Commission shall be bound to carry out its conciliatory function within the period of six months which is referred to in Article VII of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of

May 3, 1923.

The Parties to the controversy may, however, extend this time, if they so agree and notify the Commission in due time.

# ARTICLE 5

The present convention does not preclude the High Contracting Parties, or one or more of them, from tendering their good offices or their mediation, jointly or severally, on their own motion or at the request of one or more of the Parties to the controversy; but the High Contracting Parties agree not to make use of those means of pacific settlement from the moment that the Commission described in Article 2 is organized until the final act referred to in Article 11 of this convention is signed.

### ARTICLE 6

The function of the Commission, as an organ of conciliation, in all cases specified in Article 2 of this convention, is to procure the conciliation of the differences subject to its examination by endeavoring to effect a settlement between the Parties.

When the Commission finds itself to be within the case fore-seen in paragraph 3 of Article 4 of this convention, it shall undertake a conscientious and impartial examination of the questions which are the subject of the controversy, shall set forth in a report the results of its proceedings, and shall propose to the Parties the bases of a settlement for the equitable solution of the controversy.

# ARTICLE 7

Except when the Parties agree otherwise, the decisions and recommendations of any Commission of Conciliation shall be made by a majority vote.

# ARTICLE 8

The Commission described in Article 2 of this convention shall establish its rules of procedure. In the absence of agreement to the contrary, the procedure indicated in Article IV of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923, shall be followed.

Each party shall bear its own expenses and a proportionate

share of the general expenses of the Commission.

## ARTICLE

The report and the recommendations of the Commission, insofar as it may be acting as an organ of conciliation, shall not have the character of a decision nor an arbitral award, and shall not be binding on the Parties either as regards the exposition or interpretation of the facts or as regards questions of law.

ARTICLE 10 As soon as possible after the termination of its labors the Commission shall transmit to the Parties a certified copy of the

report and of the bases of settlement which it may propose.

The Commission in transmitting the report and the recommendations to the Parties shall fix a period of time, which shall not exceed six months, within which the Parties shall pass upon the bases of settlement above referred to.

# ARTICLE 11

Once the period of time fixed by the Commission for the Parties to make their decisions has expired, the Commission shall set forth in a final act the decision of the Parties, and if the conciliation has been effected, the terms of the settlement.

# ARTICLE 12

The obligations set forth in the second sentence of the first paragraph of Article I of the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923, shall extend to the time when the final act referred to in the preceding article is signed.

## ARTICLE 13

Once the procedure of conciliation is under way it shall be interrupted only by a direct settlement between the Parties or by their agreement to accept absolutely the decision ex aequo

et bono of an American Chief of State or to submit the controversy to arbitration or to an international court.

#### ARTICLE 14

Whenever for any reason the Treaty of Santiago de Chile of May 3, 1923, does not apply, the Commission referred to in Article 2 of this convention shall be organized to the end that it may exercise the conciliatory functions stipulated in this convention; the Commission shall be organized in the same manner as that prescribed in Article IV of said treaty.

In such cases, the Commission thus organized shall be governed in its operation by the provisions, relative to conciliation,

of this convention.

#### ARTICLE 15

The provisions of the preceding article shall also apply with regard to the Permanent Commissions constituted by the aforementioned Treaty of Santiago de Chile, to the end that said Commissions may exercise the conciliatory functions prescribed in Article 3 of this convention.

#### ARTICLE 16

The present convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional

procedures, provided that they have previously ratified the Treaty of Santiago, Chile, of May 3, 1923. The original convention and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile which shall give notice of the ratifications through diplomatic channels to the other signatory Governments and the convention shall enter into effect for the High Contracting Parties in the order that they deposit their ratifications.

This convention shall remain in force indefinitely, but it may be denounced by means of notice given one year in advance at the expiration of which it shall cease to be in force as regards the Party denouncing the same, but shall remain in force as regards the other signatories. Notice of the denunciation shall be addressed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile which will transmit it for appropriate action to the other signatory Governments.

Any American State not a signatory of this convention may adhere to the same by transmitting the official instrument setting forth such adherence, to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile which will notify the other High Contracting Parties thereof in the manner heretofore mentioned.

In witness whereof the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed this convention in English, Spanish, Portugese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals.

Done at the city of Washington, on this fifth day of January,

CARLOS F. GRISANTI [SEAL] CARLOS F. GRISANTI Fr. ARROYO PAREJO Fr. ARROYO PAREJO Chile exceptua en esta Convención las euestiones que tengan

origen en situaciones o hechos, anteriores a ella. MANUEL FOSTER A. PLANET

[SEAL] E. DIEZ DE MEDINA SEAL [SEAL] JOSÉ PEDRO VARELA MANUEL CASTRO QUESADA [SEAL] JOSÉ TIBLE-MACHADO [SEAL] HERNÁN VELARDE VICTOR M. MAURTUA RÓMULO E. DURÓN [SEAL] [SEAL] M. LÓPEZ PONCE SEAL ADRIÁN RECINOS SEAL JOSÉ FALLA SEAL [SEAL] A. BONAMY

RAOUL LIZAIRE [SEAL] GONZALO ZALDUMBIDE [SEAL] ENRIQUE OLAYA HERRERA [SEAL] C. ESCALIÓN [SEAL]

S. GURGEL DO AMARAL [SEAL] A. ARAUJO-JORGE SEAL R. J. ALFARO SEAL ] CARLOS L. LÓPEZ SEAL

ELIGIO AYALA [SEAL] [SEAL] MAXIMO H. ZEPEDA ADRIÁN RECINOS J. LISANDRO MEDINA

FERNANDO GONZÁLEZ ROA [SEAL] BENITO FLORES [SEAL] CAYETANO OCHOA [SEAL]

DAVID ROSALES, HIJO A. MORALES G. A. DÍAZ SEAL ORESTES FERRARA SEAL [SEAL]

GUSTAVO GUTIERREZ FRANK B. KELLOGG [SEAL] [SEAL] CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 20 (legislative day of February 15), 1929

## COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

To be aide (with relative rank of ensign in the Navy) by promotion from junior engineer

Clarence Allan George, of Kentucky, vice J. M. Baker, jr., resigned.

To be aide (with relative rank of ensign in the Navy) by promotion from deck officer

George Marion Marchand, of Pennsylvania, vice H. O. Westby, resigned.

#### POSTMASTERS

John W. Johnson to be postmaster at Langdale, Ala., in place of J. W. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

#### ARIZONA

Lena E. Hempstead to be postmaster at Bowie, Ariz., in place of L. E. Hempstead. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

#### ARKANSAS

Melvin E. Torrence to be postmaster at Atkins, Ark., in place of M. E. Torrence. Incumbent's commission expires March 3,

#### CALIFORNIA

Walter W. Middleton to be postmaster at Costa Mesa, Calif., in place of W. W. Middleton. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Charles H. Quantock to be postmaster at Loma Linda, Calif., in place of C. H. Quantock. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

#### ILLINOIS

Fred H. Kientz to be postmaster at Alhambra, Ill., in place of F. H. Kientz. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Charles Voorhees to be postmaster at Bradley, Ill., in place of Charles Voorhees. Incumbent's commission expires March

Richard C. Hills to be postmaster at Franklin, Ill., in place of R. C. Hills. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929. Frank M. Allen to be postmaster at Hillview, Ill., in place of F. M. Allen. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Robert F. Sexton to be postmaster at Kansas, Ill., in place of R. F. Sexton. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

Earl L. Longfellow to be postmaster at Rock Falls, Ill., in place of E. L. Longfellow. Incumbent's commission expired January 8, 1928.

Harold R. Kerchner to be postmaster at Walnut, Ill., in place of H. R. Kerchner. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929

Arden S. Coryell to be postmaster at West Union, Ill., in place of A. S. Coryell. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

# INDIANA

Edna S. Beeson to be postmaster at Galveston, Ind., in place of E. S. Beeson. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Jacob W. Hunsberger to be postmaster at Wakarusa, Ind., in place of J. W. Hunsberger. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

## IOWA

Frank S. Smith to be postmaster at Carson, Iowa, in place of F. S. Smith. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Millie Hoffman to be postmaster at Central City, Iowa, in place of Millie Hoffman. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

Orange J. Mark to be postmaster at Coldwater, Kans., in place of O. J. Mark. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Elza W. Reel to be postmaster at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., in place of E. W. Reel. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Lon L. Robinson to be postmaster at La Crosse, Kans., in place of L. L. Robinson. Incumbent's commission expires March 3,

John A. Porter to be postmaster at Mount Hope, Kans., in place of J. A. Porter. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929

Karl S. Dale to be postmaster at Protection, Kans., in place of K. S. Dale. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

#### KENTUCKY

Rebecca Green to be postmaster at Barbourville, Ky., in place of Rebecca Green. Incumbent's commission expires March 2,

Richard C. Duvall to be postmaster at Lebanon Junction, Ky., in place of R. C. Duvall. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Mary H. Buckler to be postmaster at Loretto, Ky., in place of M. H. Buckler. Incumbent's commission expires March 2,

Clarence Mathews to be postmaster at Maysville, Ky., place of Clarence Mathews. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

William G. Morgan to be postmaster at Stanford, Ky., in place of W. G. Morgan. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929,

Homer Murray to be postmaster at Woodburn, Ky., in place of Homer Murray. Incumbent's commission expires March 3,

#### MARYLAND

Harvey N. Burgoon to be postmaster at Manchester, Md., in place of H. N. Burgoon. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929,

#### MICHIGAN

Harold D. Cole to be postmaster at Holly, Mich., in place of H. D. Cole. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.
Walter C. Oesterle to be postmaster at Webberville, Mich., in

place of W. C. Oesterle. Incumbent's commission expires March

#### MINNESOTA

Aaron T. Arneson to be postmaster at Carver, Minn., in place of A. T. Arneson. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

### MISSISSIPPI

Lillie B. Carr to be postmaster at Sumner, Miss., in place of L. B. Carr. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

#### MISSOURI

Clifford R. Hayes to be postmaster at Salem, Mo., in place of C. R. Hayes. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

#### MONTANA

Bruce R. McNamer to be postmaster at Shelby, Mont., in place of B. R. McNamer. Incumbent's commission expires March 3,

# NEBRASKA

William E. Bales to be postmaster at Hershey, Nebr., in place of W. E. Bales. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929. Henry J. Newsom to be postmaster at North Bend, Nebr., in place of H. J. Newsom. Incumbent's commission expires March

Herman G. Tunberg to be postmaster at Verde, Nebr., in place of H. G. Tunberg. Incumbent's commission expires March 3,

# NEW HAMPSHIRE

Silas C. Newell to be postmaster at Newport, N. H., in place of S. C. Newell. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Ralph E. Berry to be postmaster at Rye Beach, N. H., in place of R. E. Berry. Incumbent's commission expired December 10, 1928.

# NEW JERSEY

Charles A. Britton to be postmaster at Frenchtown, N. J., in

place of W. G. Britton, removed.

Alice M. Harkness to be postmaster at Marlton, N. J., in place of A. M. Harkness. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929

Florence L. Newman to be postmaster at Seagirt, N. J., in place of F. L. Newman. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

## NEW YORK

Wendell C. Wilber to be postmaster at Delanson, N. Y., in place of W. C. Wilber. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

James P. Walker to be postmaster at Fort Jefferson Station, N. Y., in place of E. E. McMurrin, removed.

# NORTH CAROLINA

Malcom J. Thornton to be postmaster at Clinton, N. C., in place of M. J. Thornton. Incumbent's commission expires March

Ike R. Forbes to be postmaster at Cramerton, N. C., in place of I. R. Forbes. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Robert E. Hodgin to be postmaster at Guilford College, N. C., in place of R. E. Hodgin. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

David J. Lewis to be postmaster at Rocky Point, N. C., in place of D. J. Lewis. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

#### NORTH DAKOTA

Roy Wigness to be postmaster at Fortuna, N. Dak., in place of Roy Wigness. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Hugh Roan to be postmaster at Portal, N. Dak., in place of Hugh Roan. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Jacob G. Sigurdson to be postmaster at Upham, N. Dak., in place of J. G. Sigurdson. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Leland Q. Perkins to be postmaster at Wilton, N. Dak., in place of L. Q. Perkins. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

John W. Ackerman to be postmaster at Wishek, N. Dak., in place of F. E. Ackermann, resigned.

### OKLAHOMA

Ada Vanscoy to be postmaster at Dill, Okla., in place of Ada Vanscoy. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Frederick W. Galer to be postmaster at Nowata, Okla., in place of F. W. Galer. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

Henry C. Griswold to be postmaster at Wetumka, Okla., in place of H. C. Griswold. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

#### OREGON

Byron A. Bennett to be postmaster at Crane, Oreg., in place of B. A. Bennett. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Elizabeth M. Ward to be postmaster at Philomath, Oreg., in place of E. M. Ward. Incumbent's commission expires February 20, 1929.

#### PENNSYLVANIA

William G. Hall to be postmaster at Avella, Pa., in place of W. G. Hall. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Levi Conner to be postmaster at Glen Campbell, Pa., in place Levi Conner. Incumbent's commission expires March 3. 1929.

Mary F. Carey to be postmaster at Mahanoy Plane, Pa., in place of M. F. Carey. Incumbent's commission expires March

Theodore E. Lerch to be postmaster at Palmyra, Pa., in place

of T. E. Lerch. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929. C. Maurice Hershey to be postmaster at Paradise, Pa., in place of C. M. Hershey. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

## RHODE ISLAND

James T. Caswell to be postmaster at Narragansett, R. I., in place of J. T. Caswell. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

Marion B. Welch to be postmaster at Hardeeville, S. C., in place of M. B. Welch. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929,

## SOUTH DAKOTA

Charley L. Corrington to be postmaster at Kadoka, S. Dak., in place of C. L. Corrington. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

## TEXAS

Alfred J. Atkins to be postmaster at Eldorado, Tex., in place of W. N. Ramsay, resigned.

Mary P. Vernon to be postmaster at Hermleigh, Tex., in place of M. P. Vernon. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Hazel L. Gibner to be postmaster at Spearman, Tex., in place of C. P. Ellis, removed.

Joseph W. Harvey to be postmaster at Montross, Va., in place of J. W. Harvey. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

## WASHINGTON

Herbert A. Miller to be postmaster at Stevenson, Wash., in place of H. A. Miller. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

## WISCONSIN

Lorenzo F. Rosenthal to be postmaster at Beloit, Wis., in place of L. F. Rosenthal. Incumbent's commission expires March 3. 1929.

Edwin T. Mattison to be postmaster at Blair, Wis., in place of E. T. Mattison. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Albert L. Jochem to be postmaster at Cedarburg, Wis., in place of A. L. Jochem. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

William S. Cochrane to be postmaster at Delavan, Wis., in place of W. S. Cochrane. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

J. Charles Pile to be postmaster at Dodgeville, Wis., in place of J. C. Pile. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Frank L. Rolson to be postmaster at Ellsworth, Wis., in place of F. L. Rolson. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.
Vilas A. Kellman to be postmaster at Galesville, Wis., in place

vias A. Keliman to be postmaster at Galesvine, wis, in place of V. A. Keliman. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Frances W. Kulwiec to be postmaster at Lublin, Wis., in place of F. W. Kulwiec. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Lyle E. Dye to be postmaster at Mazomanie, Wis., in place of L. E. Dye. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Ellsworth N. Harris to be postmaster at Mineral Point, Wis., in place of E. N. Harris. Incumbent's commission expires March 2, 1929.

John J. Burkhard to be postmaster at Monroe, Wis., in place of J. J. Burkhard. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Henry B. Goodwin to be postmaster at Osceola, Wis., in place of H. B. Goodwin. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Percy L. Miner to be postmaster at Pepin, Wis., in place of P. L. Miner. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

Alfred Froseth to be postmaster at Washburn, Wis., in place of Alfred Froseth. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

George A. Murray to be postmaster at Wisconsin Veterans' Home, Wis., in place of G. A. Murray. Incumbent's commission expires March 3, 1929.

### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 20 (legislative day of February 15), 1929

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

George Neuner to be United States attorney, district of Oregon.

POSTMASTERS

MARYLAND

Richard H. Williams, Midland. Anna Novy, Overlea.

NEW YORK

Celia D. White, Fishkill. Clarence J. Weyant, Fort Montgomery. C. LaDue Griffin, Oakfield. Henry I. Brenzel, Red Hook.

OKLAHOMA

Oscar F. Fowler, Redrock.

PENNSYLVANIA

Frank C. Weber, Ambler.

WISCONSIN

Edward W. LeRoy, Marinette.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1929

The House met at 12 o'clock noon,

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

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee and worthily magnify Thy holy name. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. 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 without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 15918. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize credit upon the construction charges of certain waterright applicants and purchasers on the Yuma and Yuma Mesa auxiliary projects, and for other purposes";

H. R. 16270. An act to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a bridge across the St. John River between Fort Kent, Me., and

Clairs, Province of New Brunswick, Canada," approved March 18, 1924; and
H. R. 17024. An act to extend the times for commencing and

H. R. 17024. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Carondelet, Mo.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with an amendment the bill of the House (H. R. 13981) entitled "An act to permit the United States to be made a party defendant in certain cases," insists upon its amendment to said bill, asks a conference with the House thereon, and appoints Mr. Norris, Mr. Walsh of Montana, and Mr. Waterman to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 7452. An act for the erection of a tablet or marker to be placed at some suitable point at Alfords Bridge in the county of Hart, State of Georgia, on the national highway between the States of Georgia and South Carolina, to commemorate the memory of Nancy Hart.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2901. An act to amend the national prohibition act, as amended and supplemented;

S. 5055. An act for the relief of DeWitt & Shobe; and

S. J. Res. 223. Joint resolution to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the submission to the Congress of preliminary plans and estimates of costs for the construction of a building for the Supreme Court of the United States," approved December 21, 1928.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3881) entitled "An act to provide for the paying of the Government road known as the Dry Valley Road, commencing where said road leaves the La Fayette Road, in the city of Rossville, Ga., and extending to Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, constituting an approach road to said park."

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. Fess, Mr. Reed of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Ransdell members of the committee on the part of the Senate pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution No. 51, creating a committee to represent Congress at the celebration of the completion of the canalizing of the Ohio River.

The message also announced that the Senate concurs in the following resolution:

## House Concurrent Resolution 58

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the statues of Henry Clay and Dr. Ephraim McDowell, by Charles H. Niehaus, presented by the State of Kentucky (said statues being donated to the State of Kentucky by Isaac W. Bernheim), to be placed in Statuary Hall, are accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered the State for the contribution of these statues of two of its most eminent citizens, illustrious for their distinguished services to the country.

2. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the Governor of Kentucky.

## SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

A joint resolution of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and under the rule referred as follows:

S. J. Res. 223. Joint resolution to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the submission to the Congress of preliminary plans and estimates of costs for the construction of a building for the Supreme Court of the United States," approved December 21, 1928; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

# BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. CAMPBELL, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 9737. An act for the relief of Herman C. Davis;

H. R. 9961. An act to equalize the rank of officers in positions of great responsibility in the Army and Navy;

H. R. 13199. An act authorizing the payment to the State of Oklahoma the sum of \$4,955.36 in settlement for rent for United States Veterans' Hospital No. 90, at Muskogee, Okla.;

H. R. 15851. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Allegheny River at Kittanning, in the county of Armstrong, in the State of Pennsylvania; and

H. R. 16279. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Ohio River at Augusta, Ky.

### SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER

Mr. DYER, Mr. Speaker, I present David Hopkins, the Representative elect from the fourth district of Missouri, and ask that he take the oath of office.

Mr. Hopkins appeared at the bar of the House, and the oath prescribed by law was administered by the Speaker.

### PROGRAM OF MEMORIAL EXERCISES

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, we are about to proceed to the memorial exercises provided for in House Resolution 295. ask unanimous consent that the proceedings of to-day under that resolution, including the order of exercises, copies of which have been distributed among the Members, be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Connecticut asks unanimous consent that the proceedings of to-day, together with the order of exercises, be printed in the RECORD. Is there objec-

There was no objection.

#### ORDER OF EXERCISES

Prelude, Sacred Selections (11.30 to 12) \_\_\_U. S. Marine Band Orchestra
Presiding Officer \_\_\_\_\_ The Speaker of the House of Representatives
Invocation \_\_\_\_\_ The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery
Lead, Kindly Light (Buck) \_\_\_\_ Imperial Male Quartet
Scripture reading and prayer \_\_\_\_\_ The Chaplain
Roll of deceased Members \_\_\_\_ The Clerk of the House of Representatives
Devotional silence.

Address

(Representative from the State of New Jersey)
Still, Still with Thee (Gerrish) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_Quartet

Address (Representative from the State of Tennessee)
Still Will We Trust (Flemming) \_\_\_Quartet \_The Chaplain The Orchestra Benediction Postlude

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House stand in recess.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House stood in recess, at the call of the Speaker.

#### MEMORIAL EXERCISES

The Speaker of the House of Representatives presided. The Imperial Male Quartet sang Lead, Kindly Light. The Chaplain, Doctor Montgomery:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: He leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me.

In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.

And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.

And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:

And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?

And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.

In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and His servants shall serve him:

And they shall see His face; and His name shall be in their

And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever.

## [Members standing.]

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, this is a solemn moment. Would that our lips were nigh to full speech; yet we thank Thee

that hope, pensive and wondering, finds its secret joy. Again and again the silver cord is loosed, the golden bowl is broken, the pitcher at the fountain and the wheel at the cistern. Oh, how true, Merciful God, that our tombs are entangled with our tasks; yet those who journey this way may come to their crown and throne. Thou wilt not forget their works of faith and their labors of love among us. They rose to the level of pure think-They felt the throbs of the common heart and scorned to do the evil thing. They have bequeathed us noble examples, for with distinction, patience, and gentleness they served their day. We have shared their joys; we now pay our grateful tributes. This hour we unite our hearts with all sorrowing ones. Heaven drop its charm of richest gifts upon them. We praise Thee that there is no death. The mists that are now so thick will soon lift and drift away, for behind is the sunlight. They have entered through the hidden portals and have gained the vision in that summer land of the soul, where morning becomes noon and the curtain of night is never hung. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

# THE ROLL OF DECEASED MEMBERS

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the roll of deceased Members.

Mr. William Tyler Page, Clerk of the House, read the following roll:

FRANK ROBERT GOODING, SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IDAHO

Member of the Idaho Senate; Governor of Idaho, two terms; twice elected United States Senator. Died June 24, 1928.

WILLIAM NEWELL VAILE, FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF COLORADO

Member of the House of Representatives, Sixty-sixth and each succeeding Congress. Died July 2, 1927.

MARTIN BARNABY MADDEN, FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

Member of the Chicago City Council and its presiding officer; Member of the House of Representatives, Fifty-ninth and each succeeding Congress; chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Died April 27, 1928.

THADDEUS C. SWEET, THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

Member of the General Assembly of the State of New York; speaker of the assembly, 1914-1920; Member of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-eighth, Sixty-ninth, and Seventieth Congresses. Died May 1,

THOMAS S. BUTLER, EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

Member of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fifth and each succeeding Congress; father of the House; chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs. Died May 26, 1928.

## HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE

Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Illinois at large in the Sixty-eighth, Sixty-ninth, and Seventieth Congresses. Died July 15, 1928.

LOUIS ADAMS FROTHINGHAM, FOURTEENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

Member of the Massachusetts Legislature; speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives; Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts; Member of the United States House of Representatives, Sixty-seventh and each succeeding Congress. Died August 23, 1928.

THOMAS LEWIS RUBEY, SIXTRENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MISSOURI Member of the Senate and of the House of the General Assembly of Missouri; president pro tempore of the Missouri Senate; Lieutenant Governor of Missouri; Member of the House of Representatives from the Sixty-second to the Sixty-sixth Congress, inclusive, and from the Sixty-eighth to the Seventieth Congress. Died November 2, 1928.

WILLIAM ALLAN OLDFIELD, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS Member of the House of Representatives, Sixty-first and each succeeding Congress; member of the Committee on Ways and Means; minority whip of the House; chairman of the National Democratic Congressional Committee. Died November 19, 1928.

CHARLES LEE FAUST, FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MISSOURI Member of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-seventh and each succeeding Congress. Died December 17, 1928.

EDWARD JOHN KING, FIFTEENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS Member of the Illinois Legislature four terms; Member of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth and each succeeding Congress. Died February 17, 1929.

Then followed one minute of devotional silence.

Hon. Charles A. Eaton, Representative from the State of New Jersey, delivered the following address:

## ADDRESS OF HON, CHARLES A. EATON

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, since July, 1927, eleven of our distinguished colleagues have died in the service of their country, nine of the number within the short space of nine months in the year just passed and one only three days ago.

In this memorial service we are seeking to express our sense of personal loss; our grief over brave comrades fallen by our side in battle; our sincere sympathy for their loved ones in the family circle, whose sorrow we share.

And some of us, at least, cherish the hope that this tragic toll exacted by the Grim Reaper may awaken the American people to a new understanding of the ever-increasing burden of toil and responsibility which our complex civilization places

upon their elected Representatives.

We want all the world to know that we loved these fallen comrades of ours; that we revere their memory; that we are proud and grateful to have been associated with them in service: and that, however sharply divided by the accident of party attachment, or by reasoned opinion, we were and are united always in respect for their sincerity of conviction, their unblemished personal honor, their devotion to duty, their singleness of patriotic purpose.

It would be hard to assemble a group of 11 men from widely separated sections of our great country who more exactly represent in their individual endowments and experience the multi-

form genius of American life at its best. GOODING, OF IDAHO

Rising from humble beginnings, step by step, to deserve and receive the highest honors within the gift of his fellow citizens. Twice elected governor of his State. Since 1920 a distinguished Member of the Senate of the United States. His most striking characteristic a high and chivalrous courage. His passing removes from the Senate one of its strong men.

VAILE, OF COLORADO

Gifted author; formidable in debate; intensely American in ideals and point of view; called suddenly in the prime of his strong manhood from the lofty outlook of his beloved mountains to the infinite horizons of eternity.

MADDEN, OF ILLINOIS

From the beginning of his long years of service, a recognized leader in this body. Wise and witty; shrewd and penetrating of judgment; without illusions and without cynicism. Governed always by a profound sense of moral obligation in handling the heavy responsibilities of his position as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, he was a great human, richly deserving the unstinted and unanimous affection and confidence of his colleagues.

RATHBONE, OF ILLINOIS

Disciple and interpreter of the immortal Lincoln. Eloquent of speech. Ungrudging of service, he literally gave his life for the honor and privilege of representing in this House the vast and varied interests of his great State.

KING, OF ILLINOIS

For 14 years a Member of this House. Honored three times in early life by election to the general assembly of his State. An efficient attorney of his home city of Galesburg. His ability, his fine moral qualities, his genius for friendship gave him a permanent place in the affection and memory of his colleagues. OLDFIELD, OF ARKANSAS

Sturdy and worthy son of the great, young Southwest. A man four-square. Honored and trusted by all his colleagues in his position of leadership.

RUBEY AND FAUST, OF MISSOURI

Of differing political principles and party loyalties, these two distinguished sons of Missouri had much in common. Country they fearlessly followed their stars of destiny out into the wider world of affairs. They were one in their high moral standard, their love of country and home, their sense of service. To each of them their fellow citizens gave ungrudging honor, and each left to his loved ones the priceless heritage of a stainless name.

SWEET, OF NEW YORK

Descended from a family closely identified with General Washington in the Revolutionary War. Speaker of the New York Assembly for six years. A seasoned veteran in the exact-ing work of public service, his tragic death took from this Chamber one of its most useful and trusted Members.

BUTLER, OF PENNSYLVANIA

The elder statesman of the House. Carrying for long years heavy burdens as a member and as chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs; inflexible of purpose; of unaffected simplicity and sweetness of nature. He knew how to soften the asperities of political conflict by the magic touch of a delicate, whimsical humor, and to win and hold the affection of every man with whom he had to do.

FROTHINGHAM, OF MASSACHUSETTS

American gentleman of the old school. Incarnating in mind and character and long years of honorable public service, the noblest and finest traditions of his native New England.

These men were unlike in temperament, in training, in point of view, in method, in historic background. They came from far-separated sections of our common country. Yet they were amazingly alike in their possession of and by those invincible, eternal, spiritual fundamentals upon which our American civilization is builded and which, for our people at least, constitute what Herbert Hoover so aptly calls "the surer forces of human advancement."

It would be a labor of love could we spend the whole time allotted us to-day in completely reviewing the qualities of mind and heart of our fallen comrades; in evaluating their individual contributions to their time and country; in paying grateful tribute to their hallowed memories; in making full acknowledgment of our personal debt to each and all of them for the stimulus and inspiration of their lives.

But I am confident that these departed comrades of ours would rather have us at this time turn to the consideration of certain great central realities upon which their lives were builded and which the occasion clothes for us who remain in

the glory of a new understanding.

First. These were men of strong religious faith.

They would therefore have us face to-day with them and in this way the stupendous fact of death as the common lot and destiny of mankind. The Scottish bard sang of his dead hero:

> Now is the stately column broke, The beacon fire is quenched in smoke, The trumpet's silver sound is still, The warder silent on the hill.

And this simple dirge may and must describe the fate of every man:

The clouds that gather 'round the setting sun do take a sober coloring from an eye that hath kept watch o'er man's mortality.

What, then, would these friends of ours so lately translated from the happy companionship of our common labors to the mystery and majesty of the grave have us think? We must decide to accept as they did one of two alternatives. think of death for them and for ourselves as the end of all Or we can face the experience through which they have passed and through which we must pass fortified by an invincible faith that death is merely the gateway to an eternal existence, glorious, satisfying, unshadowed by sin and sorrow and weakness

If we follow the faith of the men in whose honor we are met to-day, we will choose the second of these alternatives.

And we will make this choice as we believe they made itcause of the common consent of mankind illumined and crowned by the glorious liberating teachings of the Christian religion.

It were folly to deny or ignore the universal all-engulfing force of death. Everywhere in nature death is the night of which life is the day. Death is the autumn of life's spring; the harvest of life's seedtime. They belong together. Death is the supreme reconstructor; the universal leveler; the great essential in all progress.

In life all rivers run their own course through their own channels and country. In death all rivers reach the sea. In life we are divided; in death united. Life has infinite diversities of character and function and relationship. Death is the infinite harmonizer and unifier. Life gives the individual his chance. Death restores him to the mass. Men live and die, but man

There is one question which since time began has stirred the hearts and disturbed the minds of men. "If a man die, shall he live again?

Through the long centuries in every phase and step of civilization men have been irresistibly moved by a universal instinct or a deep, inexpugnable spiritual hunger to believe in the reality of a spiritual world lying far outside and above the world of material sense, to which humanity belongs and in which lie the final sanctions for human conduct.

This universal hunger for life after death has created the many religions of mankind. It has erected everywhere in all ages temples and shrines. Some shadowed by the horrors of ignorance and superstition. Some glorious with the effulgence of a noble and understanding faith. But all alike the sign and symbol of that universal human passion for life which will not and can not die.

These fallen comrades of ours believed that in the Christian faith they had found not only the final answer to the world's quest for life, but also the ultimate moral ground upon which can be created a progressive, social, and political state. They died sustained by the glorious Christian hope of life beyond the They have bequeathed to their loved families and to us and to the world this heritage of an all-conquering faith. Whatever else of precious memory they have left us who remain for a time behind them they, I am sure, would commend to us the exhortation of the good American poet:

Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul! As the swift seasons roll Leave thy low-vaulted past! Let each new temple, nobler than the last, Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast Till thou at length art free; Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea.

Second. These comrades of ours were in the noblest sense American-minded men.

They loved their country. They were the product of its insti-tutions, the very incarnation of its spirit. They held in sacred honor those principles of life and government and social progress which have made America the land of opportunity, the door of hope for all its people.

Like ourselves they were here as elected Representatives of all the people. By the judgment and choice of free men and women they became the official exponents of free self-government, the most difficult and desirable achievement of morally responsible beings

They, like ourselves, were sent here to guarantee human rights, to redress wrongs, to secure equal justice, to solve the perplexing problems of economic and social progress, to make real that haunting dream of the ages—government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

They were real men representing real people. In their weakness and strength, their successes and failures, they faithfully expressed the spiritual and intellectual qualities of those who sent them here. And when, worn out by the cares and burdens of public service, they passed through the narrow gateway of death, they became one with the common lot and destiny of all mankind.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews there occurs a remarkable discussion of faith as a primal faculty of the human mind, in its exercise as a controlling factor in personal conduct, and especially as it relates itself through the common experience of the individual to the progressive history of the race.

The author recites a list of illustrious names whose greatness he attributes to the exercise of this primal spiritual faculty.

By faith these ancient heroes subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of

The story ends with the statement of a great universal principle governing all human experience in all ages:

These all having obtained a good report through faith received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us that they without us should not be made perfect.

The application of this amazing principle on this occasion is completely clear.

Our friends have not passed out of our lives by death. They have passed into our lives. The burden they were carrying has slipped from their shoulders to ours. And unless we assume this responsibility we have robbed the world of the full fruition of their toil.

They did not take the final fruition of their labors with them. They left it with us as a glorious addition to our equipment for highest service here. The sowers have passed from the field. The harvest of their faithful sowing remains for us to reap.

This I believe would be the message of our fallen comrades were they permitted to speak to us to-day out of the larger wisdom and vision of that eternal life into which they have so worthily entered.

HAVE FAITH AND CARRY ON

They have left us the splendid task of continuing their work. This is but a part of the heritage of all the ages.

They held sacred the American home. We are to strive to preserve and perpetuate that holy of holies in the life of all free people so that always freedom-loving, honorable, American-minded men and women shall be cradled and prepared for life under its safe protection.

We are to perpetuate and make regnant those central spiritual realities which constitute the soul of America and which alone make possible the successful practice of free self-government.

We are to keep open and unobstructed that equality of opportunity which is at once the glory and the challenge of our American civilization.

We are to have faith in God, in whose keeping and loving care men find rest here and hereafter; faith in our fellow men as worthy of trust and reverence; faith in our beloved country, whose ideals, principles, and institutions have foundationed and made possible so much of human happiness; faith in those

beneficent universal energies which manifest their presence and

power in the unfolding drama of human history.

This is that "better thing" which, using our departed fellow workers as His chosen instruments, God has provided through them for us. This is the flaming torch of life which they carried so nobly in the forefront of the fight and which now has been thrust into our waiting hands. This is the labor of love which they have left for us to carry forward. And the highest tribute we can pay their sainted memory is here and now to dedicate ourselves afresh to our common task, facing gladly with some measure of their faith and courage whatever of good or ill the days to come may hold until at last we all get home.

The quartet sang Still, Still with Thee. Hon, Finis J. Garrett, Representative from the State of Tennessee, delivered the following address:

ADDRESS OF HON. FINIS J. GARRETT

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker-

A prince once said of a king struck down: "Taller he seems in death"; And the word holds good, for now, as then, It is after death that we measure men,

However, sir, we have not come to measure, but to memorialize.

They were our comrades in the exacting service of a nation; we knew them; we loved them; and we mourn them.

They were among our ablest and most distinguished Members, Each had his very vivid personality, his lively individuality, and each stood with a marked degree of eminence among us.

The Congress of the United States epitomizes and expresses

as no other body possibly can the genuine spirit and the pro-found emotion of American life.

Not infrequently the Congress is made the subject of jibe and quip and criticism. There are times when one suspects that some few of the greater journals of the country would, if they could, destroy or materially alter this particular branch as an institution of the Government. There are to be found here and there cynical citizens and self-seeking organizations that grow impatient with the legislative bodies of the Government, but taking it by and large, it is safe to assert that it would be more difficult to work a change in this than in either of the other coordinate branches. If to-day we were suddenly called upon to frame a new Federal Government, it may be doubted whether the executive and judicial branches would be constituted in all respects as they now are, but it is extremely improbable that there would be any very great alteration in the legislative plan.

This is particularly true of the House of Representatives. Each Member of this body has a direct touch with and is responsible to and representative of many thousands of people. He is their first and most immediate expression in national affairs; and while here and there an exception may occur, yet as a rule the Representative is an exponent, as it were, of the thought of his district and a reflection of its ideals and character.

In the Congress therefore as nowhere else is to be found the mosaic which pictures the national political and civic conception and quality. The widely divergent views among Members upon some issues and questions reflect, as of course, the differences of opinion concerning the proper administration of our institutions, while the fact, overlooked by many, that the major portion of the business of Congress is virtually conducted by unanimous consent illustrates how strongly popular thought has crystallized about the basic elements in the mechanism of our

We seldom have now any serious contests over mere matters Whatever complaints may be made about the of procedure. rules of the House, in the end it is pretty generally realized that they are the product, not of party bias, but of public necessity; and that their construction all along has followed the lines of reason and of justice.

In these exercises of to-day we are paying respect to the memory of 11 Members of the Congress, 10 from our own body and 1 from the Senate.

We find what we naturally would expect to find, namely, that in a group this large there is a near approach to a composite of the Congress itself. They constitute at least a representative cross section of Congress and therefore of the Nation itself.

In general each section is represented in this list of our sacred dead-North and South, East and West, and the regions between. There are to be found, too, in the list conspicuous and nationally known representatives of the broader political and partisan aspects characteristic of a popular government So that this day's exercises constitute not only such as ours. an occasion of honor to individuals who wrought great things in a great age but a truly and distinctly national memorial function.

It is essentially and beautifully democratic. In this democracy of death there is illustrated with peculiar vividness the broad democracy peculiar to American life. Each individual represented a distinct type of personality. The political divergencies have been already adverted to, but this is by no means all. Various religious conceptions and beliefs are likewise represented in the list.

Then, too, we may without impropriety, I think, refer to the personal financial situations of the men. Some of them were men possessed of extensive resources; others were poor men possessed of only moderate means. But all were here working together in the common cause of a nation-working sedulously

for its perpetuity and betterment.

I sometimes think that in nothing is the true American spirit so conspicuously reflected as it is in the fact that in the Congress there are no distinctions growing out of the financial condition of its Members. Members are measured here not by what they possess but by what they perform. The test is not money but mentality and character.

In this at least we approach the perfect democracy. America, it is good to see, is rapidly becoming a land of monuments. Various civic organizations, municipalities, States, the Federal Government itself, sometimes in cooperation, sometimes each acting separately, are erecting columns and obelisks and statues to commemorate great events and to honor the memory of great men and women who have achieved things for humankind.

Some of these may be crude and inartistic, but back of them all lies the articulate spirit and purpose of a people, and it is magnificent. Every monument erected is in a way making stronger our institutions. It constitutes a perpetual reminder of what men have lived for and died for to work the weal of

humanity.

We are reading just now of the rapidly culminating move ment to restore and hold as an everlasting shrine the birth-place of Washington. To be sure, the fame of Washington does not at all require this for its perpetuation, but the movement is even above and beyond this; it is to express the profound feeling of a nation for the most conspicuous character in its formation and to give evidence of an unshakable purpose to preserve the institutions of government formulated under the guidance of his resolute mind and purposeful soul.

At another spot in Virginia a private organization, working

under governmental auspices, is restoring and making secure the home of Jefferson-not as a monument to him, for he needs it not, but for the inspiration of mankind as a whole.

Out in a rural region of Kentucky the log cabin of a pioneer has been inclosed with a structure of marble and granite designed to defy the ravages of nature, so far as man can provide, to the end that the house in which Abraham Lincoln was born may be eternally preserved. We do not think of this as a monument to Lincoln but rather as a thing symbolic of the desire of America to give expression to the wish that the fundamental thing of her life—democracy—may be glorified and sanctified, and that hereafter as heretofore it is her desire and determination that in the Nation which Washington led to foundation and under the philosophy of government applied to it by the teachings of Jefferson, men like Lincoln shall have the opportunity of ascending to the summit of power and human glory.

The 11 men whose memory we are assembled to honor this day had their opportunity of service in the public affairs of We can say of each of them that he seized the such a nation. opportunity and strove to fill it, and did fill it, with a fine and intelligent and patriotic zeal. The life of each of them will receive from other colleagues a more specific and detailed

treatment than time will admit of giving now.

It is good to be able to say of each that he enjoyed the unstinted respect and loyal love of those associated with him in the Nation's business. Each was fortunate enough to write his own name large upon the honorable roster of those who have served their country in this great arena and each left innumerable things for us to treasure until our time shall come to go forth and consort with them "in the shadows and the dust."

The quartet sang Still Will We Trust.

# BENEDICTION

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered

the following benediction:

Now, unto Him who is able to keep you from falling and present you faultless before the presence of His glory with great joy, unto the only wise God, our Savior, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS FRANK ROBERT GOODING

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, we are assembled to-day to pay tribute of love and respect to the memory of our colleagues who have passed to the Great Beyond during the present Congress.

It is an ideal but solemn custom. It serves to keep alive the spark of comradeship formed by close and friendly association. Without regard to political affiliations we are first and foremost servants of the people. We are bound by a common tie-to carry on as we see and understand our official obligations. are molded by a single purpose-to legislate for the best interests of our great Republic. Little animosities may creep into the heat of debate, but they are promptly forgotten in our daily fellowship routine. But when the Grim Reaper stalks in and silently mows down a Member of either branch it casts over this body a feeling of depression. We are painfully conscious of our loss. There seems to be a void that can not be filled.

Mr. Speaker, it was my great pleasure and rare good fortune to be on terms of friendship with those whom death claimed during the present Congress. I should like to speak at length a eulogy on the life and public service of each. Others in more

fitting form will perform that solemn duty.

In the time allotted me, Mr. Speaker, I shall attempt to trace briefly the career of the late Senator Frank R. Gooding. The history of Idaho for the past 45 years would be incomplete without mentioning the conspicuous part played by Senator Gooding in the remarkable upbuilding of his adopted Commonwealth.

Sincerity of purpose, fidelity to every trust, rugged honesty, irreproachable character, progressive accomplishments, lofty ideals, unwavering fidelity constitute the solid foundation upon which this distinguished Idaho pioneer carved and builded the superstructure of his phenominal success. He narrowed to no degree, and resolutely brushed aside the stumbling blocks and obstacles which constantly beset his path in his early frontier struggles for recognition.

For Frank R. Gooding there was no royal, rosy road to fame and fortune. He learned his lessons in the high school of hard knocks. His workshop was the wide, open spaces—prairie, mountain, stream. The courage and fortitude with which men were required to be endowed to stand the test of those gruelling days clung to Senator Gooding throughout his long, eventful,

and colorful life.

Born in England, Senator Gooding as a child was brought by his parents to the United States in 1867. The Gooding family settled in Michigan, subsequently moving to California. Frank was then 17, a robust, sturdy youth. Four years later we find this young man of 21 located in the rugged mountainous Wood River mining district of Idaho Territory. He engaged in the business of furnishing the big mining companies with supplies which entered into their varied lines of operation,

From this beginning young Gooding took up farming, stock raising, banking, and real estate. Possessed of push and initiative, he became a leader in civic affairs. He was quick to grasp the splendid possibilities of the great unclaimed areas of south Idaho. The land was fertile and capable of producing a diversity of crops. Water for irrigation purposes was accessible in the numerous streams meandering toward the Great Snake It was young Gooding who opened up to settlement this rich new section. He dotted the unlimited area with homes and schools and towns, one of which was named in his honor. All this required capital. FRANK GOODING had it, and he invested it.

Strenuous as was his life in many commercial pursuits, Senator Gooding found time to enter the field of politics. This was his way of bringing about needed reforms. By sheer force of ability and resourcefulness he soon became a ruling factor in this line of public endeavor. He was chosen the leader of his party in the State senate. Throughout his tenure of several years he wore this mantle with increasing distinction. He introduced and engineered to enactment much remedial legislation.

By this time the electorate began to take notice of the young pioneer. In 1900 he was sent as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia, which renominated our late beloved President McKinley. It was at this convention that the dynamic Colonel Roosevelt was started on the road to the greatest fame and prestige an American has ever achieved in

time of peace.

In 1902 Senator Gooding, who on numerous occasions had demonstrated his genius as a party leader and organizer, was selected as chairman of the Republican State central committee. He entered upon the task with the same indomitable will and spirit which had characterized all his successful undertakings. The way he took up his responsibilities inspired confidence in his management of the campaign. When the smoke of that memorable political battle had cleared it was found that the 6-year control of the State had been wrested from the Democratic Party. This signal achievement paved the way for Senator Gooding's gubernatorial nomination in 1904. He was elected and reelected in 1906.

Governor Gooding applied to his administration the same hard and fast rules and principles which had made him a power in the field of private and commercial enterprise. During his régime many wise and beneficent laws were enacted. This focused on the State the attention of thousands of people seeking homes and business opportunities in the far Northwest. It was at this juncture that the great influx from the East had its inception. Many new enterprises and projects were opened up. Impetus was given in widening the scope and influence of the State institutions.

A number of knotty problems, such as labor strikes and disputes, mining troubles, and the assassination of Governor Frank Steunenberg were handled so satisfactorily by Governor Gooding as to bring upon him the unstinted praise and encomiums of the people of the Gem State. He had performed yeoman service.

We find this sturdy pioneer again plunging into commercial activities with the same zeal and zest that he had always shown in every worth-while endeavor, in which activity he continued until 13 years later, when he was appointed to the United States Senate by Governor D. W. Davis to fill an unexpired term.

On the 4th of March, 1921, he entered upon the full term to which he had been chosen in the election of 1920, at which time Hon. Warren G. Harding was elected to the Presidency. Senator Gooding was reelected to the Senate in 1926 by an increased majority.

Senator Gooding had a penchant for constructive work and was constantly planning for the development and upbuilding of the State. He craved seclusion in solving great State and national problems. In this respect I can best illustrate the remarkable capabilities of this able Senator by giving, in substance, the views of the well-known writer, T. M. Knappen, in Sunset Magazine for December, 1924:

As a member of the Senate committee dealing with the tariff, Senator Goodke succeeded in simplifying all Republican tariff deliberations and bringing them to a harmonious and unanimous decision by adobt unswervingly to this simple and fair rule: "In tariff schedules do unto others as you would that they do unto you. Get your own and give the other fellow his; yea, in full measure."

On Wednesday, June 19, 1922, Senator Gooding delivered what was considered one of the ablest speeches on the subject of the tariff and manifested such keen familiarity and depth of learning in dealing with every phase of this great economic problem that he at once became known nationally as a tariff authority.

In the matter of railway transportation rates Senator Gooding, a member of the powerful Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, was foremost in his opposition to discrimination in freight rates. On this subject he delivered a speech in the Senate on May 14 and 16, 1924, covering in detail what he considered the "transportation menace."

The Senator, expressing impartially his well-known views, denounced the man who would deliberately impair the great railroad system of America as an undesirable citizen. At the same time he dealt just as severely with the railroads in seeking to exact the highest possible rate for carrying the product of the farm and range to market. He was an uncompromising advocate that the long haul be given no advantage over the short bank

Governor Godding cooperated toward the building of the great American Falls Dam in the Snake River of Idaho and was the prime factor in securing the adoption of the Gooding irrigation project. As a result of the enactment of these measures the prosperity of Idaho has been greatly enhanced. These accomplishments alone would stand as a monument to his zeal and idelity in behalf of his State, and should forever link his name with the building of these far-reaching and stupendous enterprises for the good of mankind.

During his exceedingly busy career Senator Gooding never neglected his family. His estimable wife and three children and grandchildren were the objects of his adoration and devotion. On the occasion of his demise on June 24, 1928, at Gooding Idaho an ideal home life was ruthlessly disrupted

ing, Idaho, an ideal home life was ruthlessly disrupted.

Mr. Speaker, I feel my inability to adequately eulogize this rugged Idaho pioneer. He was my stanch friend, constituent, and counselor, whom I had known and admired for a third of a century. I had a wholesome regard for his breadth of knowledge and the perspicuity of his business and political judgment.

Unlike the poet's eye "giving to airy nothing a local habitation and a name," Senator Frank R. Gooding was first and last a materialist. He saw with clear-sighted vision the concrete substantial evidence of future possibilities and became one of the great architects and builders in shaping the destiny of the Gem of the Mountains.

Rolling back the years, I can visualize this hardy, sturdy pioneer, mounted on a fractious but fleet horse, riding over his cattle ranges, virtually dotting "a thousand hills"; I can picture him at night wrapped in his blanket sleeping under the canopy of the starlit heavens. I can see him covering and minutely inspecting his vast sheep ranges and directing with consummate skill and methodical precision the forces under his supervision. I can picture him riding into a pioneer town in south Idaho covered with a veneer of gray alkali dust.

This exceedingly busy man had for his motto these lines of

the poet:

The busy world shoves angrily aside
The man who stands with arms akimbo set
Until occasion tells him what to do.
And he who waits to have his task marked out
Shall die and leave his errand unfulfilled.

Mr. Speaker, Senator Frank R. Gooding has gone to join that sturdy, courageous, undaunted group of pioneers who suffered the hardships incident to the opening up and development of the great West. Wherever Idaho, Gem of the Mountains, is spoken his name and his deeds will recur with loving remembrance.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, among the finest products of civilization is the man whose ideals are sound and who has strength of character to sustain him in the programs of life. The late United States Senator Frank R. Gooding was such a man.

My colleague in the symposium of estimates upon the life of the late Senator Gooding is making available the details of the history of a great man from childhood on through the years of activity and usefulness, and until the shades of eventide had settled down. It is the story of hardship and privations in boyhood and early manhood; it is the story of the meeting of adversities with a smile, the overcoming of opposition through persistence, and the realization of successes in many lines in most unusual degree; it is the story, always epic, of battle and conquest.

Just as every tree has its distinctive features by which it is recognized, so every human life that is worth while has characteristics that bespeak the individual. The features that were dominant in the life of Frank R. Gooding were devotion to his family and friends, loyalty to State and country, determination and resolution in purpose, indefatigable industry, a courage that was unflinehing, and ability and resourcefulness that without asking quarter enabled him to carry a fight to the bitter end.

Gooding was successful as a stock grower and farmer, successful generally as a business man, interested in banking and other activities, a man who at all times was in the forefront of movements that had to do with the well-being of the community in which he lived, the State of his adoption, the section of country where his lot had been cast, and the Nation itself.

Gooding was a man whose conception of life was clear-cut, rugged, straightforward, and attained as a result of hard and trying experiences. He believed in good government. He believed in orderly processes. He believed in essential justice. The public life of Frank Gooding was not limited to positions

The public life of Frank Godding was not limited to positions of minor responsibility. He was a member of the Legislature of the State of Idaho; he was twice governor of his State; he was United States Senator.

## GOODING AS SENATOR

In the United States Senate, within an incredibly short period of time, Gooding came to be recognized as one of the strong, virile leaders of the West. He was thoroughly informed upon all phases of the subjects of agriculture and transportation.

In any legislative body members soon learn to know the degree of information that their colleagues bring to the discussion of any subject. It has been said that "the world steps aside and lets pass the man who knows whither he is going." In this same spirit Members of the Senate and Members of the House of Representatives give ear to the man who knows the subject upon which he speaks.

Senator Gooding knew practically every phase of the agricultural problem. He knew not only the problem as it has to do with the boundary lines of the farm but he knew the problem as it has to do with marketing of crops and with meet-

ing the crop output of foreign countries. Grounded in this subject, it is no wonder that Senator Gooding gave largely of his time in the United States Senate to meeting problems touching agriculture in the three ways that had to do with the subject as he saw it.

He stood for policies of helpfulness of the Federal Government that would be immediately effective upon the farm itself, policies that are carried forward so splendidly and efficiently

through the Department of Agriculture.

He gave his time and thought to the problem of bringing the products of the farm to the consumer. In this connection it was a question of freight rates; it was a question of market control; it was a question of protection of the producer against speculation in the great centers of distribution.

Again he saw, as he believed, farmers reduced to peasantry unless by means that the Government itself could provide the economic situation of the farmer of America could be held separate and apart through tariff walls from the economic situation of the peoples of foreign lands. To all these purposes he gave his untiring support.

OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Senator Gooding had a profound conviction that the responsibility of a person charged with public office is not limited to reflecting a mere whim or passing sentiment of a constituency. He believed that the public official is trusted by the people who have asked him to assume a responsibility. He believed that the public official, by virtue of public office, is in better shape to meet the problems that concern the welfare of the constituency than those themselves who might be affected by the solution of those problems.

solution of those problems.

With this conviction he did not hesitate to go against seeming popular demand of the hour, to stand for the course that for the moment might be unpopular, if he believed that public opinion was wrong. It was his thought that the public official charged with solemn responsibility was in honor bound to use the means at his command to work out results, quite willing to trust to the future to demonstrate that his course was right, or at least that he was justified in following the course.

One of the fine virtues of man is loyalty. Senator Gooding was loyal to his friends. He was a partisan. It was not easy for him to believe that an enemy could be right. It was natural for him to believe that his friends could not be wrong. He would go to the limit for them, and he would sacrifice his own personal fortunes when the same were bound together with the fortunes of those who were his partisans.

AS GOVERNOR

As I see it the most profound impression made by Gooding upon his State and upon the country was not the impression that he made as United States Senator, as deep and abiding as that may be.

Gooding was greatest as the Governor of Idaho, and one event that occurred shortly after his induction into office lifted Governor Gooding from the plane of the chief magistrate of a State who was doing creditable work in routine business to a commanding leadership as governor of a State that attracted not only State interest and approval but national admiration and concern as well.

A former Governor of Idaho, the late Frank Steunenberg, was murdered in cold blood shortly after the beginning of the Gooding administration. Unquestionably the murder was brought about through the deliberate action of those who were antagonistic to the activities of Steunenberg while governor when he was endeavoring to sustain law and order. Those accused had the zealous support of intense partisans.

As Gooding saw the question, the crime was not limited to the murder of a man. The crime was an assault upon the State, It was an assault upon organized society. It was an assault upon civilization itself that centuries of time had been struggling

to build.

Governor Gooding recognized that if the rights of man are to be respected, if human life is to be held precious, if the responsible officer of a State is to exercise the duties of his high office as only a man of integrity can exercise those duties, and not be subservient to a lawless element, he, as governor of the State, had a duty to perform in backing up the officers within the county and State charged with law enforcement. He gave to those officers support in unflinching degree.

The question of guilt or innocence of the accused is not involved in our consideration to-day. Unquestionably the accused recognized that substantial public opinion was against them. Unquestionably the governor and the people at large were in favor of giving the accused every right that a free people guarantees under our form of government. On the other hand, partisans of the accused, whether known to them or not, were indefatigable in their activities by way of defense. Some

of these activities, whether known to the accused or not, were unworthy. Threats and intimidations were directed against the governor and against his family. Indeed, few men in public life, when called to meet a responsibility, have been harassed by such bitter and venomous opposition, by threats of death to self and loved ones, as was the lot of the then Governor of Idaho to meet. But Gooding was firm. His belief in good government, in orderly processes, had been challenged, but remained unshaken. He stood like a mighty rock against which dashed the waves of hatred and menace, but he never flinched—a lesson of the superb way in which the chief administrative officer of a sovereign State, charged with responsibility that goes with such position, should meet deliberate activities on the part of the enemies of organized society to thwart its will.

Mr. COLTON. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished man has well observed that the life of every man may be well compared to a stream whose small beginning is plain to all but whose ultimate course and destination, as it widens through the expanse of years, only Divine Providence can discern. Is it to be a nameless brook, and will its tiny waters commingling with such others only increase the current of some noted river, or will it receive other rills and become a large river serving a great section of a country and be know far and wide?

This comparison is well exemplified in the life and character of our departed friend, Senator Frank R. Gooding. Born in England, he came to this great country with many other immigrants. Who could have foretold when that your immigrant boy came to this country without wealth and unassisted by friends that he would become one of the distinguished citizens of his adopted State and that his voice would be heard among the statesmen of this Nation? His active and busy life presents an inspiring story of the result of hard work and honest endeavor. He early displayed that initiative and business foresight so necessary in the development of the great West. His business life brought him in contact with nearly every phase of life in the West. He was noted for his rugged honesty and fearless aggressiveness. Since coming to the Senate of the United States he has been a tireless worker for the great inland section of this country. He believed that that part of the United States which does not touch the sources of navigable waters was greatly handicapped in its struggle for industrial development, and he devoted much of his energy in the securing of legislation which he believed would prevent discrimination. In this he was bitterly opposed by strong influences and great wealth, but with characteristic fearlessness he attacked the problem and worked unceasingly until his health broke.

It is through the life and sacrifices of such men as Senator Gooding that States and nations progress and are made strong and great. The West particularly will long remember him as an able, fearless champion of that great section struggling to develop as other sections of the United States are developing. A poet has well expressed a thought worth perpetuating:

What builds a nation's pillars high And makes it great and strong? What makes it mighty to defy The foes that 'round it throng?

Not gold, but only men can make
A nation great and strong;
Men who for truth and honor's sake
Hold still and suffer long.

Brave men who work while others sleep Who dare when others sigh; They build a nation's pillars deep And lift it to the sky.

A man coming to Congress with a large business experience has many advantages in taking up his duties over those who prior to coming have had no such experience. Such a man has a different viewpoint than has a professional man, for example, and brings to the discharge of his duty knowledge which can be acquired only in the school of experience and business. Senator Gooding had a large experience before coming and he sought to apply that experience to the business of the Government. It is to be regretted that he was taken at a time when business experience is needed so much by those who shape the policies of the Government.

He sleeps to-day in the State he loved so well and for whose welfare he fought so valiantly. While we mourn his going, I feel sure that somewhere in the Great Beyond, where the physical bonds which limit our activities here have been cast aside, he is exercising his great attributes of progress and energy so characteristic of him here. In that environment where

we hope that love and harmony are the ruling influences I have faith that he is finding a higher and sweeter pleasure in the society of old friends and loved ones than he experienced here. Let us all hope that in that better land the ambitions which often fail of realization here may be fully satisfied. As another has more beautifully expressed:

There is a mystic borderland that lies
Just past the limits of the workday world,
And it is peopled with the friends we met
And loved a year, a month, a week, a day,
And parted from with aching hearts; yet knew
That through the distance we must lose the hold
Of hand with hand, and only clasp the threads
Of memory. But still so close we feel this land,
So sure we are that these same hearts are true,
That when in waking dreams there comes a call
That sets the threads of memory aglow,
We know that just by reaching out the hand
In written words of love, or book, or flower,
The waiting hand will clasp our own once more
Across the silence in the same old way.

Mr. WINTER. Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, let me add, if I may, a few words of appreciation of the work and labors, qualities and character of the late Senator Frank R. Gooding. For many years he represented the State neighboring on the west of my State of Wyoming. He was a faithful representative of the aspirations and needs of the Rocky Mountain region. His labors were great and arduous, representing as he did one of the States located in that section of the country which came in contact and had many matters with every department of the National Government. This included irrigation, forest reserves, Indian reservations, homesteads, roads, national parks and monuments, mineral lands, leases and permits, as well as pensions and compensations.

He was a most conspicuous defender of the interests of the great livestock industry of the West at all times, but his most important work during the later years of his life and during the last few sessions of Congress was in behalf of railroad rates in the Rocky Mountain region, specifically long and short haul, involving section 4 of the transportation act. Whether in agreement with his contention or not, that section 4 should be amended so that constant application of the railroads to change the through and local rates to the disadvantage of the mountain region would be prohibited, all must agree that he fought a good fight and kept the faith and dealt strong blows for a worthy cause.

Senator Godding was sincere, direct, blunt, and forcible. His courage was unmistakable. His energy and persistency in following up what he considered to be right and just in legislation was, indeed, striking. His friends in the West have missed his counsel and his voice, and feel that a strong champion, both of western and of national interests, has been lost.

Mr. HILL of Washington. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Hon. FRANK R. Gooding the country at large, and especially the western half of the United States, lost a most valuable Member of the United States Senate. He was a contribution of the State of Idaho to the galaxy of great and useful men in public While he was commissioned by the people of Idaho as one of that State's Senators in the National Congress, the scope of his official activities was too comprehensive and far-reaching to be confined to the interests of his home State alone. He was truly a Senator of the United States and not merely a Senator from Idaho. The people of the Northwestern States especially felt that Senator Gooding was their Senator as well as the Speaking in response to the feelings of Senator of Idaho. my own heart and also as a Representative from the State of Washington, I can not withhold my tribute to this distinguished man of Idaho and great American statesman.

The intelligence of his passing from this life last June fell upon sad hearts throughout the Nation. The people of my own district felt as keenly as did the people of Idaho the loss sustained in the death of Senator Gooding. He was a man of the people. He knew from personal experience and actual contact their economic problems. He had their viewpoint and approached these problems with an attitude of sympathy for the people's interest.

Senator Gooding was an eminently practical man. He made a success of his own business enterprises. He was not a theorist dealing in mere abstractions. He dealt with public affairs and governmental problems in a practical way. He was fair. He was honest. He knew what was right for the people to have. He knew when they were getting it and when they were not. He believed in the principle of square dealing.

His life and legislative record were based upon this principle. He was a man of deep convictions and unfaltering courage. He was close to the people, believed in their rights and espoused their cause. He sought results, for with him only results counted. He was not discouraged by temporary failure to attain the goal of his efforts, but always returned to the fight with renewed vigor and determination.

Senator Gooding's term in the United States Senate, counted by years, was not of long duration; but, measured by service in things attempted and results accomplished, it is comparable in volume with that of a long duration in years. I shall not discuss in detail the scope of Senator Gooding's public service. Suffice it for me to say that he has endeared himself for all time in the hearts of the people of the intermountain sections of the West and Northwest through his ceaseless and untiring efforts to bring economic equality to agriculture and to abolish freight-rate discriminations against the commerce of that hinterland. The names "Gooding" and "Gooding bill" are household words among our people there.

Senator Gooding's health was undermined by his arduous work and close attention to his public duties. And now his labors are finished. He sowed that others might reap. He needs no monument of marble to perpetuate his memory among his people or my people. The consciousness of his unselfish service and gratitude for his sacrificing devotion to their interests have implanted in their hearts a love of his memory more enduring than any shaft of stone.

Mr. ARENTZ. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Senator Frank R. Gooding the West lost a strong advocate, a Christian worker, and a man interested in every civic enterprise.

Senator Gooding was a progressive westerner, a "typical westerner"—a man who started with no financial means but with willing hands and a courageous heart.

Born in England, Senator Gooding came to America when 8 years of age. He received his early education in Michigan and spent his early manhood in California, settling in Idaho shortly after he became of age.

Senator Gooding will be remembered for his efforts in the betterment of the community in which he lived and carved out his fortune. As a mining contractor, homesteader, and livestock man he was known well and favorably throughout the State. As his business prospered and expanded his influence in the field of politics resulted in his being chosen chairman of the Idaho State central committee and his election as governor of the State followed in 1905 and 1908. In November, 1920, Mr. Gooding was elected United States Senator.

We of the West will long remember Senator Gooding as the outstanding advocate of the long and short haul bill which sought to prohibit a higher freight rate for a short haul than for a long haul through the same territory.

In the way of legislation he always stood for what would, in his opinion, be of benefit to the West, yet, at the same time, he always viewed with statesmanlike consideration the influence such legislation would have on the balance of the country.

It has been well said that Senator Frank R. Gooding is among the men who are justly entitled to be enrolled with the makers of the great commonwealth of Idaho, whose residence there has left its impress upon the entire Northwest.

## WILLIAM NEWELL VAILE

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, among the names of those departed Members of the House of Representatives to whom we are paying honor to-day is that of Hon. WILLIAM NEWELL VAILE. I never knew Mr. VAILE personally until we both had been elected to Congress in the election of 1918. But in the following nine years I grew to know him intimately and to love him as a brother. Rarely in all my life have I found a more congenial spirit, a more agreeable companion, a more likable man than was BILLY VAILE, as he was known to his many good friends.

WILLIAM NEWELL VAILE was born June 22, 1876, at Kokomo, Ind. His parents were Joel Frederick Vaile and Charlotte (White) Vaile. In 1881 the family moved to Denver, Colo. His father became a noted lawyer of Colorado and was a member of the law firm of Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman. The senior partner of this law firm, Hon. Edward O. Wolcott, was a distinguished United States Senator from Colorado from 1889 to 1901. The junior member of the firm, Hon. Charles W. Waterman, was elected to the United States Senate in 1926.

Pelected to the United States Senate in 1920.
Young Valle grew up in Denver, which was his home until he passed on to the Great Beyond. He attended the public schools in Denver, attended Yale University, from which institution he graduated in 1898 with the degree of bachelor of arts. Later he attended the law school of the University of Colorado and Harvard Law School. In 1901 he was admitted to the

Colorado bar and began the practice of law in Denver. He was married June 15, 1915, to Mrs. Kate Rothwell Varrell, who,

with one son, survives him.

While a senior at Yale University he enlisted as a private in Battery A, Connecticut Volunteer Field Artillery, and served as such throughout the war with Spain in 1898. In 1916 he was again in the military service on the Mexican border as lieutenant of Infantry, United States National Guard of Colorado. In the fall of 1916, while in service on the Mexican border, he was nominated by the Republican Party for Representative in Congress for the first district of Colorado. He could not or did not leave the service to take part in the political campaign. That was the year that the slogan "He kept us out of war" helped to elect a Democratic President and a number of Democratic Congressmen. Mr. VAILE was not elected that year.

In 1918 Mr. VAILE was again nominated for Congress by the Republicans of his district and elected by a substantial majority. He was reelected in 1920, 1922, and 1924 and 1926. He was serving his fifth consecutive term as Representative in Congress for the first congressional district of Colorado when taken

by death.

As a Member of Congress Mr. VAILE was diligent, energetic, popular, and influential. His first assignment to committees was as a member of three—Expenditures in the Treasury Department, Immigration and Naturalization, and Public Lands. The immigration question raised important issues in the Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh Congresses, and Mr. Vaile took a prominent and influential part in writing the immigration laws that are now on the statute books of the country. He became exceedingly well versed on matters pertaining to immigration and was much in demand for addresses on this subject over the country. Being a lawyer of ability and having practiced law in a publicland State, he was a valuable addition to the Committee on Public Lands. In the Sixty-eighth Congress he was put on an additional committee, World War Veterans' Legislation, and helped to write some of the legislation of interest to veterans of the World War. In the Sixty-ninth Congress Mr. VAILE was honored with a place on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. This being an exclusive committee, members not being permitted to serve on any other committee, he had to resign from the other committees. He felt that most of the big work in connection with the immigration question had been accomplished and he desired the opportunity for study and activity in the broader field of foreign affairs.

It was not generally known among his colleagues that Mr. VAILE was a writer of short stories and fiction. He produced several stories of merit, and was in line for larger development. Among his stories was published in book form The Mystery

of the Golconda.

Mr. VAILE stood high and held important places in Masonic circles of Colorado. He was made a Master Mason on July 8, 1911, in Union Lodge, No. 7, A. F. and A. M., at Denver, The following year he helped organize the lodge at Arvada, a near Denver suburb, where he was living at the time. He served in all the important stations up to worshipful master

in this lodge, in which he retained his membership.

He was made a Royal Arch Mason in Colorado Royal Arch Chapter, No. 29, at Denver, on September 27, 1911, and later he filled various offices in that chapter. He was created a Knight Templar in Denver Commandery, No. 25, K. T., at Denver, on January 30, 1912. He received the cryptic degrees in Denver Council, No. 1, R. and S. M., at Denver, in 1913. The degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, from the fourth to the thirty-second, inclusive, were conferred upon him by the No. 1 bodies of that rite, in Denver, in November,

In the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Colorado he was appointed senior grand deacon in 1920. He was elected junior grand warden in 1921. senior grand warden in 1922, deputy grand master in 1923, and on September 16, 1924, the 30,000 Masons of his State, through their representatives in grand lodge assembled, conferred upon him the highest honor in their power to bestow by electing him grand master of Masons in Colorado. He filled the office of grand master for one year, visiting many of the lodges and officiating at many public Masonic functions, at all times inculcating the fundamental principles of Freemasonry; and the good effects of his work will long be felt by the Masonic fraternity in the State of Colorado.

Mr. VAILE was interested in travel and had traveled much over this country and in foreign lands. After the adjournment of the Sixty-ninth Congress on March 4, 1927, he and Mrs. Valle visited Europe, spending much time in Spain. He had been at home only a few days when on a drive up in the mountains near Denver on July 2, 1927, he suddenly and without warning

was stricken by the hand of death. "Heart trouble," the doctors said.

He was taken from us at the age of 51-in the prime of life. Short as his time had been he had made a success at the law, had served his country as a soldier in two wars, had reached high standing in Masonic circles, had served in Congress nine years, was author of marked ability. He was a devoted father, a loyal husband, and a good friend to many. He had lived and he had served.

I attended the funeral in Denver, Wednesday afternoon, July 6, 1927. The religious services were held at the First Congregational Church, Masonic services at Fairmont Cemetery. Impressive was the tribute his friends silently paid him on that day-thousands coming from all sections of the city and State and from every walk of life. Many were there who said "He did me a good turn." The words of the parson were fine and the Masonic ceremonies impressive. But the deep-down feeling that ran through the minds of all was that WILL VALLE had been the friend of his fellow man.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, as his former associates and friends we meet to-day to bear testimony to the life, character, and public services, and to pay a last tribute of respect to the memory of WILLIAM NEWELL VAILE.

It was my good fortune to be acquainted with him almost

from his boyhood days, and I always had a most kind and

friendly feeling toward him.

He was one of the most likable men I have ever known, and I shall always be proud of our friendship and intimate associa-

tion during his over eight years' service in Congress.

He was a most genial friend, a kind and affectionate husband, and a loving and indulgent father. He came from good stock. His father, Hon. Joel Frederick Vaile, was one of the greatest lawyers and finest gentlemen our State has ever produced. He had a thorough education at the University of Colorado and at Harvard and Yale.

Nature lavished upon our departed friend many of her choicest gifts. He had a splendid physique. He was a finelooking, manly man. Nature endowed him with an exceptionally brilliant mind that was like a rare gem, many sided and all of them bright. He was a man of great possibilities. He had a magnetic personality. His all-pervading good nature made him a welcome addition to any group of his fellows. He had a joyous and charming twinkle in his eyes and an inborn geni-ality that was akin to genius. He was a man of cheerful yes-terdays, optimistic to-days, and confident to-morrows.

He was a bold and valiant fighter for whatever he believed to be right. He never shunned a political or forensic or any other kind of a strife. But with him it was always a manly

combat.

It was those rare traits that endeared him to everyone who knew him. He had a very unusual and distinctively marked gift of a naturally bright, pleasing smile and a happy disposition. He was a buoyant spirit that radiated good cheer.

In the terrific rush and tragedy of our everyday life we sincerely mourn only the red-blooded, kind-hearted, unselfish, and genuine good fellow. They are the ones whose memories we secretly cherish and preserve with the most heartfelt tributes and beautifully eloquent eulogies.

Our personal sorrow, genuine grief, and lasting sadness are reserved for those very few of the sunny, cheerful, big-hearted disposition of WILL VAILE. He was a fine grown-up boy.

He scattered flowers along the trail of life. He plucked many a thistle and planted a rose. He had the inestimable gift of a never-failing sense of humor and a genuine and natural love for all mankind.

I adopt a few expressions from his tribute to Champ Clark on March 3, 1921—the day after he died—when he commenced his address by saying:

I am sorry that I could not have said this instead of writing it. It is the sort of thing which I believe should be spoken rather than written.

And closed by saving:

I lost a friend yesterday. But I have lived long enough to lose many friends. What is much worse is that my little boy has lost a friend. So has every American boy.

And I will apply to him his own words on April 18, 1926, in his memorial address on Congressman John E. Raker, of California, when he said:

He had a warm heart himself, a most lovable and human disposition. He loved his fellow men, not theoretically and philosophically but with a lively personal affection.

His virtues were positive, not negative virtues. He was healthily and humanly partisan-vigorously so, because he could not be anything without being vigorous in it. But both sides of the House respected him, both sides loved him, and he belonged to both sides.

He was the kind of a man you would want for a partner or a friend. He was a stalwart, positive, patriotic American.

As I sat on the floor of the House and listened to him delivering that eloquent eulogy, the thought passed through my mind that he might possibly some day in the not far-distant future be addressing the House and saying kind words about my departure, which I know he would have done. But I never had the slightest thought in the world that I would ever be paying a tribute of affection to his memory.

He was always a loyal and affectionate son of his beautiful home city of Denver, and "the queen city of the mountains and

plains" was always proud of him.

The vast multitude of friends of the Vaile family will earnestly hope that his only child, Joel Frederick Vaile, may grow up to be an honor to our State and a credit to his father and

mother and his illustrious grandfather.

The old adage that "Death loves a shining mark" was tragically exemplified when, on July 2, 1927, at the zenith of his young and vigorous manhood, on the very crest of the great Continental Divide of this hemisphere, far above timberline, at the top of Milner Pass, in the Rocky Mountain National Park, at en elevation of 12,000 feet, without a moment's warning his heart suddenly stopped and the angel of death beckoned him from us. From that bald and barren pinnacle his lovable soul took its flight into eternity. I trust the place will be suitably marked some time. From that scenic spot one can see as far as the human eye can reach, to the east down the Atlantic slope toward the plains of Kansas, and to the west down the Pacific slope toward the Blue Mountains in Utah. No such marvelous view can be obtained in any of the other 20 national parks.

Every death is a tragedy, even when it occurs late in life and from natural causes. But the instantaneous death of our colleague in the midst of health, happiness, and hope, was a profound shock to the entire State of Colorado. He was always an industrious Congressman and a faithful public servant. He vigorously worked for woman suffrage, prohibition, a good Army and Navy, and was active in a great many matters. Even a brief mention of all his activities would require many pages. He was instinctively high-minded and always had patriotic and noble ideals. He was a splendid grand master of the Colorado Masons. He played the game of life on the level

and on the square.

To my mind, by far the greatest service he rendered to our country was his many years of desperately hard, painstaking, conscientious and alert work on the Immigration Committee. Every ounce of his strength of mind and body was genuinely loyal to Uncle Sam every minute of his 51 years. He loved his country. He was American-minded. His whole soul believed in America for Americans. He made many splendid speeches in Congress and delivered hundreds of patrictic lectures throughout the country on the subject of the national-origins method of calculating the basis of immigration quotas, and he was a tower of strength in the long and persistent efforts that finally brought about our present immigration and naturalization laws. His great speech of April 5, 1924, has been quoted ever since for its force and learning. The public generally have no idea of the courage, energy, and determination, day and night, year in and year out, that work required. He is justly entitled to a very large share of the credit for the enactment of those laws. For that great patriotic service our country and our Centennial State will forever owe him a debt of gratitude. Our Nation and our State are better for his having lived.

With sad hearts for the death of this dear friend we stand upon the shore of the silent river, and with mortal, tearful eyes we strive in vain to pierce the mists that rest upon its bosom and that enshrouds the silent boatman and our departed friend upon his voyage to the unseen shore. As we watch and wait, the listening ear can hear the muffled dipping sound of the returning oar; and at our feet the breaking of the rippling waves upon the sands remind us that soon from out those mists there will be seen the determined face of the ever-returning

boatman, bearing the summons that we must all obey.

When one thinks of the death of our late colleague there irresistibly comes to his memory the familiar lines from the favorite poem of Lincoln:

Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud? Like a swift-fleeting meteor, a fast-flying cloud, A flash of the lightning, a break of the wave, Man passes from life to his rest in the grave.

I always thought he would live to a grand old age and possibly go to the United States Senate from our State some time. But an inexorable fate beyond our comprehension willed

it otherwise. We can not comprehend the all-wise plan of Him who controls the destinies of us all and who holds us in the hollow of His hand.

In the incoming Seventy-first Congress of 531 Members (96 Senators and 435 Representatives), soon to convene, there will be only 5 Senators and 7 Representatives who have served con-

tinuously more than 20 years.

Two hundred and forty-two former Senators and eleven hundred and sixty former Members of this House and twenty-four Delegates and Commissioners have answered the final roll call and passed to the Great Beyond during the past 20 years, since I came to Congress on March 4, 1909. Of that number, 54 Senators and 130 Representatives have died in active service here during that time. Of those Members and ex-Members, 13 of them were from Colorado, Senator Henry M. Teller, Senator Thomas M. Patterson, Senator Charles J. Hughes, Senator John F. Shafroth, Senator Samuel D. Nicholson, Representative James B. Belford, Representative Franklin E. Brooks, Representative George W. Cook, Representative Lafayette Pence, Representative Atterson W. Rucker, Representative Harry H. Seldomridge, Representative William N. Vaile, and our first Territorial Delegate in Congress, Hiram P. Bennet.

It has been my rare and very great pleasure and privilege to have known and associated with most of all those great Americans. Many of them were profound scholars, statesmen of international fame, and orators equal to any that the human race has ever produced, and really great men in the highest sense of the word. Those 1,426 men who once occupied these seats in Congress were earnest and conscientious patriots. And, sad to say, a large percentage of all those who have served here during the past 15 years have, in my judgment, passed to their reward prematurely. But their lives were a stimulus to their comrades and will forever be an inspiration to those who follow in their footsteps. Those with whom we have associated We know them well and we mourn them were friends of ours. sincerely. We measure them more accurately and justly after they have departed.

When we reach the hilltop of life and begin to look down the western slope into the closing years we realize more fully than ever what the character, the ambitions, the struggles, the disappointments, the hopes, the services, and the lives of all those comrades have meant to our beloved country, and we appre-

ciate them more and more as the years go by.

The mysteries of life we no more understand than the mysteries of death. The miracle of birth and the mystery of death remain the unsolved problems of all time. What a wonderful moving-picture show is this brief life of ours!

We are such stuff as dreams are made of, And our little life is rounded with a sleep,

We are all going this way only once. Let us go it like loyal and worthy sons of our sovereign States and our great Republic, and salute the everlasting good, and be grateful for all the blessings we have.

When the future historians of our State shall write the faithful record of the men who made Colorado truly great, the name of William Newell Valle, scholar, lawyer, soldier, statesman, orator, author, faithful public servant, loyal son of Colorado, kind, unselfish, big-hearted, generous, genial gentleman, will shine with a brilliant luster among our State's great upbuilders.

May the remains of our cherished friend rest in the sanctuary of a lovingly protected tomb, guarded by our eternal peaks, and wrapped in the dreamless drapery of timeless peace until the resurrection morn.

Lovable WILL VAILE, hail and farewell!

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I feel that there is nothing that I can worthily add to what has to-day been said of the remarkable career of William Newell Valle. The simple, unadorned story of his life is the highest, most fitting eulogy.

If permitted to pursue my own inclination, instead of addressing you I would be a silent participant in these exercises, communing with my own great sorrow in the loss of one who was closer and dearer than a friend, one for whom I entertained an affection and admiration equal to that of a brother.

In committee assignments, which are such important factors in shaping careers in the House of Representatives, Mr. Valle played a leading rôle. Upon first coming to Congress he was assigned to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, the Public Lands, the Committee on Irrigation, and later to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

There never lived a man who more devoutly believed that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," or more clearly per-

ceived that in these days of intense competition the great majority of mankind are so busily striving to earn a livelihood for themselves and their dependents as to leave them no opportunity to study the underlying principles of government. And there he considered it his solemn duty to help to the utmost of his power, so to arouse the people to the vital importance of principle that they might never, through ignorance or indifference, permit liberty to be smothered in material prosperity. And in this regard he played no minor part in placing on the statute books our present immigration laws.

His whole existence was hallowed with the love of his Creator and man, and consecrated with helpfulness of those in distress and cheer for those struggling out of despair. Ever dedicated to the cause of human freedom, he struck off the shackles of

unmerciful dominion wherever he found them.

When momentous questions confronted him never did he render a decision calculated to square him with popular approba-tion. He sought his Maker for his counselor and not his electorate, and ofttimes when confiding in divine Providence he

was severely criticized.

He had a heart as courageous as a lion, declining no conflicts and fearing no danger. The fiercer the conflict the more resolute he became. His moral courage was equal to his physical courage. He never evaded an issue; he never shirked a responsibility; at times carrying this splendid virtue to a point almost beyond the limits of prudence and discretion. No man of my acquaintance surpassed him in the manly virtue of courage, both moral and physical.

He possessed a persistency and perseverance of purpose which would have attained distinction in any vocation of life selected. When he reached a conclusion in the course of life no obstacles could deter him in continuous effort to reach the attainment. He was the personification of tireless energy and determined effort. His industry was as much an element in his success as were his moral and intellectual qualities. From early youth to

his death his life was one of ceaseless activity.

Only those who are actively engaged in public life know its heavy exactions, its ceaseless wear and tear, its continuous mental and physical strain, all of which must finally end in a shattered constitution unable to sustain the heavy burden. Valle's death bears testimony to his unselfish and patriotic devotion to public duties regardless of personal consequences.

WILL VAILE'S intellectual attainments were of rare excellence. He possessed a strong masculine mind, fully capable of logical reasoning and of reaching safe and sensible conclusions. was thoughtful and gave public questions full and conscientious examination and consideration. He was a ready and aggressive debater and an attractive, instructive, and entertaining speaker. He was highly educated and splendidly read in history, literature, and law.

My friends, in conclusion, let us all so conduct our lives that when the time comes for us to depart we can calmly and

serenely face death as did our colleague.

When I am in places where I have met and associated with WILL VAILE I recall memories of pleasant contacts, and the words of an immortal writer keep harping in my mind:

> I feel like one who treads alone Some banquet hall deserted.

Not alone, however, for the spirit of WILL VAILE is still among us. He would like to speak to you and to me. We can not hear him, or touch him, and at times the haunting words of Tennyson recur to me:

> Oh, for the touch of a vanished hand, The sound of a voice that is still.

My colleague, yours is the vanished hand. Yours the voice that we can no longer hear upon this earth. But memories of your noble endeavors, of your geniality, and of our pleasant associations shall linger so long as we survive.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Speaker, "in the midst of life we are in death" has been exemplified in all too large a measure during the past few months in this House. The roster of our beloved colleagues on both sides of this aisle who have answered the summons which must come to us all has left us helpless in the

face of the mystery and the majesty of death.

When I came to this House with a limited legislative experience in my great State of New York, I was permitted association with the men who represent the many component Commonwealths of the Nation which go to make our cosmopolitan country the greatest in all the world. Slowly but surely by elimination we select from the membership those of our number with whom we form personal friendships and association. From this group 10 years ago it was my good fortune to come into close contact with my friend, Hon. William N. Vaile, the man

that was ever the boy, who always loved to have his friends about him in order that he might recite the story of his favorite State of Colorado. How many precious hours I have spent under the spell of this poet and writer who loved the mountain country, its peaks, its wonders. None other could recite with more attraction the marvels of the Rockies and the grandeur of its scenic beauty, the land that has become America's playground.

Mr. Speaker, BILLY VAILE (the name by which I affectionately called him for the years we were permitted to be companions) has entered the silent portals and upon the long journey from which the traveler never returns. His mortal career is ended, his spiritual existence begun. He gave his all to the service of his country and drew unnecessarily upon his physical resources until exhausted nature sought repose be-neath its kindred earth. Among the peaks of those hills of which he wrote so beautifully and to whose praises his voice and his pen were so successfully devoted, he gave up his fine spirit and went to meet his Creator "who giveth and taketh away."

The great State which he served in this House with distinction and with honor will long hold his name in reverence for the reflected glory his work has placed upon the pages of its history. He was at once a writer and a statesman and stood among us in full stature fitted in every way to trod these halls which have been immortalized by the giants of genius and intellect which have gone before and await in the silent halls of the great unknown.

Mr. Speaker, this is my humble though sincere and inadequate tribute to the man and the friend whom I hope some day to meet in the land of rest and happiness where there will be no

sorrow and there will be no parting.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM VAILE is gone but not for-He has finished his labors here on earth and has now gone to labor in a larger and finer realm. He leaves behind him memories which those of us who knew him well will cherish

through the remainder of our earthly existence.

I met him first when I came to Congress to attend the special session in April, 1921. He was at that time a member of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, of which committee I became a member in the Sixty-seventh Congress. soon learned that he took his work seriously and always had something worth while to contribute in the study of the problems that came before us. He had a genial manner and a pleasant smile. He could advocate a cause without losing his temper. His colleagues might disagree with him but he never maintained any resentment. He granted to each man the right to think and act according to the dictates of his own conscience. He never tried to influence by force or threat, but, instead, used reason and facts and able presentation.

It was during the time that he was a member of this committee that much of the legislation was considered and passed which will through the ages stand as a protection to America. He thoroughly believed in restricted immigration and advocated it as a fundamental necessity for the perpetuation of our

American ideals and institutions.

Men of the type of William Vaile are needed in public office to-day, and if all who are fortunate enough to represent this great country in the Halls of Congress can have the fine ideals and sincere determination to put these into effect, which were held by him, our country will long endure.

Mr. COLTON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. VAILE remains in the memory of his friends a man at all times courteous and considerate of others. While he was born in the great Mississippi Valley, he early removed to Colorado. He was essentially a man from He had strong, decided views on the various subjects which came before Congress, but always in his references and in his consideration of his opponent he preserved a rare degree of politeness and thoughtfulness for them. He was by inclination and training a real student and had attended a number of the leading universities of the United States, graduating from the Yale University. He became a distinguished member of the bar in his adopted State.

As a statesman he was noted for the breadth of his views and his grasp of national and international relations. His thoughts and actions were not bounded by civil divisions, included the whole United States and its relation with other countries. Mr. Valle seemed never to tire but displayed great persistency in his advocacy of beneficial measures for his State

and his Nation.

It was my privilege to serve with him on a great committee of the House which deals particularly with problems arising in the West. He knew the needs of the people whom he represented and worked in season and out, with rare persistence

and tact, for legislation beneficial to Colorado and to the entire West. Later he voluntarily relinquished his membership on a number of committees to become a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. I talked with him often concerning his work in that field. He was particularly concerned over the welfare and growth of the great Latin-American Republics at the south. I feel sure that had he been permitted to live he would have distinguished himself in the field of foreign affairs.

The loss of such a man is not only felt by this body but it is a loss to the people of the Nation. He was a student and keen debater, gifted with the ability to express his thoughts. He also coupled with it a keen understanding of the question which he undertook to discuss. The people of his district and State will miss him and mourn his loss. His companions here deeply mourned his sudden and untimely death. In the very zenith of his power and in the midst of his life of activity he was suddenly called to the Great Beyond. We are grateful for the work he did here. In many respects a sudden death is to be desired. For the one to go it is better for the grim warrior of death to strike down his victim when he is surrounded by his loved ones than to sap his strength by slow degrees while he lies suffering in the dreary sick room. Personally I can only feel that all is well with our departed friend. Somehow I feel sure that his lot is in keeping with his ideas and aspirations here.

Life is real! life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.

We all must soon join that "innumberable caravan" moving to the other side. As the poet says:

Life's shores are shifting
Every year,
And we are seaward drifting
Every year,

Old places, changing, fret us, The living more forget us; There are fewer to regret us Every year.

But the truer life grows nigher
Every year.
Earth's hold on us grows lighter,
And the heavy burdens lighter
And the dawn immortal brighter
Every year.

It is for us who remain to carry on as he would have us do. He loved his Nation and served it well in times of peace and in times of war. He left to his family the rich heritage of a good name and a good record of public service. Peace to his memory.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Mr. Speaker, the Grim Reaper, whose summons each and every one of us must answer sooner or later, has been very active among the membership of this body during the present session, and many of our colleagues have been called to take that long and unreturnable journey, to the grief and dismay of those of us who came to admire and respect their ability and statesmanship and to appreciate and value their friendship.

One of the real pleasures that have been my inestimable good fortune from the time I was first permitted the honor of representing a part of my great State in this House has been the fellowship and close association with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

The definite and permanent separation of these friends from time to time fills me with poignant grief and leaves a void in my life that can never be filled. No one can estimate more adequately than I from personal experience how great an honor membership in this House confers. It is the greatest legislative body in the world, because it enacts the laws that govern the greatest of all peoples. Here we meet in daily association men—and lately ladies, too—who come from all sections of our marvelous Republic, the most wonderful ever conceived in the mind of man. In this way we form friendships which bind us close and which endure the remainder of our lives, whether we remain in Congress or retire to private pursuits.

Among those whose voice was heard in this Chamber and whom I learned to appreciate, respect, and admire during my service was William Newell Valle, to whose memory and qualities I am making this very futile and inadequate effort to pay my humble tribute.

He was my friend, and I mourn his passing. A great and altogether lovable figure who came among us from the mighty West, he was among the first, although of opposite political

affiliation, to reach out to me in my elementary stage the hand of fellowship and to guide aright my footsteps in order that I might best serve my country and my constituency.

WILLIAM NEWELL VAILE brought to his great work a ripe

WILLIAM NEWELL VAILE brought to his great work a ripe experience and a rare degree of judgment and legal acumen. His life was one of activity, of usefulness, of service.

He was born in Kokomo, Ind., on June 22, 1876, when America was celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Nation. After an elementary school education, he obtained an A. B. degree in Yale University in 1898, following with a course as special student in the law department of the University of Colorado. He completed his education in Harvard during the years 1899–1901 and began the practice of law in the latter year in his adopted city with the firm of Vaile, McAllister & Vaile, where he made an enviable reputation.

His work during the years of his membership in the House was devoted to activities on the Committees on the Public Lands, Immigration and Naturalization, Expenditures in the Treasury Department, and finally on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, with which I have the honor of being connected. Here it was across the committee table in closer contact than the larger membership of the House affords that I grew to know and prize his worth.

The record of William Newell Vaile on our committee, as in the House, was ever one of courage, determination, and diligence. He was always willing to grasp any opportunity for service to his district and his country. He was a cultured, polished gentleman, open and frank, and direct at all times and in all things. A fair and square debater, he stood manfully for those things in which he believed without rancor or partisanship to his adversaries.

Adding to his achievements which lent lustre to his great record and renown to his fame and his memory, Mr. VAILE enlisted and served as a volunteer private during the Spanish-American War, and he saw active service on the Mexican border.

He laid down the burden of a life all too young during which he served his country in the field as a soldier, and in the Halls of Congress as a legislator and a statesman. He stepped out upon the great unknown highway with the courage that characterized his life. He brings to my mind a poem I read in a western newspaper of a columnist who, two hours before he departed for the great and final divide, wrote this memorial epitaph of himself:

The doctor knows what his trained eyes see, And he says, it's the last of the ninth for me; One more swing as it's growing dark, And then I must leave this noisy park; 'Twas a great game from the sound of the bell, With good plays, bad plays, and plays pell mell, The speed of it burned my heart away, But I thank the Lord that he let me play.

It was in this spirit that he left us. He died among the great mountains of the western country he loved so well. We know that that night which carried the dread announcement saw many sad hearts and many sorrowful homes where the man and his deeds will be held in loving memory for the good he wrought.

Here we will spread on the record of this Congress forever these testimonials to his high character, his sound patriotism, and his many talents, so that the young men and the young women of this land of ours forever after will broaden their respect for our great country and those who strove to serve and preserve it.

Mild and gentle as he was brave,
When the sweetest love of his life he gave
To simple things; where the violets grew
Pure as the eyes they were likened to;
The touches of his hands have strayed
As reverently as his lips have prayed;
When the little brown thrush that harshly chirred
Was dear to him as the mockingbird;
And he pitied as much as a man in pain
A writhing honeybee wet with rain.
Think of him still as the same, I say,
He is not dead—he is just away.

Mr. MORTON D. HULL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I take pleasure in saying a word of the services of the Hon. William N. Vaile, a former Member of the House of Representatives from Colorado. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which he, too, was a member,

I came in fairly close contact with him for a brief period. That contact caused me to entertain a high opinion of him. possessed a directness of attack upon any problem in which he was interested and a vigor of understanding of issues which caused his opinions to be highly respected by the committee. Coupled with this directness of attack and vigor of thinking were a sincerity of utterance and a soundness of judgment which made him a much respected member.

To the qualifications of an able, diligent, and devoted public servant he added the qualities of a genial gentleman in all his

personal relations.

The Congress can ill spare men of his kind.

Mr. WINTER. Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, I am glad to avail myself of this opportunity to say a word, though briefly, as to the life and character of Hon. WILLIAM N. VAILE, a former Representative in this body of the State of Colorado. Mr. Valle's district and residence were in the city of Denver, Colo., but a few miles distant, as we reckon distance in the West, from the city of Cheyenne, Wyo., the Our districts were not contiguous, but in capital of my State. the same section of the country, representing as it were the combination of plains with irrigation and agriculture and the mountains with their great mining industries. In a large sense we represented similar interests.

As a legislator, however, probably his most important contribution to the welfare of the country was his work on the Committee on Immigration. He had an important part in the framing, reporting, and passage of the immigration bill of 1924,

and the subsequent amendments.

Personally, he was companionable, sociable, and interesting. He had traveled much and studied foreign languages, being of a literary turn of mind. This added to the charm of his conversation and discussions, and led to the writing and publication of a most interesting western work of fiction, having as its basis the gold-mining industry.

In his death we have lost a good American, a fine citizen,

and a helpful legislator.

Mr. ARENTZ. Mr. Speaker, like many other Members of the House, I felt a keen loss in the passing of Hon. WILLIAM N. Vaile, of Colorado. He was a lovable character—the same always, wherever one met him, and with this splendid quality he also possessed outstanding ability. I had the honor of serving on committees with him and was in a position to know and admire his sterling qualities.

His passing has left a void not easily filled, and I miss his kindly face and manner as I go about my public duties, as do many other Members of the House. He is missed no less as a

friend than as a colleague.

# MARTIN BARNABY MADDEN

The VICE PRESIDENT. Mr. Speaker, we stand at the bier of one whose life has been chiefly devoted to public service. In the minds of all-rising even above the grief at the loss of a dear friend and associate-is the continuing thought of the greatness of that service and the self-sacrifice it entailed.

The life of our friend from his early days in poverty to the day of his death has been one of unremitting toil. No sooner had his industry and ability relieved him, in his earlier days, of the necessity of manual work than he turned with indefatigable industry to public service, for his city and State at first, and then for our Government. His life is the familiar American epic of the rise from humble and hard circumstances to the heights of power in our great Republic. But upon this solemn occasion we who have been his associates and know his work and its burdens, borne in their full measure at all times. especially during the last few years, when at one elbow sat public responsibility and at the other expected death, may draw from his life the lesson of true statesmanship.

In such an hour as this our inner minds form that last final judgment of the life, character, and accomplishments of a dead friend. It is probably the only entirely impartial judgment which we have ever passed upon him. We do not always give verbal expression of it, for, as the Roman says, such always must be good. But, as each one of us knows, the judgment of a "A tree is best measlife in retrospect is that which endures.

ured when it is down."

The rise of a man to a position of power and continued usefulness in Congress is never an accident. For the making of a real career Congress is useful only to the man who is useful to Congress. Here the great law of compensation is always at work-swift and inexorable.

To him who does not recognize that true progress in life, under any condition, is inseparably associated with self-denial, Congress offers the temptation of quick notoriety at its heavy

cost in loss of public respect.

The pitfalls in Congress are many for him who follows the easy quest of notoriety which, when not based upon accomplishment, is worth nothing. He who enters Congress primarily to work for a career is embarked upon a doubtful venture. Work is not an incident of a career, but a career is the incident of real work. This truth is evidenced by the life of our friend.

MADDEN was a man whose career of enduring public usefulness in these bodies was based upon toil, during a long period in which he remained in comparative obscurity. was when he was acquainting himself with the actual business of government which he proposed to know as he knew his own

When one has courage along with industry to inform himself, no mere eloquence in opposition can detract attention from his utterances or lessen their great influence. When MARTIN B. MADDEN rose in his seat to speak upon any question involving the greater business policies of the American Government he spent no time in decorating fact with rhetoric or digressive oratory, and yet no man in either House commanded to a greater degree the attention of his colleagues or the country at large.

We now remember the cry of the hostile crowd in the past withstood in the public interest not as a political factor affecting political decisions but only as that which demonstrates the possession of courage, strength, and character, devoted to the per-

manent public benefit, in him who has died.

We now see that after all the highest decoration one can carry to his grave is that of general public respect—that in the long run this comes only to the statesman who, standing for the ultimate public interest at political risk, is willing at times to defy the clamor of uninformed majorities until through facts and reason he wins them to his position.

We now realize that in the quiet of the night and in his committee room, and outside of office hours, the unremitting labor of this devoted public servant finally brings to him an inarticulate judgment shared by all-"Well done, thou good

and faithful servant."

He died as he would have died and as we would have had him die-still at work, despite the feebleness of his advanced years and illness, at his desk in the Capitol and in the arms of a comrade in work. He died with the harness of battle upon him.

He died in the fullness of his moral strength and influence, with his mind, as always, upon the never-ending tasks before him and duty to be done. He died in the consciousness that the results of his constructive work are felt in a better government and in a happier life of our people.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for me to suitably express myself on this sad occasion. Martin Madden was my friend. I loved him deeply. As I stand here to-day I am conscious of a sense of great personal loss. My hand and heart reach out to his bereaved family with a sincere sympathy and understanding because my own grief is so poignant. There is not one of you who has come here to-day to mourn over him and pay tribute to his memory who feels otherwise. His honest, intelligent, and faithful service here commanded your respect. His personality and his great heart won your love.

We all know that a leader has fallen, a truly great man has passed away; a great legislator and statesman; a splendid, outstanding citizen; an able and highly successful business man; a devoted and tender husband and father; a good and intensely loyal friend. This epitomizes the life and record of Hon. MARTIN B. Madden, whose sudden death on April 27 deeply grieved his

colleagues and shocked the entire country.

During the morning he had been busily engaged conducting hearings preliminary to the preparation of the last appropriation The committee had taken a short midday bill for the session. Shortly before time for it to reassemble its great chairrecess. man, while sitting at his desk, suddenly received his final summons and his noble spirit took flight to the Great Beyond. He died as he would like to have died-at his post of duty, actively engaged in the service of his country, to which he had for so many years devoted his splendid talents.

No brave soldier who ever fell in battle more truly sacrificed himself for his country than did he, for his death was hastened by the herculean labors he performed as chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations, and his close attention and leadership in all the important legislation of the Congress. Only a short while before his death he came from a sick bed to confer with the President and other leaders of his party relative to one of the most important measures pending in

Congress.

In the last few years of his life his family and friends often urged him to slow up in his public activities and to devote more attention to the conservation of his health. But that high sense of duty which controlled his every act and which was the guiding star of his whole career impelled him to drive onward at full speed until the very last. The arduous duties performed by him as chairman of the Appropriations Committee are not readily appreciated by the public generally. It is not a spectacular service nor one which is carried to the public on the front pages of the newspapers, but it is a service which demands constant, intelligent, and faithful labor. None save those who were associated with him in Congress or who were charged with the administration of our national affairs can appreciate to the fullest extent the value of his service—a service which entitles him to rank as one of the greatest of the many great men who have presided over the Committee on Appropriations in the years that have passed.

The committee room affords the best opportunity for close study of a colleague and even greater opportunity to know the character and worth of the man who presides over it as chairman. Any selfishness, littleness, or disposition to neglect his duty would be exposed. I have served under Martin Madden's leadership for nearly nine years. I have had that close, intimate contact possible only under an association of this kind, and I voice the sentiments of every member of his committee when I say that these characteristics were foreign to his character. My affection and respect for him steadily grew with the

years.

His service here has ceased, but as surely as this world of ours is constantly swinging forward into the dawn the soul of MARTIN MADDEN has gone forward into a broader and freer spiritual being, and somehow and somewhere will continue to serve.

He was an ardent Republican. He earnestly believed in the principles of his party, and because he believed in them he never lost an opportunity to fight for them. But at the same time he was broad-minded and tolerant in all of his views, and never allowed partisanship to interfere with his personal friendships or permitted it to influence his position on public questions which did not strictly involve matters of party policy.

He was honest, both intellectually and morally. He despised sham and duplicity. His sense of fairness was evidenced by his attitude in the committee. He insisted at all times that the committee hearings and the reports submitted should fully disclose all the facts and thus give to everyone who wished the fullest opportunity to know all the facts bearing on any

and all items in appropriation bills.

He was always kind and considerate. He delighted to do his colleagues and his fellow men a favor and responded readily to every call which did not violate his sense of duty. He had the keen perspective and farseeing vision of a constructive statesman and a sound business man, but he stood like a stone wall against extravagance and wastefulness of public moneys, and it would be impossible to even conservatively estimate the many millions of dollars which were saved to the Treasury through his efforts.

Through his business acumen he amassed considerable wealth and through the medium of his financial power he brightened the lives of many who to-day mourn him as a benefactor.

He practiced in his daily life the religion taught and lived by the Man of Galilee. Just two weeks ago in this Chamber at almost this very hour, in eulogizing a departed friend and colleague, he gave expression to his views on this subject when he said:

I was taught to believe, and I still believe it, that we will meet again, and what a joy it is to breathe that thought. It is an inspiration to live right and we men who are open to the criticism of the unjust, as we are frequently, we men who give ourselves to the world, so to speak, particularly to our country, without hope of emolument or reward, do so because we are interested not in ourselves, not in our particular neighbor, but in the Nation, in the world and its advancement, in the movement forward of the human race. Most of us do not have to serve here for a living. Thank God we do not, but we choose to serve because we want a broader field in which to render the service we think our Nation needs than we could render in other fields.

As he said of his deceased friend we can truly say of him:

He served at a great personal sacrifice. He served because he loved his country and because he loved his fellows, and he was willing to make any kind of a sacrifice that his life might not be lived in vain.

Paraphrasing what he said on that occasion we exclaim, Oh, what a man he was! and what a life he lived, and how we can afford to emulate him. It is men of his type who make for the richness of the patriotism, devotion, and unselfishness in men that build up the nations of the world and makes them move forward to better things, greater liberty, greater happiness, and greater prosperity for humanity.

Those of us who worship the Living God, although we can not always understand His ways, are fortified by our unswerving trust in Him and are comforted even in death. Though we lose those nearest and dearest to our hearts we are given the courage to say, "Thy will be done." Fortified and sustained by "unfaltering trust" death is not hideous to one who lived a life like Martin Madden's—rather is it beautiful—this step from this world to eternity. Liszt beautifully expressed this thought when he wrote his Preludes, the theme of which is that each event and each period of our lives are but preludes to that vast and beautiful harmony which we call death. Martin Madden's life was a series of such preludes.

And now we must say "Farewell"—the saddest word in our language. Good-by, dear friend. We will try to exemplify the courageous spirit manifested throughout your life in bearing the grief at our parting. And I must let these flowers with their petaled lips and perfumed breath speak in beauty and fragrance

the sentiments which I am myself unable to utter.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, a mighty tower of strength among us fell when Martin B. Madden went to his exceeding great reward. It would require a considerable volume to give even an outline of the work accomplished by him during his memorable service in this body, and were all told of his positive deeds and achievements, less than half would be recorded of the real worth of his service, unless a catalogue were made of the things which he, by the great force of his energy and influence, did not permit to happen. Oftentimes these quiet acts of prevention or negation required more courage, more ability, and were far more effective for good than many overt acts loudly proclaimed from the housetops.

Of Martin Madden's public services prior to his entering Congress, and even through the earlier years of his service here, others will no doubt speak, and will doubtless refer to them more in detail than I should be able to do. I shall refer, and that very briefly, only to the crowning work of his notable career in the House as chairman of the powerful Committee on Appropriations, and to the use during that time made by him for the public good of the tremendous power and influence that he acquired both before and after he became chairman of that

great committee.

The House of Representatives has been most fortunate in having men of rare, preeminent ability to serve as chairmen of the Committee on Appropriations. Going back over the list during my own service here there are to be noted Tawney, Fitzgerald, Sherley, Good, and Madden, all giants, and each possessing peculiar fitness and qualifications for the particular task of chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Among these giants stands Martin B. Madden, the only one known to a majority of the present membership of Congress. It is by no means a reflection upon any one of the other men mentioned to say that Madden had a number of extraordinary qualifications vouchsafed to but few men for this very great task. The work that he accomplished between the time he became chairman of that committee and the day of his death stands out as one of the finest monuments that could possibly be erected to any man. Certainly during the last 25 years of our history I have known of no other that excels or equals it.

To MARTIN MADDEN came the task and the opportunity of taking up the work of the Committee on Appropriations about the time the Budget system was adopted, and he rose to that opportunity in a masterly way. It was not an easy task. A mistake made at that time might have been extremely serious. In the working out of the difficult problem involved he made no mistake. Prior to his chairmanship appropriations had been made not only by the Appropriations Committee but by a number of legislative committees, and even the appropriations made by the Committee on Appropriations were carried in a number of different bills based upon no system whatever. Madden a new policy was adopted of making appropriations in separate bills for the several departments of the Government, and although for convenience several departments in some instances are included in the same bill, in each case all of the appropriations for a department are carried in a single bill. It was a complete revolution in the mechanics of making appropriations, and Martin B. Madden was the master spirit in making this far-reaching and beneficent reform.

If only the work of Martin B. Madden as a member or as chairman of a committee, or even on the floor of the House, were taken into account, the story would be most incomplete. His influence in shaping and controlling all legislation during the time of his service here, and especially in preventing unwise and wasteful legislation, was always very great, and while it is not possible to record a tithe of the things accomplished by him along this line, I regard it as one of the things for which he

deserves the very greatest honor and admiration of the people

of the entire country.

The extent of his helpfulness in the conduct and leadership of the House of Representatives can not be adequately stated, much less can it be overestimated. He was always ready to shoulder his share of the burden and responsibility. He did not duck or dodge an unpleasant duty. He gave of himself un-stintingly, and when he fell, as I believe he would have chosen to fall, literally in the harness of battle, he left a startling gap in our ranks. Truly, his place here can not be filled.

Mr. SPROUL of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is as a friend that I like best to recall my beloved colleague who recently passed out of this earthly life. The public records are replete with the achievements in governmental affairs which proclaim him a statesman; his many years of faithful duty as chairman of the finance committee of the Chicago City Council and of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives proved his wonderful ability to manage huge financial problems. His fearlessness in the cause of right, his moral courage and calm self-possession in meeting opposition, his ability to smile in the event of adverse decision—all of these contributed to the success of his contests in behalf of his party and his country. These and many other worthy attributes are familiar to us all and cause us to admire that side of his character which guided him safely and sanely through many years of public service.

But Martin B. Madden was more than a successful business man and more than a dependable public servant whose sound judgment and impartial views were sought by party leaders and Presidents. He was, to my mind, first of all a friend, for he became such to me upon our first meeting, a memorable day more than 40 years ago. Our early associations were along business lines, and always with the same feeling of mutual understanding and good fellowship which drew us even more closely together during these later days as colleagues in Con-The same kindly spirit which manifested itself during our early business and political associations continued through the period of my service in the Chicago City Council, which office I entered the year following Mr. Madden's retirement. He had served in the body for eight years, seven of which he was chairman of the finance committee.

The day that I arrived in Washington to assume my duties as Representative of my congressional district it was his hearty welcome and kindly interest that made me feel at home amid strange surroundings. Many times I have had cause to be grateful for his aid and encouragement.

In the early summer of 1925 Mr. Madden and I journeyed together to Germany and from there to England, where we motored for many miles through the beautiful country near Mr. Madden's birthplace. I have the most pleasant memories of this trip, also of that to Biloxi the following year. Mr. Map-DEN's great store of knowledge upon all subjects, his excellent memory, his inexhaustible fund of anecdotes, and his keen sense of humor made a dull day impossible. It was during the latter trip that one day, while engaged in one of our more serious talks, I urged him to take better care of his health. When I suggested that it might be well for him to retire from public life and enjoy a few years of freedom from the arduous duties of his office he replied, "E. W., my one reason for staying on the job is because I believe that I can be of some good to the country which has done so much for me. And, besides, you know I never learned how to play."

To illustrate how thoroughly Mr. Madden enjoyed life under any circumstance and how deeply he loved and appreciated his adopted country, I will quote from a letter written to me aboard the George Washington on his homeward journey from

Iceland in July, 1924. He says, in part:

I have had a wonderful trip. Every day has added new knowledge, new vigor, a clearer vision, new happiness. Just think, I have seen the sun set at midnight and rise again within an hour in all the glory of its splendor. I have crossed the Arctic Circle and have visited lands covered with perpetual snow and ice. I have seen these northern people in their homes, and have witnessed their mode of living and their habits of life, and have marveled at their courage and hardihood. I am pleased to have made the trip. It gives me a broader outlook upon life, and new reasons for contentment. It emphasizes, as nothing else could, the advantages we enjoy. It furnishes the evidence which convinces me that we Americans are more fortunate than most other peoples and that our gratitude for the many blessings showered upon us should be unbounded. I am glad to be nearing home, The very thought fills the heart with gladness and I find myself thrilled with a new inspiration to dedicate myself anew to the cause of freedom which America typifies. We live in a land of opportunity, and it should be our pleasure, as it is our duty, by word and deed, to make ourselves worthy of the heritage which God has bestowed upon us.

Truly, MARTIN B. MADDEN, by his loyalty and patriotism, his unselfish devotion to duty, and by the application of high principles to his everyday tasks, made himself worthy of the heritage which he so dearly loved and appreciated.

Twenty-eight years ago a Chicago newspaper, in commenting upon Mr. Madden's success in bringing about closer relations

between employer and employee, said of him:

There is nothing narrow nor small in this man of affairs. In the business world there are but few men of the noble type that cause all to feel confidence both in their integrity and ability. Mr. MADDEN has eminently the qualities of the man who can feel the hearts and ambitions of all classes. He is only a private citizen, trying to do his duty and doing it well, but such men as he grace the legislative halls of our land and make their constituents proud of their election. If such men as MARTIN B. MADDEN could be induced to join the highest political ranks, how much better party politics would become.

This was shortly after Mr. Madden had refused to become a candidate for Governor of Illinois in 1900.

In Mr. Madden's passing Illinois lost one of her greatest statesmen, an honest, fearless, and loyal citizen. party man, he stood firmly for the principles of Republicanism, but his fairness and his willingness to help in the solution of difficult problems regardless of which side of the House presented them won for him a respect and confidence seldom equaled. The entire country feels the loss of a faithful and efficient legislator, but we who knew best miss, more than all, the genial smile and warm handshake of a loyal friend.

In closing I wish to quote from Mr. Madden's memorial address on the life of our beloved colleague, the late James R.

Mann:

After all, what greater accomplishment can a man achieve in life than to leave the story of such a record printed in the pages of the Nation's history? I shall not say good-by, because I believe in a future. We are not to be here long, we will soon pass on, and my hope is that we will be able once again, where strife is unknown, to meet our beloved colleague on the other shore.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, when Hon. MARTIN B. MADDEN passed from this earth on the 27th day of April, 1928, he was still in the full vigor of his faculties and his 74 years of life had not stemmed his wonderful energy, his tremendous courage, or his capacity for hard work, for it will be remembered by those who knew him best and who associated with him on Capitol Hill, that he was in the very midst of the congressional work he loved so well, when he was suddenly called by Him

Mr. Madden was more than a mere legislator or statesman. He was truly a giant in legislative instinct and capacity. He could almost intuitively scent the meaning, the effect, and the cost of legislative proposal as though by magic, and it was because of this fact that his words on the floor of the House carried such weight.

No one ever doubted his honesty of purpose and few dared to challenge the correctness of his statements, even when they were made without apparent study or mature deliberation.

If any man, be he a soldier, a sailor, a foreign ambassador, or a public servant, ever truly gave his life or the best part of it to his Government, Mr. Madden certainly did, and nothing gave him more real pleasure than a good parliamentary fight,

where he usually carried his way.

It was not unusual for the present occupant of the White House, President Coolidge, or a number of his predecessors, to call upon Mr. Madden for advice and confirmation of ideas which affected both millions of people and millions of dollars in the Treasury, and I am certain that the Chief Executive always benefited by a consultation with the great chairman of the important Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Madden was frank, fearless, honest, and outspoken. Neither misrepresentation or evasion had any place in his fine character. When he expressed an opinion his judgment was sound, his language was plain, and he never left one in doubt

as to his true meaning.

It would not be an exaggeration to say positively that Hon. MARTIN B. MADDEN had actually saved for the taxpayers of the Nation a sum which would run into hundreds of millions of dollars, and he did so in an unostentatious manner which immediately designated him as a great "servant of the people."

When our dear friend Martin was taken from us so suddenly in the midst of his work, the Nation lost one of its outstanding men and public servants and the House of Representatives, or,

rather, Capitol Hill, lost one of its most outstanding national | House as one of the greatest chairmen of a truly great comfigures.

It will be a long time before another such man is presented to the Nation.

Illinois and the Nation will long remember Martin B. Madden for his words and his deeds, and legislators will follow him a thousand years from now.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Speaker, our entire Nation shared in the great loss and grief, suffered by the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois, in the passing of the dean of the Illinois delegation in the House of Representatives, the Hon, MARTIN B. MADDEN. Irreparable was his loss, also, to the congressional district, the first Illinois, which did itself proud by giving him to the Nation's service for so many years. He was one of the great the Nation's service for so many years. leaders in the House, a trained legislator, a noted parliamentarian, and a debater of force and clarity of thought and diction. He was a confidential adviser of Presidents and Cabinet chiefs. a wise counsellor in public as well as private affairs, a political chieftain of rare discernment. Withal, he was the truest and stanchest of friends, never failing in his devotion and service to those he loved. Perhaps his most outstanding characteristic was his indomitable courage, moral, intellectual, and even physical. No threat or fear of consequences could deter him from a purpose he had concluded to be necessary and proper. He never minced words in advocating what he conceived to be right and wise in the performance of his duty. This resoluteness of purpose was reflected in his untiring energy and ceaseless industry. He fell on the field of battle, in heroic death for his country, as truly and fully as if he had worn the armor of military or naval rank. His friends will never forget how a single gasp for breath, a last attack of fatal heart weakness, carried his soul to another world-as he himself verily believed-while he was seated in his committee room, during the noon hour, ready to continue the hearings which he had conducted but a few moments Thus passed a hero to his last reward.

I well remember the first time I saw MARTIN MADDEN in action at a political meeting. It was at a Republican county convention in Chicago in 1896. He and others had just successfully reorganized the party, not only in Cook County but also in the State of Illinois, following the régime of the opposition party in State and Nation from 1892 to 1896. Alderman Madden. for he was then a member and perforce a leader in the City Council of Chicago-was made the presiding officer of the convention. It goes without saying that the business of the convention was conducted with firmness and dispatch. It was before the days of nominations by direct primaries, and delegates to conventions nominated and indorsed candidates. In the inevitable distribution of candidacies, Mr. Madden was understood to be the choice for election by the legislature to the United States Senate. Ultimately this part of the program failed, under circumstances which might have embittered a smaller mind, but Mr. Madden cheerfully returned to the party ranks and in due course began his service in the other branch of the Congress, where we, his colleagues, and the country have reaped the benefits of his exceptional ability and ripe experience. His committee work was devoted largely to the Post Office Department and to appropriations. His service as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations was one of the longest in the history of the House. In fact, it is probably unsurpassed in length in the case of a committee having complete charge of all appropriations, as for many years the jurisdiction of the committee bearing that name was quite limited, many of the present legislative committees having jurisdiction of appropriations for their respective departments of the Government.

Under the present rules of the House and the Budget system generally, the position of chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations is probably the most powerful post in the legislative branch. The Constitution gave the House control of the Nation's purse strings as a protection against exploitation of the people by undue taxation and expenditures. The Committee on Ways and Means, in the first instance, frames the tax laws and thereby limits the revenues available for appropriations. but the distribution of those revenues among the various departments of the Government and for the multitude of purposes authorized by law is primarily in the hands of the Committee on Appropriations, and the chairman of that committee is its executive head and necessarily exercises tremendous influence. particularly in the case of a chairman of such masterful capacity and force as was Mr. Madden. And be it said, also, that Madden had the unqualified confidence and deep affection of his associates on the committee and of the membership of the House generally, with the result that he was in fact, as well as in name, the head of this all-important branch of the work of the Congress. His name will live in the annals of the

House as one of the greatest chairmen of a truly great committee, and as a great legislator, a great representative of all the people of the Nation, whose highest and best welfare was the sole interest and objective of his long and useful life.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, on the 1st day of May, 1928, I wrote a letter—a letter to Mrs. Martin B. Madden. I take the liberty to present it, now, to you, as follows:

LETTER TO MRS. MADDEN

MAY 1, 1928.

MY DEAR MES. MADDEN: I do not know where you are and so I address you at Washington feeling sure the letter will reach you.

Up to the present time I have not felt like writing to you because I could not get myself together. In other words, I could not collect myself sufficiently to express myself in a legible way. I had just received the very great shock in the Illinois primary election when there came the additional shock of Mr. MADDEN'S death.

Thirty year ago, in 1896, Mr. Martin B. Madden, then alderman of Chicago and a campaign orator of note, came to my home town of Jacksonville and spoke at a Republican meeting. I was on the reception committee and was in attendance during his visit. He was absolutely charming. His hair was black—not a white thread in it. His speech was full of figures. James R. Mann was the other speaker and he discussed the money or currency question in a wonderful historical address, but the audience was absolutely captivated by your husband.

In 1897 in Chicago occurred the election as Senator of "Billy" Mason. I was in Springfield on the night when your husband was told that Mr. Mason needed seven more votes to be United States Senator, whereupon he walked across the hall into the headquarters of "Billy" Mason and thereby made Mason Senator.

In the year 1900 he was one of the delegates who voted for me, helping to lead a great stampede of 300 delegates, which stampede nominated me for governor. During that campaign I learned to know him well.

In 1919, when I came down here as Congressman at large, there were plenty of friends to welcome me, but it was Mr. Madden who persuaded Mr. Mann to appoint me on a very important committee, the Judiclary Committee. In the same year we went to France together. He and I and Congressman McKinley. He was the orator of our delegation. He made 3 speeches on the transport going over to France; 2 in Luxemberg; 1 at the recreation center of the battery from Springfield, Ill.; 1 in Diekirch in Luxemberg; and twice more on the George Washington coming home. They were all perfect little gems of speeches.

The George Washington carried 9,600 soldier boys, of whom about 600 were in cots—the majority of them I think cases of amputation. At certain hours of the day 100 of these mutilated boys were brought on deck for an hour or two. I found out by accident that Mr. Madden was to be found with these boys during every minute that they and their litters were on deck. I asked him what he said to these boys and he said, "When I see a boy with his arm or leg cut off I sit down close to him and I say to him, 'Son, I am in the same fix as you are'; and I try to tell him how he may be useful and that he must never give up. I also tell him about the kind of stocking he should wear on his stump, and, in short, I am trying to help."

Only recently he came to my aid in the matter of an important appropriation for Springfield, Ill. I can never repay him for the things he has done for me.

I realize that no words of mine can diminish your grief, but I wanted to be among the number of those from whom you are hearing in this time of affliction.

Yours very respectfully and affectionately,

RICHARD YATES.

While the foregoing letter was and is not a letter signed by MARTIN MADDEN, but, on the other hand, a letter signed by me, it serves to show Mr. MADDEN'S conception of the golden rule and of his own duty in connection therewith. Whenever I recall to mind that trip across the ocean and back and across France, I think of Martin and the mutilated boys.

I know no better way to enable us to comprehend his idea of the office of Congressman and his aims and aspirations as to himself than to insert here his description of another Member, his lifelong comrade and friend, James R. Mann. Here it is:

Those who have served in this House at any time during the last quarter of a century will keep in their minds as long as they live the Hon. James R. Mann, of Illinois, the author of the white slave act and the proponent of the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution, the two greatest legislative achievements that have ever gone into law for the female race, to whom he was the greatest friend and for whom he was the greatest leader in all the history of mankind. In all the time he was in this House no other legislation has been so important as to surpass these in actual service to the human race, and they alone would be sufficient to announce to the world that one of its greatest statesmen passed away when this stately column broke.

For almost a generation that great leader stood on this floor in peace and in war and in rumors of war, in toil and strife and defeat and victory, and that brilliant mind and mighty soul was never swept away by success and never succumbed to defeat. His steady figure towered above them all. For years he was the leader of a minority and fought their battles with a zest and a zeal and a skill, with an ability and courage, with a knowledge of every phase of parliamentary contest that stamped him as the greatest master of legislation on this floor who ever sat in the Congress of the United States. No attack ever found him unprepared. No victorious assault ever took the flag of his party away from his mighty hand; and when his party passed into victory and the final laurels for which he hoped did not crown his ambition, he never faltered in his stride for an instant, but accepted his defeat with a smile, as "Mr. Greatheart" only could, and that very night achieved for his party perhaps the greatest tactical and parliamentary victory ever accomplished when he unseated a Democrat and seated a Republican in this House after as desperate a struggle as was ever had on this floor, when, after an all-night contest, as the first rays of the morning sun glistened along the Atlantic, he challenged the Speaker's ruling and succeeded in overruling the decision of Mr. Speaker Clark, almost President of the United States, in a Democratic House, and so seated a Republican by one majority. No man in American history but James R. Mann could have accomplished that, and no feature of his great career more won him the respect and esteem of his colleagues than the greatness of soul he showed when he, after years of leadership, was denied the reward of his ambitions and loyally continued that fight for his party.

In his long career here he never feared to vote as he thought was just, or to take issue with the House if he thought he was right, as we all saw when he voted to seat VICTOR BERGER, of Wisconsin, though only two others joined with him in that vote; but a practically unanimous House conceded he did this because he thought it was right, and no criticism was ever made of an act which might easily have lost him the respect of many of his associates.

In all the years when the Government wealth was often at his disposal, his integrity remained spotless when he might have accumulated millions. He never hesitated to cast a vote that might easily have brought him the condemnation of the people he served. He never hesitated to do his duty, whether his services were rewarded or not.

Every word of the above eulogy or excomium above set forth is applicable absolutely to Martin B. Madden. He was a true public servant. I have at home a pamphlet entitled "Martin B. Madden, Public Servant." It shows almost incredible industry and persistence. It reminds one of the verse:

The heights by great men scaled and kept, Were not attained by sudden flight, But they, while their companions slept, Were tolling upward through the night.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, nothing that we can say can add one whit to the imprint made upon our country through the illustrious life of Martin B. Madden, other than as we hold that life before us as a symbol of what can be accomplished by a boy of humble beginnings in free America, and by carrying forward through iteration and reiteration the ideals and programs for which he stood.

In harmony with this idea, the friends of Mr. Madden want to give voice to some of the thoughts that are in their minds touching the life and character and the public services of this remarkable man.

The intimate story of the man has been told by those who have known him throughout the years. His home, his devotion to his family, his devotion to his friends, all of these things in a broad way are well known. They are applauded.

There is one factor connected with the early struggles of our late colleague that impels me to give it more than passing notice. Mr. Madden was a poor boy. We see him struggling for the success that is the goal of every right-thinking boy who looks forward from youth into manhood's years.

Poverty constitutes no bar sinister to attainment in America and it constitutes no bar sinister to success in the ideals that belong to the kingdom where boys rule. Boys love adventure; boys love their fellows regardless of the clothes they wear or the homes from which they come; boys love nerve; they love grit; they love industry.

grit; they love industry.

MARTIN B. MADDEN, through poverty, through hardship, by means of industry, frugality, and honesty, overcame the obstacles of childhood, the privations of youth, and established himself in early manhood as a successful man in business; a man who in small responsibilities, and then with increasing rapidity in responsibilities of tremendous magnitude, could be relied upon.

Mr. Madden was a master in the organization of men for the accomplishment of a task. His ability in this regard was accomplished through acquaintanceship in the earliest moment possible with the problem in hand; through ability to analyze

men so as to pick the right man for each position; through the faith that he had in his judgment and in his associates after he had picked them; and his thorough loyalty in giving them his earnest support when conclusions had been reached.

Time and again I have seen him when I knew he was in doubt as to a course his advisers had chosen, call up the subject for fresh consideration, giving it the benefit of his trenchant and lucid observations, always intending these observations to be elements for consideration rather than decrees or dictates that were to be made a part of the plan itself. And he stood by those who were detailed to handle a particular job if he believed they had been earnest and had accomplished measurably the task of assembling data upon which their conclusions were formed.

I believe that it is an element of human nature that, generally speaking, people measure up toward that which is expected of them. Every human being who is worth while craves responsibility. He wants to have a part. More than that, if he is trusted he makes good, inspired by the trust that has been placed upon him.

Of his work here much has been told by others. To me there is one factor that probably more than any other is responsible for his success as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and that is the factor through which he organized his work. The Budget system had just been established. The Budget Bureau had just been organized. Under the Budget system it was planned that the executive and legislative branches of government would do close teamwork in the matter of expeditures of government.

The underlying principle in efficiency and economies in government, as Mr. Madden believed that principle to be and as I believe it to be, is that those charged with a responsibility shall not be personally interested in the cause for which they speak as in an appropriation that is sought.

In the organization of the subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations Congressman Madden declared it to be fundamental that no special attorney should be put on a committee to plead his own case. He said the members of every subcommittee should be as free and independent in their actions as are the judge and the jurors in the trial of the issues of a case in court.

He declared that this principle is fundamentally sound for two reasons: He believed it to be sound from the standpoint of the Representative himself, who should not be embarrassed by a constituency that, without understanding all the facts, and with a point of view limited to the immediate needs of ambitions of a district, would constantly be making unreasonable demands upon a Representative if he were upon a committee primarily interested in such a way as to influence congressional action in satisfying those demands. He maintained that the Member himself was not free to give an unbiased judgment upon a demand from such a constituency. He would be the interested juror in the jury box.

It was Mr. Madden's soundest philosophy that it was wrong to put a man upon a subcommittee interested in the issues before the committee from the standpoint of the Federal Treasury. Self-interest, the inability of the Member to see all sides of the question—these factors would control the Member's judgment and would modify action of the committee adversely to the interest of the Government. More than that, it was his thought that if through personal interest unreasonable sums were carried in budgets for projects or purposes within the Member's district, the Member benefited in order to show how impartial he was to his fellow Members would need be equally generous toward them in their demands. The immediate result would be the expansion of appropriations all along the line.

If this second course were not followed by the members of the subcommittee, they would be charged with partiality by their colleagues upon the floor. More than that, there would constantly be a suspicion, regardless of whether or not a Member with a personal interest had permitted that personal interest to warp his judgment, that his judgment had been thus warped.

The Congress should have faith in its committees. The committees should be so organized that they will command the faith of the Congress. Members may doubt the judgment or the conclusions of their colleagues, but there ought never to be a time when they may doubt the good faith, the conscious or unconscious action of members of the committee charged with solemn responsibility.

No man in my experience in legislative work has enunciated

this principle so markedly as did Mr. Madden.

Possibly more than most any other man I ever knew, Mr.

Madden had a penchant for conclusions that seemed to be reached unhampered by the multitude of processes of reasoning, or assortment and assembling of data that necessarily are the

impedimenta of most minds. He saw the end. Usually his conclusions were right. Was it intuition? Was it the unconscious reaction of a mind trained in the school of hard knocks? Whatever it was, the process of mind that permitted Mr. Madden to reach with unerring exactness in most instances conclusions in great questions and in small was a characteristic that all men recognized.

As a man Mr. Madden was rugged, forceful, intolerant of hypocrisy, intolerant of sham, genuine throughout, a hard fighter, a graceful loser, a man of courage, a man of tenderness, a man who by virtue of his plain rugged elements of character had ingratiated himself into the hearts and good will of those who were privileged to serve with him in carrying forward the serious responsibilities that a trusting Nation asked him to assume

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I know of no way to pay a higher tribute to our departed colleague than by quoting an extract from the Congressional Record of January 15, 1929. When the House had under consideration the War Department appropriation bill pertaining to matters upon the Panama Canal, I offered an amendment to the bill and made a few remarks in support of it. The amendment was unanimously adopted by the House and Senate and the bill was approved by President Coolidge on March 2, 1929, and that provision is now Public Law No. 1035.

It seems to me eminently appropriate that as the commerce of the nations passes through that great highway for the ages to come, the world should forever know that that great dam was officially named by the American Congress as a tribute to our beloved comrade and friend, the great chairman of our Appropriations Committee.

The record of that action of the House is as follows:

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Colorado offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amendment offered by Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: On page 88, line 17,

following the semicolon, insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"'That in recognition of the exceptionally distinguished services in Congress for nearly 24 years of Martin B. Madden, the late chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and in appreciation of his active and efficient interest in the Panama Canal throughout its entire construction and operation, and in recently causing the commencement of the construction of said dam across the Chagres River at or near Alhajuela, the said dam and the lake created thereby and the entire plant and the road leading thereto shall hereafter be known and designated on the public records as the Madden dam, lake, plant, and road.' '

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the House, I realize fully that this amendment is subject to a point of order if anyone saw fit to make it, but I can not believe there is one Member of this entire House who will not gladly join in paying this preeminently just and so richly deserved tribute to our former chairman of this Appropriations Committee. For 30 years the Panama Canal was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the life works of MARTIN B. MADDEN. I understand that in 1896 he wrote the plank in the national Republican platform which definitely committed the Mc-Kinley administration to the construction of a canal across the Isthmus at either Nicaragua or Panama; and from that day to his death he gave the best and most earnest work possible to the efficient construction and practical operation of that canal. For 30 years he said that "canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States": and he gave more skill, attention, and time to it during all that time than any other Member of this House. He had a natural aptitude for engineering and construction work.

He was instinctively a builder and financier and he always took pride in this gigantic work. A very few of the older Members will remember that in the early days of the work he made many trips to the Canal Zone and spent the days going through the swamps and jungle personally examining the conditions and slept on a ship out in the harbor. There is not a Member of Congress alive to-day who made those investigation trips with him. In recent years, as he watched the rapidly growing business and importance of the canal, he clearly foresaw the necessity of increasing the amount of water available for the use of those locks and he commenced investigating the practicability of building a large dam up on the Chagres River to impound the terrific floods of that stream for use of the locks during the dry season. He brought about that engineering survey and investigation and the location of the dam and the authorization by Congress of the construction of the dam. He was the originator and creator of this monumental engineering enterprise for which we, his colleagues on this committee, are to-day appropriating this money. He is entitled to all this and much more credit than I am able to give him in this limited time. No one can ever deny his authorship.

He is the father of this dam. It will be one of the most important dams in the world to the commerce of every nation on earth. It will enormously enhance the value and the volume of business of the Panama Canal. It will furnish sufficient water so that these marvelous locks may operate 24 hours a day and 365 days in every year, as they have got to do; and MARTIN B. MADDEN is the one who conceived and brought about this great plan. To properly appreciate what this service means to our country and to the world, both in business and convenience to the ocean-traveling public and to commerce, both in time of peace and much more in time of war, the Members and the public should study necessity and the dimensions of this dam and the quantity of water it will conserve that is now running to waste. I investigated this matter when I visited the Canal Zone a year ago, and became so profoundly impressed with the great service to humanity of our colleague in this matter that soon after my return I introduced House Joint Resolution No. 250 on March 26, 1928, in the language of the amendment I have just offered. I know the membership of this House would have been more than delighted to have passed that resolution during his lifetime. But we knew he was always opposed to naming anything after a living person and for that reason I did not press the consideration of the resolution. But alas, how soon after that was that objection of his overruled.

My thought is that instead of passing that resolution it would now be more appropriate and fitting for this committee, his committee, to insert this provision in this Army appropriation bill dealing with that canal and that dam. I feel very strongly that this action would be the highest honor that the American Congress could pay to our late honored and beloved chairman. It would be the most suitable monument that could ever be erected to his memory and to his life work. It would be a permanent governmental memorial and tribute to his great service to his country as long as the Isthmus of Panama is inhabited by human beings. It would perpetuate forever his great life work for the success of the Panama Canal. I know our action would be very highly appreciated by the splendid woman who was his life's companion, and his estimable daughter and son-in-law, and by every Member of Congress and his many thousands of friends. The word "Alhajuela" has no meaning or special signification whatever, while there is every reason that this great dam should bear the name of its creator. Martin B. MADDEN was an honor to Congress and to our country and a benefactor to the human race. Having served with him nearly 20 years in Congress and 8 years with him on this Appropriations Committee, I know that by the creation of this memorial to our distinguished colleague and departed friend Congress will honor itself and our country, and our act will be a perpetual inspiration to the youth of America as long as the Stars and Stripes float over our Nation. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, as MARTIN B. MADDEN, tall Mr. CRAMTON. and erect, his striking countenance vivid in its portrayal of intelligence, character, and power, and set off by a crown of plentiful white hair, was an outstanding figure in any company, so was he a landmark in this House and in the governmental history of the Nation. He served his country with fullest fidelity and with rare ability. In time of our Nation's greatest financial stress his great talents, his sturdy independence, his great strength of will served us well, and Americans should not forget MARTIN B. MADDEN and his service as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

The World War left every one of the participating powers with staggering burdens of debt. As we entered the war, our public debt was negligible, but the close of the titanic military struggle left us with a public debt of more than \$27,000,000,000. The language of billions did not come into use until those war days. Hon. John J. Fitzgerald, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the early days of the war, would not use the term, but always spoke of a "thousand millions." And, as he would term it, our war debt was over twenty-seven thousand million dollars. In the war period taxation had been resorted to more onerous than Americans had ever thought to see in this Republic, but patriotism and the active markets of war made them endurable.

But the military struggle closed and then came throughout the world, in every country, an industrial and economic struggle no less titanic. In America those war-time taxes necessarily continued and a disorganized, nearly paralyzed nation of industry was called upon to pay them. The markets of war suddenly were closed and the markets of peace could open but slowly. Several million men enrolled in our armies, were in a few months turned from employments of war to find their way as best they might back to employments of peace. The financial obligations of the war period must be honored, but could only be met by a rejuvenated industry of peace.

The rejuvenation of the peace-time activities of America was as difficult an economic problem as this Nation will ever face. Continuation of war-time taxes was a brake upon restoration of peace-time prosperity that must be removed as rapidly and as fully as possible. Success in lightening that brake contributed

in marked degree to the restoration of normal industrial conditions, and Martin B. Madden played a great part in that

In the few years that now have elapsed, the United States has paid all its bills as it went along, has paid off nearly ten thousand million dollars of debt, has favorably refunded much of the balance, and has three times drastically reduced rates of Federal taxation.

Such reductions in Federal taxation have contributed materially to our present industrial prosperity and such reductions in taxation were only possible because of retrenchments in Federal expenditure, the constant application of principles of drastic

economy so effective as to be dramatic.

The leader in this program of economy, this lessening of Federal expenditures in order that Federal taxation might be reduced and industry revived, was, in the eyes of the Nation, President Coolidge; and too much can not be said in praise of his determined insistence upon this policy and his executive leadership that committed to the program every administrative unit of the Government. But beside him during all that period was Martin B. Madden, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House, likewise able, determined, and insistent. Through the legislative leadership of MARTIN MAD-DEN the Congress cordially and constantly supported the economy program. The Budget was the governmental agency that made possible the reduction of Federal expenditures in drastic fashion without injury to the proper administration of the governmental functions.

Without the cordial cooperation, the distinguished talents and the determined efforts of President Calvin Coolidge and Chairman Martin B. Madden the Budget would have been but a broken reed. No Executive, however able, conscientious, or determined, could have succeeded in that undertaking without the constant support of Congress; and the capable and effective leadership of Martin Madden as chairman secured that.

MARTIN B. MADDEN played a great part in the affairs of the Nation in his lifetime. As a member of the Republican National Convention in 1900 he wrote the plank that committed us to the building of the Panama Canal, and he never lost his helpful interest in that great undertaking. He was an au-

thority on our Postal System.

He was always an exponent of efficient government and clean politics. At one time a candidate for the United States Senate before the Legislature of Illinois, he rejected peremptorily an offer of compromise that would have assured his election but was in conflict with his sturdy ideas of political honesty, and by his prompt action to discomfit that sort of politics he sent William E. Mason to the Senate.

All the important legislation of the past score of years was impressed by his keen business judgment and his broad vision. But it was as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of this House in the postwar period that he rendered his greatest

When he became chairman the House rules had been changed, reposing in that committee all the appropriating jurisdiction of the House, and the committee enlarged to 35. The Budget plan had become a law and the Budget began to function. The billions of dollars estimated by the Executive to care for the needs of his administration were set forth in the Budget, approved by the President, and by him transmitted to Congress. Here it must meet the scrutiny of the House Committee on

Appropriations.

Chairman Madden organized his committee as he would a great industrial concern, dividing the responsibilities among his subcommittee chairmen and securing prompt and efficient action on the immense Budget. Every item was examined and discussed and the whole brought in approved form before the House in a few weeks. Year after year the Budget was enacted into law very substantially as he approved it. The first rule insisted upon by him and always maintained was that no bill should in its total exceed the Budget total, but that all possible reductions be made. Every year under his chairmanship the total appropriations made by Congress were millions below the Budget total. It was this legislative support and cooperation that made the Budget system a success, made economy a reality, and tax reductions possible.

The appropriation of money from the Federal Treasury was never a partisan matter with him, never a vehicle for advancement of personal, community, or party interest. The expenditure must be justified on the basis of the results of such ex-

penditure, the real merits of the proposal.

Every member of the committee serving under the chairman ship of Martin Madden knew that, so long as he stood for the public interest and the common good as against selfish interest or advantage to a few, he would have at his back the powerful

influence of Martin Madden, whose integrity was known of all men and whose voice in this Chamber rang out effectively for good government.

Personally, my loss in his passing has been great. Not given to following blindly after constituted leadership, MARTIN MADDEN had my absolute trust in his integrity, his ability, his vision, his ideals. Service under him was service with him. In strenuous responsibilities, consultation with him was always helpful and reassuring. One's own ideals were bound to be invigorated and one's zeal for the common good inspired by contact with him. His friendship was a rare privilege, which does not end with his passing, but will always pervade my life as a pleasing per-fume clings about the vase from which the flowers have long departed.

Mr. HALL of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the House, and visiting friends, some newspapers carry a col-umn headed "First Impressions." My first impressions of this House were of Martin Barnaby Madden. They were favorable impressions, because it seemed to me that he represented rather a cross section of this body. He seemed to be an epitome of the sterling worth of it. Keen, alert, with the Nation's business at his finger tips, his whole being radiated the spirit of a careful, thorough, businesslike grasp of public affairs.

We of Illinois had known Mr. MADDEN for two generations. His virile and active participation in our State's affairs were partially responsible for its growth and success. He had participated in its political and business life for so many years that we intuitively linked his name with the name of Illinois. But his greatness of character and business ability had gone beyond the confines of our great State and his renown as a legislative financier reached from Lakes to Gulf and from ocean

to ocean.

MARTIN B. MADDEN was the pride of Illinois in a legislative sense, and with him now out of our political life we are con-

scious of a vacancy that may never be filled.

He held the Nation's purse strings in his capable hands. While it is a pleasure to think of him as our outstanding legislator, I love to contemplate apart from all this glory the lessons that soften to our heart his personal story.

The story is not new. He was a poor boy. His daily toil was the rock quarries of Illinois. He bore burdens then too in the rock quarries of Illinois. great for his years. But his hardships and battles for a good and noble purpose taught him to patiently overcome great difficulties; to overcome apparently insurmountable obstacles and to fight successfully the battles of life against great odds.

Here for a generation he lived amid the scenes that he loved

and among his colleagues whom he loved.

Here he fought daily the battles of the people and of his country, somewhat fiercely at times but always fairly.

Here in our midst he died as he had lived among the scenes and work and people he loved. Died here almost in our presence with the harness on fighting to the last, whether winning or losing, always for what he thought was right. And when he met his last great antagonist, death, as we all must do, he lost, still fighting. He did not die in bed as most men do, but standing erect and on his feet, with his back to the wall and with sword unsheathed. He died as and where he would have preferred to die. Here amid the scenes of his triumphs and among his friends.

MARTIN B. MADDEN was one of the most kindly and helpful characters it has ever been my good fortune to encounter.

He made new Members feel at home here. He helped seasoned veterans to solve their problems.

His was a soul too big to bear a grudge.

His was a life filled full of fine and useful accomplishments. Contemplation of his life and services brings constantly to my mind these words so applicable to him.

Toiling, rejoicing, sorrowing, Onward through life he goes. Each morning sees some task begun, Each evening sees its close Something attempted, something done, To earn a night's repose.

And now, here amidst the scenes of his life's triumphs and of his surrender only to death, I seem to feel his living presence among us, still sturdy, helpful, and kindly; still toiling, still rejoicing, but sorrowing-nevermore.

Mr. THATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under the general privilege accorded to Members of the House, I desire to indicate something of the affection and esteem which I held for our late and greatly distinguished and beloved colleague, Hon. MARTIN B. MADDEN, of Illinois.

Upon my first election to Congress I was fortunate enough to be placed on the all-important and all-powerful House Appropriations Committee, of which Mr. Madden was chairman. Thereupon he was kind enough to place me on the subcommittee—of which he was also chairman—charged with the duty of conducting the hearings upon and formulating the annual appropriation bills for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, and on this subcommittee I have ever since served. These bills, in the total funds carried, are the largest of all the Federal supply measures; and covering, as they do, the needs and requirements of these two great administrative branches of the Government, with their manifold activities, the work devolving upon this particular subcommittee, and especially upon the subcommittee chairman, is of the most exacting and responsible character.

Therefore from the beginning of the Sixty-eighth Congress to the date of his death I had the high honor and privilege to serve on this subcommittee with Mr. Madden, and the service was not only greatly educative and broadening in character, but it was also inspirational in the highest degree. His vast knowledge of the details of government and his ability to recall the most intimate features of legislation covering his long and active service in the House, were matters for the constant amazement of his subcommittee associates; while his splendid business sagacity and his unfailing sense of duty toward the Nation and its taxpayers enabled him, not only in our subcommittee, but also as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, constantly to solve the most difficult and trying financial problems with justice to all. As chairman of the committee, ever since the Budget system became effective, in the largest possible way he contributed to the splendid fiscal results secured in the administration of our national affairs. Indeed, the whole Budget system might have been a failure at the outset except for his wise, strong, sure leadership in Congress and his unfailing cooperation with the President and the Bureau of the Budget in the administration of the Budget law.

He always regarded himself as the representative of the American taxpayer, and he lived up to this thought. Every claim for an appropriation had to be fully made out before he would approve it; but when adequately grounded upon disclosed facts and needs, he was ready to accept it. His firm, wise policy in dealing with the subject of governmental expenditure had ever so much to do with the great work of holding to the minimum the cost of Federal Government since the close of the World War. In this work, of course, Congress as a whole, under his leadership, performed its invaluable part.

Between himself and his associates on the great committee of which he was the head, there existed the strongest possible bonds of mutual affection and esteem. The Members had unbounded confidence in his ability, integrity, and unselfish and patriotic purpose. Under his guidance the work of the committee was always free from any touch of partisanism. With him all sections were the Union. When it came to expending the billions of dollars carried in the annual supply measures there was in his mind no thought of North, South, East, or West; and this, I am very happy to say, has been, and is, the spirit of the committee.

His splendid qualities of mind and heart endeared him to all. We who had service with him here will have had that service in vain if we have not been made the better for it. I shall never forget the unfailing kindnesses and courtesies he accorded me. Association with him amounted to a sort of benediction. Each of us esteemed him as a tried and trusted friend. His splendid abilities were tempered and seasoned by an unfailing and kindly humor which lent genial sunshine and warmth to all his words and deeds. He invested all he did with the charm of a rare and most gracious personality. He performed for the Nation a service of the highest and most outstanding character.

Measured by every test he was patriot and statesman. Yet his strength was so tempered by goodness, and his goodness was so tempered by strength, that one was ever at a loss to know whether to admire him most for his strength, or to love him most for his goodness.

Of him, also, in all truth it may be said:

His life was gentle; and the elements So mix'd in him, that nature might stand up And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

We who have survived his departure can perform no finer service for our countrymen than by keeping alive and vivid in their minds and hearts the story of his life and the chronicle of his achievements.

It may not be inappropriate to conclude these remarks with the incorporation, as a part of them, of the resolutions adopted

by the House Appropriations Committee upon the occasion of our beloved colleague's death; and which, as chairman of a subcommittee appointed for the purpose, I had the honor to prepare:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED MAY 18, 1928, BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPRO-PRIATIONS TOUCHING THE DEATH OF HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE

Whereas on the 27th day of April, 1928, at his post of duty in the National Capital, in the full vigor of his faculties, and in the seventy-fourth year of his age, Hon. MARTIN B. MADDEN, Representative in Congress from the State of Illinois, and chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations since July, 1921, died as he wished to die, and passed into the Great Beyond.

Be it therefore resolved by the committee as follows:

First. That in the death of its greatly beloved and distinguished chairman the committee has suffered an irreparable loss, and each member of it has been deprived of a loyal friend, comrade, and counselor. The sorrow thus sustained by the members of the committee may be softened only by the memory of his splendid deeds and character, and by the indulgence of the honorable pride which is theirs because of their intimate service with him, and under his wise and effective leadership, in the accomplishment of great tasks of usefulness for the Nation. As chairman of the committee ever since there came to it the greatly increased powers and jurisdiction following the enactment of the Budget act of 1921, he gave to the Nation and to its taxpayers a service of immeasurable value.

Second. That because of the important work he so long and so ably performed for them-extending without break or interruption from the Fifty-ninth to the Seventieth Congress-his country and his countrymen have also sustained a great and irreparable loss. courage and sense of duty, his diligence and tact, his unselfish zeal, his marvelous knowledge and grasp of the fiscal and other affairs of the Nation, his broad experience and wide sympathies, his rugged honesty and sense of justice, and his sturdy patriotism were qualities that made him, throughout a great generation of our American history, an out-Self-made in standing figure in the conduct of our national affairs. the best and fullest sense of the term, and holding, always, the unstinted respect and esteem of his fellow citizens, his career epitomized and exemplified the richest and noblest values of American life and enterprise. Possessed in the highest degree of the "common touch," ripe with years and honors, and universally beloved, he has gone to his great reward; and his splendid life and achievements have become the heritage of the Nation, and the memory of them a vital star in the Nation's firmament.

Third. That his faithful companion and helpmate, and the other members of his family, have suffered a bereavement which only time, faith, and the remembrance of his rare and noble character and of his all-embracing love and devotion for them may alleviate; and the committee, and each member of it, conveys to them the assurance of a profound sympathy and a tender solicitude.

Fourth. That these resolutions be made a part of the records of the committee, and that a copy of them be furnished to the bereaved family.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the story of the life and achievements of Martin B. Madden reads like a romance.

Born in England, he came with his parents to Chicago when four years of age. This marvelous city became his home, and amidst its teeming activities his sturdy character was moulded. Thrown on his own resources while yet a boy he soon demonstrated marked business ability. Before he had reached his thirtieth year he was recognized as one of the outstanding business men of Chicago. He had accumulated a great fortune at an age when most men are just starting on the road to success.

Mr. Medden's first public service was in the City Council of Chicago, where he served for eight years. During his service in the council he was its dominant member. It was here, as chairman of the finance committee of the council, he first demonstrated that genius for fiscal affairs that was later to give him nation-wide fame as chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives. He retired from the city council in 1897 and did not again hold public office until he entered Congress in 1905.

When he entered Congress he withdrew from the control and management of his extensive and varied business affairs and devoted himself wholly to his congressional duties.

For 23 years, almost a quarter of a century, his great abilities and his tremendous energies were exerted exclusively for his country's welfare. He early rose to a position of prominence in the House of Representatives. He maintained this eminence throughout his entire service and grew in power and leadership with every session, and on the day of his death wielded more influence and power in Congress and throughout the country than at any other time in his career.

His success in Congress was not accidental. natural abilities, his boundless energy, and unflagging industry, ordinary success or failure was not possible. His accurate and seemingly inexhaustible fund of information on matters coming before the House for discussion was amazing. specialized in matters relating to the Postal Service, and during the later years of his service to the collection and disbursement of the vast revenues of the Government, he did not confine his attention to these subjects alone. He participated in every important discussion in the House of Representatives for more than 20 years. He was always accorded the respectful attention of his colleagues, and he never failed to impart pertinent and useful information on every subject he discussed. He was listened to because he always had something to say. He never talked to the galleries. He never spoke merely that his position and his views might appear in the RECORD. When he spoke it was to voice convictions based on accurate information obtained from exhaustive and impartial investigation.

His great work as chairman of the important Committee on Appropriations has been fully set forth by his colleagues on that committee. I shall not undertake to enlarge upon what they have said. How ably he discharged the important and exacting duties of that high office is known by all his colleagues

and is fully appreciated by the entire country.

He was a great chairman of a great committee, and his conspicuous service as such in the closing years of his active and eventful career insures for him enduring fame and a high place in his country's history.

Mr. Speaker, the friends and associates of Martin B. Madden like to believe that his earthly career closed in a way and under circumstances he would have desired. He died at the post of duty. Weakened in body by advancing years and excessive labors, he retained to the last minute the full possession of all

his faculties.

Those of us who were privileged to observe him on the floor of the House the day he last appeared there can never forget the scene. Amidst the confusion and turmoil of the morning hour over matters on the Speaker's table this marvelous and many-sided man, this legislative veteran, rose in his place and in that penetrating, compelling voice characteristic of him said, "Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order." Confusion subsided and the House proceeded to the legislative program for the day. The tall form of Martin B. Madden was seen leaving the Hall for the last time. Within 10 minutes the House was stunned by the news that he was dead.

Seated at his desk quietly conversing with his lifelong friend and associate, his colleague in Congress from an adjoining district in the city of Chicago, the Grim Messenger delivered his summons and Martin B. Madden fell dying into the arms of his

friend.

There was peculiar appropriateness in Elliott W. Sproul's presence at the scene when death came to Martin B. Madden.

For a full half century they had been devoted friends. There was much in common between the two. Their lives in many ways paralleled each other. Madden born in England, Sproud born in Nova Scotia, they met in the great city on the Lakes when they were struggling young men just starting in life, each without money and influential friends. These two young men were destined to go far in life. They succeeded in business and they succeeded in politics. They each served in the city council and finally met in the National Congress as colleagues. How fine a thing it was when this friendship, a friendship as pure and devoted as that of Damon and Pythias, was interrupted by the death of one of them, the two should be together and alone.

MARTIN B. MADDEN is gone, but his influence lives on. His remarkable career is an inspiration to every poor boy in America. Coming to America a poor immigrant boy he rose to eminence and wrote his name high on the roster of those who

do big things.

Gifted by nature with rare qualities of mind and of heart, he grasped the wonderful opportunities our free institutions afford to young men of ability and character. His threescore and ten years were worthily spent and the world is better by the fact he lived in it.

He lies buried in an humble little country cemetery in the broad prairies of Illinois, the State he loved so well and so conspicuously served. His last resting place is in sight of his magnificent country home, where he enjoyed so many happy years, and in a community where he spent his boyhood days.

He was a man in every sense of the word, able, courageous, industrious, devoted to his family, his friends, and his country. He fought a good fight, he kept the faith, he has run his course. His memory and his good influence will long remain,

Mr. MORROW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to contribute in my humble way to the tribute of esteem and respect that will be paid, and rightfully so, by Members of Congress upon both sides of the aisle, regardless of political faith, to the life and character of our late lamented fellow Member, Hon. MARTIN B. MADDEN.

Much comment is made to-day in the Nation against the foreign-born citizen. The late Representative Madden was a fine, outstanding example of one who was foreign born but who served this Nation with great credit and marked benefit to all

its people

He was a great factor in the upbuilding and development of the country, both as a private citizen and in his services as a Member of Congress for nearly a quarter of a century. During the last several years he served as chairman of the very impor-

tant Committee on Appropriations.

His life, like that of many other Americans who have gained renown and whose life work merit consideration, was begun under much hardship and amid humble surroundings. Coming into the world with a good physical make-up, he passed through struggles and hardships to success, honor, and respect not only of his own city of Chicago but of the entire Nation. Early environment of industry, integrity, honesty, and love of home has a great influence on the character of an individual. The life of the late Member reveals all this; it also presents the outstanding characteristics of his life—temperate and religious; a man who believed in a Divine Ruler, whose laws should be obeyed as well as the laws enacted by man.

This training was instilled in our late colleague in his youth by the influence of hard-working, faithful, and loving parents;

their teachings endured during his entire life.

As a youth young Madden was employed as a water carrier in a stone quarry near Chicago, and he was therefore compelled to secure much of his education through night-school study. Here was a young boy who, as soon as his salary permitted it, paid his parents for his board in order that he might be of assistance to them. This water boy had visions of a future, and while he toiled by day he studied by night, preparing himself to compete for success in his adopted land of opportunity—America.

From water boy he rose to be the directing genius in the great quarry enterprise, serving as its engineer, architect, and finally as superintendent over men for whom he had carried

drinking water.

Later Mr. Madden entered public life and became active in the affairs of that growing western city, Chicago. He was a member of the city council and became its presiding officer. He also served as chairman of the finance committee for a period of seven years; it was in this important position that he perfected a system of cataloguing the indebtedness of the city, so that every obligation was indexed and systematized. This experience was later on of very material assistance to him when he served as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, in which capacity he served until his death. It can be truthfully said that the late Representative as chair-

It can be truthfully said that the late Representative as chairman of that committee, by clear-cut business methods and by his firmness in standing against unnecessary appropriations and extravagance in Government, saved not millions but the amount would run into the billions of dollars for the American taxpayers. His faithful and efficient service in this respect will never be fully appreciated. It is said of him, by those closely associated with him during the World War, that he was the one man who was always ready to back every move of the Government by sponsoring proper financial legislation which would assist in

bringing that war to a successful conclusion.

Martin B. Madden was a partisan in politics, yet he was most fair in his efforts in behalf of his party. He was active in the legislation in behalf of the building of the Panama Canal, and he largely caused the Republican Party to foster the project. In this enterprise he foresaw great protection to this Nation as well as an outlet for commerce from the countries bordered by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. His active spirit and foresight attracted the attention of President Roosevelt, and during his administration that President appointed Martin B. Madden as chairman of the important committee which was to determine and report to Congress whether the Panama Canal was to be constructed as a sea-level canal or as a lock canal. The previous training of Mr. Madden fitted him well for the study of this important matter of Government expenditure. His knowledge of engineering was brought into play in his study of this problem. He succeeded in convincing the committee, against the recommendations of the Government engineers, that the feasible thing to do to save time and money in the building of the canal was to construct the lock canal. This report was made to Congress, and after much struggle his ideas were adopted and the canal

was constructed as a lock canal at a cost, it is said, of one-half | the amount which would have been expended for a sea-level canal. The locks now bear the name of "Madden Locks" by legislative act of the Seventieth Congress; this act was introduced and fostered by Congressman EDWARD TAYLOR of Colorado.

Keen knowledge of his subject and the force of character portrayed in fighting for his ideas made MARTIN B. MADDEN a success in his private and public career. Regardless of a great physical handicap, in the loss of one of his lower limbs during his early life, he carried on as one who had no physical defect.

It is with a feeling of sincere affection and appreciation that I pay my tribute to his memory. In so doing I desire to relate my early experience in Congress and my first contact in legislative matters with the late Representative. At the time I first came to Congress the farmers of New Mexico had suffered the loss of crops from a drought of some two years; added to this situation was the deflation at the close of the war which caused the Federal reserve banks to call the livestock loans of the stockmen of the State. This produced a condition which forced the stockmen to sell their livestock at prevailing market prices, which sometimes were but a trifle above freight charges. The result was that the livestock men were not able to meet their obligations, and more than 50 per cent of all banks in the State were closed. The farmers were compelled to ask the Government for a seed loan in order that they might cultivate their land and produce a food crop. The appeal of the New Mexico farmers caused the introduction of a bill in Congress to loan to the farmers of the State \$1,000,000 for seed purposes, the loan to be repaid from the crop. Hearings were held; the bill passed the Senate and came to the House for consideration. In order that the bill might be considered on the floor of the House it was necessary to obtain time from the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. This was my first experience in Congress. I applied to the majority leader, who referred me to Chairman Madden. The majority leader did not give me much encouragement, as he said that the committee was anxious to dispose of the important appropriation bill; however, he suggested that I take up the matter with Chairman Madden.

I immediately proceeded to the office of the chairman and asked him for an interview. Unable to see me that day, he told me to call at 11 a. m. the day following. At the appointed hour I called and placed before him my request for an hour's time on the floor for the consideration of the bill granting a loan of a million dollars to the farmers of New Mexico for seed pur-Mr. MADDEN immediately replied that he was opposed to this form of legislation; he believed that the matter should be handled directly by the State. I informed him that owing to the deflation and bank failures the State was in no financial position to meet this problem. I outlined the matter to him fully, and his final reply was: "In view of the fact that this Congress has seen fit in the last two days to pass legislation granting millions of dollars for the relief of the citizens of Germany, it would appear to me that Congress can afford to lend a million to your farmers in New Mexico. I will grant you the time to present your bill."

This concession was a great relief to me; I had been under great strain for two months trying to get this bill on the floor; telegrams and letters kept pouring in urging that I pass the legislation. This was my first introduction to and contact with Representative Madden. The legislation was presented at the time allowed by him and the bill was passed, thus giving the relief sought by the farmers of New Mexico.

From that time on, upon many occasions, when I had legislation he would inquire as to the bills, my explanations always seemed to satisfy him. Our first meeting seemed to have given him an understanding that I was not asking anything unfair.

The six years I served in Congress gave me a clear insight into the character and very valuable services of Martin B. Madden. He scrutinized legislation carefully, aiming always to safeguard and protect the rights of the people. I also noted the great confidence the Members of the House had in his judgment and the high esteem with which they regarded him.

In my opinion no Member of Congress has ever rendered better or truer service in legislation than did our late beloved colleague, Martin B. Madden. It can be said that he cut short his own life in his devotion to faithful service to his Nation. The life and success of our late friend and fellow Member should be an inspiration to every American youth as to what may be accomplished by clean morals, industrious living, and honesty of purpose.

His was an honorable and successful career. In the words of the Bible-

Blessed is the man that walketh not in the councils of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scorn-

ful. But his delight is the law of the Lord and in His law doth he meditate day and night.

MARTIN B. MADDEN obeyed God's law, and observed, obeyed, and respected the laws of his country.

### THADDEUS C. SWEET

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, Thaddeus C. Sweet was born in the village of Phoenix November 16, 1872. He was therefore only 55 years old at the time of his tragic death. He was of Revolutionary stock, his great grandfather being on the staff of General Washington in the Revolutionary War. His people were in modest circumstances, but gave him a high-school education. He then entered the business world, where his rise was rapid. The remarkably sweet and happy disposition with which he was blessed, combined with great power of application and a real genius for detail, enabled him to forge steadily to the front. He entered the paper-manufacturing business, in which field he became one of the leaders. He was the type of man who has made America industrially and has given to business dignity and ethical standing. His relations to his employees were close, intimate, and sympathetic. His employees' problems were his problems and his service in their behalf was available at any time of the day or night. His success in business was striking and is an example of the rise from modest circumstances to a position of comparative wealth which typifies the growth of our Nation.

In the days of Greece and Rome fame and reputation came to those who served the state best. This is likewise characteristic of our Republic. The memory of Thaddeus C. Sweet will be kept alive and immortalized by his brilliant services to the State and Nation. He entered the field of politics actively in the year 1909, when he made his first canvass for member of assembly. At that time Charles E. Hughes was Governor of the State of New York. Governor Hughes advocated certain basic reforms in the conduct of the Commonwealth. One of these reforms was the establishment of the direct primary, wherein the people in an orderly way might express their pref-erence for their public officers. Thaddeus C. Sweet was what I might term a "practical idealist." In addition, he had an I might term a "practical idealist." In addition, he had an abiding faith in the sound judgment and fairness of the American people. He believed with Governor Hughes that many of the abuses which were incident to our Government would be wiped out by vesting the power to name candidates for office in the people rather than in a small group of hand-picked, bosscontrolled delegates. He entered the assembly and stood shoulder to shoulder with Governor Hughes in the enactment of this and other great reforms.

He served as a member of assembly from 1909 to 1920. In 1914 he was elected speaker of that body. His career in the assembly was marked by an unflinching devotion to legislation that stood for morality and law enforcement. His administration of the great office of speaker was as spotless as a star. Wielding the power of his office for six years, he drove the "money changers out of the temple." During his administration legislation was no longer bought and sold. Unflinching on any public proposition, where he believed he was right, he stood resolutely by his guns. During this sometimes stormy service as speaker some of the time with an adverse governor and senate, he made no personal enemies. His political opponents were wont to pay him this tribute, "THAD SWEET is a square fighter,

and his word when given is never broken."

He will be best remembered by his part in the socialist ouster in 1919. This little group in the assembly, which attempted to block war legislation, had made their allegiance with the Soviet of Moscow. Speaker Sweet took the position that their oath of office was a mockery; that they could not properly be part of any constitutional popular assembly. leadership and through his driving power and insistence these men were ejected from the assembly. Speaker Sweet was warned that the resident internationals of this particular group and the intelligentsia, so called, would dim his rapidly ascending political star. Men high in the council of his party, in the State and Nation, urged him to desist from this course. His intimate friends, hopeful of his further rise, counseled against this ouster, but he was adamant. Fully mindful of its effect on his own political future he considered only his duty to the State and to the Republic. I have said that this group of antisocial legislators were expelled. They were sent back to their dingy halls where the red flag was waving and the bloody deeds of the Russian Soviet glorified.

I have no hesitation in saying that this act, the consequences of which Speaker Sweet well knew, prevented him from being nominated and elected Governor of New York in the year 1920. I know personally he never had any regrets about the loss of the governorship. We all know that since that time the So-

cialist Party has waned in the congested sections of New York We know that no Socialist has been elected to the New York State Assembly since 1920. This was a great service to the State and to the Nation, which will cause his memory to live long in the hearts of thinking Americans.

The legislation which went on the books in the years when THADDEUS C. SWEET was speaker of the assembly was forward looking, sane, and progressive. Venality was banished from the legislative hall and the labors of our revered dead were thor-

oughly constructive

He retired from the assembly in 1920, pursuant to an ardent desire to return to his gentle wife and loving family and to his business affairs. But the public could not let him rest. Upon the death of Congressman Mott there was a demand from all over the congressional district that Speaker Sweet go to Congress. He did not wish to go. He wished to enjoy the surroundings and serenity of home life, to care for his greatly increased business and incidentally to play in the great outdoors. He was an ardent sportsman and loved the quiet of the woods and streams. But the subtless that the surrounding surroun woods and streams. But the public was not to be denied and he was again drafted into the service.

His rise in Congress was phenomenal. In this body, where length of service is controlling, his wonderful personality caused him again to forge rapidly to the front. At his death, after only five years' service in Congress, he was a member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee. He had come to be much

loved by his associates.

One of his most outstanding characteristics was his devotion to duty. Coupled with this was modesty and personal charm. Another of his assets was willingness to serve. No public man of our day served more zealously or more willingly for his constituents. He threw into the scale all his vitality in endeavoring to serve them in connection with their expressed wish. The humblest constituent of whatever party found Congressman Sweet ever ready to serve him. There was no limit to his zeal or to his energies when something was at stake for one of his constituents.

I have spoken of his attitude toward duty. Congressman Sweet died on duty. Like a soldier on the firing line, he went to his death endeavoring to reach Oswego, N. Y., to participate in certain civic ceremonies there. Delayed by other engagements, the only way he could reach Oswego in time was by airplane. Influenced by his ever-youthful spirit and his unwillingness to disappoint his Oswego constituents, he undertook the journey by air, which resulted in his tragic end. The passing of this citizen amounts to a positive calamity.

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Speaker, the death of Thaddeus C. Sweet, of Phoenix, N. Y., meant a triple loss to me—the loss of a warm personal friend, the loss of a member of the New York delegation in Congress, who was devoted to the interests of his State and his party, and the loss of a man who in a comparatively short time in Congress was already rendering conspicuous

service to his country.

I served with Tad Sweet in the New York Legislature for five years. After I left the legislature to come to Congress, he became speaker of the New York Assembly, and the fast friends he made there, as well as the ripened political experience he gained in this position, fitted him for the leadership he rapidly attained in the House of Representatives. Throughout his 19 years in the public service he made unending friendships. His affable and happy manner, his courage, his vigor, and forth-rightness made of him a true friend and a valuable political ally.

In only his second term in Congress Congressman Sweet was appointed a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, an unusual distinction for a new Member of Congress. His sudden and shocking death in an airplane accident as he was rushing on a friendly mission to his constituents occurred just a few days before he had planned to go with a group of agricultural leaders to confer with President Coolidge on the best method of raising the tariff duties on agricultural products as a means of increasing the prosperity of

American farmers.

Were he with us to-day he would doubtless be an important factor in solving the great problem which confronts us in the special session of Congress beginning next month. As the representative of an agricultural district, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, as a business man of notable experience and success, he has devoted much study to the question of tariff protection for the products of the farm as well as He would have made a valuable contribution to the tariff readjustment now being planned.

A self-made man in business as well as in politics, Congress man Sweet had risen in business from a clerk in a clothing store to president of a paper manufacturing company which he and his brother organized in his early manhood; and in politics from the ranks of those who serve their country when they cast their ballots to one who, at the time of his tragic death, was being urged to become a candidate for Governor of the State of New York.

He never gained political influence at the loss of personal friends. He rose not at the expense of others but by the force of his personality and ability. The men who worked for him, the men who worked with him, the men for whom he worked,

It is now just 10 months since an inexplicable accident took from the Halls of Congress and from a vast and ever-widening circle of friends the popular and influential figure of Thappeus C. SWEET. We still feel keenly the lack of his cheerful greetings in the corridors and his sound counsel on legislative mat-We shall not soon accustom ourselves to our loss.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, THAD SWEET and I were personal friends for more than 30 years. Back in the late nineties I was traveling salesman for the Racquette River Paper Co. and sold ground wood pulp to Sweet and his brother, who ran a small tissue-paper mill at Phoenix, N. Y. This casual business acquaintance soon ripened into a warm personal friendship which

lasted until his untimely and tragic death.

For many years he had been a member of a hunting and fishing club made up largely of men from Potsdam, my home town, and was a familiar figure on our streets as he came from and went to the Granshue Preserve. He was as well liked and as popular there as he was in his home town. Everyone liked THAD SWEET, for he was a genial, whole-souled, manly man, the kind of a man that made friends everywhere he went. He loved life and the things that went with it, and always did his part to make everyone around him enjoy that same happiness that was so characteristic of his everyday life.

He was a man of robust health, rugged and strong. No task was too hard, and the word "failure" was not in his vocabulary. He was a natural leader of men, and it did not take the House of Representatives long to discover the kind of a man he was or to recognize his unusual ability. No man of equal term of service has more impressed himself on Congress than did Than Sweet, and no man has left a greater number

of friends to mourn his tragic death.

When he came to Congress he was no novice in legislative work, for his long service in the New York Assembly had well fitted him for the work in the House of Representatives. Had his life been spared, he would have filled as important a place in Washington as he had previously filled in our State capitol There he held the important position of speaker Albany. of the assembly for seven terms and rendered able and distinguished public service.

He was frank, open, honest, and above in all things. He was one of the few men in public life that had the courage of his convictions. You could always find out where he stood on any public question, and you did not need to go around the next

day to see if he had changed his mind.

He had the health, vigor, ability, and courage to make him a most valuable public servant. His sudden passing was not only a loss to his family and friends but also to the American Congress. We need such men as Than Sweet in public life and can ill afford to lose them.

I know I express the feelings of every Member of the Seventieth Congress when I say we deeply mourn the untimely death of a trusted friend and valuable Member of the House of Rep-

resentatives. Such was Thaddeus Sweet.

Mr. CULLEN. Mr. Speaker, putting one's thoughts into language that will properly express one's feelings toward departed friends is indeed a hard task. To pay fitting tribute to a statesman like Thaddeus Sweet is doubly difficult because his untimely and tragic death is not only a loss to his family and numerous friends, but is a loss to the Empire State and the Nation as a whole.

I knew Thad Sweet; in fact, I sat next to him in the legislature of our State at Albany. I knew him to be a man possessed with the highest and noblest principles; always quiet, modest, sincere, evenly balanced, and at all times kind and friendly to

those who came in contact with him.

He served his State as speaker of the assembly from 1914 to 1920, with a high purpose and ability, and with great credit to himself, his family, and his State. As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means he had the respect and love of the membership of the House, who at all times held him in the highest esteem.

His untimely death, unexpected as it was, grieved me. I always found him kindly and affable, sincere and sympathetic, considerate and courteous, and I am more than glad to have the opportunity of paying tribute to his memory.

This House was honored and dignified by his presence. The great State of New York is better because of the great service he rendered to it and the community in which he lived profited in

him as its Representative.

During my melancholy privilege of attending his funeral I saw at first hand an abundance of evidence in testimony of the honor and reverence of his immediate fellow citizens. It was deeply impressed upon me that though these mourners must turn away from the grave marking his eternal resting place there would be no turning away from his memory, enshrined forever in the hearts and minds of those who loved and knew him best.

The individuals who stand out in prominence the world over are the ones whose honesty and simplicity first attract you and whose gigantic ability to perform their tasks afterwards impress

you.

It is well that we in life should in the midst of life's activities pause to sacredly observe an occasion like this and to drop a flower and a tear in the memory of our departed friend. In the exercise of this high but sad duty we not only confer some measure of honor upon him who has gone to the great beyond, and from whence no traveler returns to greet us again on this material earth, but we at the same time cultivate our own conceptions and understanding regarding the highest of things. "That is what we call life here and life hereafter."

I personally deeply mourn the passing of Thaddeus Sweet; he typified the highest ideals and the very noblest and best American manhood and statesmanship. How wonderful and noble it would be if we would all keep green the sainted memories of our loved ones, their faults forgotten, their virtues

enshrined in our hearts forever.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Speaker, the names of the illustrious dead in whose honor this House has assembled in a beautiful and solemn ceremony will be dealt with in the pages of this Record by friends and colleagues, who through years of fellowship and close association are qualified to do justice to their memory. Availing myself of the invitation so graciously extended to us by our distinguished Committee on Memorials, it is my purpose to lay my tribute at the shrine of Thaddeus C. Sweet, formerly a Representative from the State of New York, which it is my

honor and privilege to represent in part in this House.

It was my good fortune to know Mr. Sweet some years preceding his advent to the larger field of membership in this body. Our acquaintance goes back, sir, to the days when we were to-gether associated in the Legislature of New York. There I early recognized his sterling qualities and great ability and was enabled to follow carefully and approvingly the meticulous care and thoroughness with which he handled the many important and conflicting problems that came before us for solution. For four brief and happy, as well as to me very fruitful, years, we did our part together, and I can say of my deceased friend that the lines of demarcation were never drawn on a political basis when the interests of our State were involved. All of these years he was the speaker of our branch of the legislature and I can cheerfully say that he was the embodiment of the fair and square presiding officer under whom every member received his full measure of recognition and courteous consideration. As speaker he did me the great honor in 1916 to add my name to the list of those who represented the State of New York at the Panama-Pacific exhibition held in the city of San Francisco. He was very active in the business life of his community, and finally found it necessary to separate himself from his public work and direct his great energy to his private and rapidly increasing business enterprises. It was the avowed determination of our friend to leave behind him the cares and responsibilities of public service and take up instead the various personal commercial interests which his unusual business genius had fostered and developed. But, alas, in this instance the man proposed, but the people decided, and his resolution was of shortlived duration. So we find him back as the Representative of his people, but in a higher and a larger field in the Congress of the United States. The leaders of his party came early to realize his exceptional ability, and he attained a place on the great Committee on Ways and Means in an incredibly short period after his election. His worth and usefulness in his work is gladly certified by his committee colleagues without regard to party, and his affability, kindness, and courtesy endeared him to all.

Mr. Speaker, the district he served so conspicuously in this House needs no encomium from me as to the rare discernment they displayed in his selection. They selected a man who never forgot to serve them faithfully and well, and he fulfilled his duty as God gave him the power and the inspiration so to do. We all sympathize with his bereaved family, but our words can not assuage their sorrow. Still in this solemn hour devoted to

a contemplation of his character and accomplishment it will be comforting to those who loved him in his life to recall that though his distinguished career is closed he has left behind him the heritage of a great name respected and honored throughout the Nation.

To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Mr. Speaker, this day we meet in this historic Hall to commemorate the memory of 10 of our beloved colleagues who, in the period from July, 1927, to December, 1928, have been called upon to pay the final price to which flesh is heir.

Death has exacted a heavy toll, and thus through this undeniable messenger's summons 10 friendly and revered associates are missing from this meeting. Nevertheless, because of our sublime faith in Almighty God and our belief in His infinite wisdom, and bowing to this mandate with resignation and respectful deference, we know that these spirits of the illustrious dead are looking down upon us in this hour while we assemble to pay tribute to their worth and to their memory.

Many of my colleagues will seize this opportunity to extol the virtues of our deceased friends who because of years of close and intimate association have the right and the privilege to

speak.

The great State of New York, which I have the honor to represent in part in this House, has the name of one of its cherished sons in the list of those in whose honor these very beautiful services are being held to-day.

Thaddeus C. Sweet, whose tragic end on May 1, 1928, shocked our membership, came among us in the Sixty-eighth Congress. None would imagine that this quiet, inoffensive gentleman was the embodiment of all that statesmanship represents—as a result of unexampled service to his great Commonwealth.

His ancestry was of sterling American stock, for his greatgrandfather was on the staff of George Washington in the

struggling days of the War of the Revolution.

After a common-school education he entered the high school at Phoenix, N. Y., in the town that gave him birth and which during his short career in the House he so conspicuously represented. His was no bed of roses; he had to make his way in the college of "hard knocks," of which some writer once said the colors are "black and blue." Slowly but surely he climbed the ladder of achievement until in 1895 we find him in the manufacturing business, finally becoming the president of the company and chairman of the board of directors of a great trust company.

In 1909 he was sent to the New York Assembly, in which during 1914 to 1920 he officiated as the speaker. All of his colleagues who served with him during those years, regardless of political affiliation, are unanimous in his praise as a fair,

square, and kindly presiding officer.

On occasions like this, Mr. Speaker, we can but think of the serious problems of life. We wonder whence we came and whither we are going; what it is all about, and whether death is the end, or whether the tomb is but a gateway to an eternity

of opportunity.

It can not be that our very short existence upon earth is the end. There is that within us which speaks unerringly of another life, broader and higher and better than this. It can not be that the years of toil and strife and affection and preparation of a life well lived end at the grave. Another life beyond the mystery we call "death" is prophesied with certainty by that unceasing and unsatisfied hunger in the human heart for something better than we are. Life is not broken, but continuous and unending. The deep, unfathomable 'mystery of being remains unsolved. The beginning of life we know not, yet we know that we are, and we know that we shall continue to be, united beyond the grave with those loved ones who have gone on before.

We think sometimes that perhaps death is the end of the feverish journey of life, but that is because our poor, weak

human vision is so limited and so shortsighted.

Too often our good deeds weaken and die in the memory of men, but every human being soweth seeds which grow and multiply. In the crush of human emotions not all the good will fructify and neither will all the evil flourish, but like a great oak whose branches are strengthened as they increase their gracious shadows, so deeds of kindness strengthen the human heart. So grew the generous nature of this man, honored by the populace, until often the distress of others became his very own, and by the touch of his helping hand their heavy cares were rolled aside.

I do not know what creed he professed; I know not what church cast its sanctified mantle about him, neither shall the records of justice take note of these, for it is written in the roll of heaven that he was charitable, he was generous, he was kind.

Mr. Speaker, the herald of death oft gives no day of grace, as in the case of him of whom I speak, and when from the shadow came the summons to attend the last roll call in the house of life it found our friend yielding willing tribute to friendship-it found him giving aid to others.

Fate silently beckoning, held aside the veil and he entered, to return no more; but to day, on the face of the cliffs of time, we will chisel his name and beneath it subscribe the humble

tribute: He gave aid and comfort to his fellow men.

So let us not so much mourn that he is dead, but rather let us rejoice that he has lived. Let us not think so much of his untimely taking off, but rather of the fullness of his life. Poets for ages have sung of the sadness of death when it comes to a man of full life and vigor, to one still ready and willing to do a man's part in the world of men, yet the Greeks personified death by a beautiful boy crowned with immortal youth, and somehow that ideal seems fitting. For the deeds of man, the lesson of his life, and the good example he gave will live forever, and their rejuvenation from one generation to the other may well be exemplified by youth. Stricken in life's prime, in the fullness of a spiendid usefulness, Tad Sweet left to his family, to the people of his district, and to us a monument more enduring than marble and a heritage more precious than gold.

> Peace and death's beauty to his heart to-day, Who is not dead, but only gone away To sleep a little, as a child who goes, When twilight folds the petal of the rose.

Mr. BLACK of New York. Mr. Speaker, active and in demand as Tad Sweet always was he never at any time was brusque or curt with his fellow man. Officially he had tremendous responsibilities, but they did not weigh on him so heavily that he forgot the thoughtful deeds that public men are apt to overlook.

I knew him well in both Albany and Washington. He was an alert legislator and a man of wise and ready decision. As speaker of the Assembly of the State of New York he never let partisanship blind him to the fair play that characterizes the big men in the political world.

The reputation for high-mindedness he won at Albany he carried with him to Washington, where it was recognized

nationally.

His untimely end was not only a terrible catastrophe to those who loved him but it cost the Nation a vivid personality whose contribution to our welfare in the short time of his congressional service was most substantial.

Mr. BOYLAN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I desire to pay my tribute to the memory of our departed friend,

THADDEUS C. SWEET.

On the first Wednesday in January, 1910, he and I walked up the hill to the State capitol at Albany. Both of us were fledgling members of the legislature. He from the northern part of our great State, and I from our great city. Although of different political faiths, a friendship was formed between us that lasted through all the years until his untimely and sad We saw much of each other, and I was always happy to have him visit me.

We worked together at Albany for 11 years, 6 of which our friend was speaker of the assembly of the State. Again it was our good fortune to meet and work in the House of Representatives, both of us coming here in the Sixty-eighth Con-

His was a splendid and pleasing personality. He early developed a keen insight into legislative work and practice. He was devoted to the interests of his State and country. His last speech on the floor of the House was in support of a bill to repay his native State funds advanced to the Government during the War of 1812. He always spoke his convictions and supported them by his vote. He was always inspired by the highest motives in his public work, and he considered the welfare of the Nation alone when charting his course.

He was a man of sterling courage and a splendid friend. He was ever willing to allow for the faults and omissions of human-

kind; and his temperament was kind and gentle.

I shall ever treasure my friendship with him, and I know that the knowledge of it will always be an inspiration and help

to me in the trials and vicissitudes of life.

He completed the work allotted to him here; the result-a beautiful pattern, full and well rounded out, a splendid example to us all-and, although he is gone from us, I know that he will ever treasure in fond remembrance our knowledge of his splendid life and deeds.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, this memorial meeting called to express the great sorrow of the House of Representatives on

the passing of its Members, presents an opportunity to the survivors of such Members to express their feelings of regret on the passing of their friends and the untimely loss of membership of this House.

THADDEUS C. SWEET, whose life came to an untimely end when he was fatally injured in an airplane accident several months ago, was one of the outstanding members of his party. His character was charming. The friendships he made among Members of this House were many and varied.

There is hardly a Member of this House who does not recall Sweet's genial personality, his unfailing courtesy, his great tact, and his readiness to serve whenever called upon to do so.

He was always in the forefront of any progressive action which this House would take in any matter involving the welfare of the public.

In my own State he served with distinction as a member of the assembly and for six years as speaker of the assembly.

I had the extreme pleasure of being sworn in as a member of the Assembly of the State of New York at the time that THADDEUS C. SWEET was speaker, and it was under him that I

served as an assemblyman for a number of years.

The particular manner in which laws are enacted in the State of New York makes the speaker of the assembly the decisive factor in the passage of any law which may engage the attention of the legislature of this State. It is the speaker who directs the appointments of members of all committees, and it is the speaker who is head of the committee on rules and takes charge of all legislation in the Assembly of the State of New York for 10 days before the end of the session. As such chairman of the committee on rules, the speaker may force the passage of any bill which he deems appropriate and prevent passage of any legislation which he deems inopportune. Speaker Sweet exercised the great powers of his office for the public benefit and so as to give the public all such legislative measures as would result in public good. It was the speaker's thoroughgoing knowledge of the needs of the State and his intimate acquaintance with the business of the State which resulted in some of the most progressive legislation which the State of New York could place on its statute books during the time of his incumbency of that office.

When Mr. Sweet was elected to Congress it became again my pleasant duty to assist him in his new legislative duties, although his experience in the New York State Legislature was more than sufficient to make him into a valuable Member of this House and result in his perfect mastery of the parliamen-

tary routine which governs our labors.

My colleagues and I were, therefore, very much grieved and full of sorrow when Mr. Sweet passed away. We were looking forward to many years of continued cooperation in the work of Congress. While not of Mr. Sweet's political party, I always found a willing listener in Mr. Sweet when advocating or urging legislation in the interest of the common man, woman, or child of America. Mr. Sweet gave his life to the public welfare, and his love of the masses made him a conspicuous figure in all progressive legislation which engaged our attention from time to time.

I hoped and expected that I would have the privilege of hav-Mr. Sweet's support on the measures of public welfare which I had the good fortune to introduce in Congress from time

to time. The Almighty, however, ruled otherwise.

We may, therefore, suspend a moment in our deliberations and let us shed a tear on his untimely death and express our regrets to his bereaved family.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, Thaddeus C. Sweet came to Congress after a distinguished career as Speaker of the Assembly of New York State. He was a successful business man, an untiring worker, and one who enjoyed doing something for somebody else more than he did for himself, and as a result the demands upon him for the services which a Congressman can render to his constituency and to his friends were larger than those upon the most of us. This was especially true with reference to the cases of disabled veterans of the World War. He took an especial interest in them and in looking after them, and I doubt if any other Member of the House was able to accomplish more for them than was Mr. Sweet. He served on the World War Veterans' Committee of this House and on the Pension Committee. The last two years of his service and at the time of his death he was a member of the Ways and Means Committee, where his business experience combined with his long legislative experience made him a very valuable member.

He was noted for his cheerful disposition and his extreme kindness and tact in handling people. These qualities endeared him to all with whom he came in contact and made him a most useful and valuable citizen. He was always fair-even charitable in his judgment of others. The country has lost a fine, upstanding citizen—one who always stood for the best interests of America. Personally, I have lost one who was my closest friend in the House—one whom I loved as a brother and respected to the utmost.

Mr. CLARKE. Mr. Speaker, one of the delights in public service and the cause of better government is the intimate contacts we make with representative men of action and accomplish-

ment from all sections of the United States.

When Tad Sweet arrived here it did not take the Members of Congress long to know—they are shrewd judges of human nature—that a real man was in Congress. His background of experience in the New York Legislature, his general reputation as a leader, were known to many, and when they actually came to meet him you never heard a comment that was not favorable.

Tad's office became a rendezvous for a multitude of friends made in the New York Legislature as it became the mecca for many of us who wanted to know better the man whose personality we found interesting. He was a great captain of details, he knew his district, its industries, and a multitude that called him "Tad." He loved his district's people and every part of it. Many a time I have heard him remark in a longing way his desire for home and the old friends, as much as he esteemed the new ones.

His unselfish loyalty to friends was not questioned and his willingness to work for them was always in evidence. The genuine good cheer of his greeting was an inspiration, and his ability to get things done made him a model legislator. I prized

his friendship and venerate his memory.

Mr. PRATT. Mr. Speaker, memorializing a colleague from New York in the House of Representatives just a few years ago, Thaddeus C. Sweet said:

In every land, honor and renown are accorded to every citizen who fills his life with service to others in any walk of life, public or private, civil or martial.

In that eulogy of a comrade, Thaddeus Sweet stated his own philosophy of life—a philosophy that directed his own dynamic existence. According to the standard by which he measured a friend, he, himself, lived. By it he gained, without directly seeking it, an honor and renown that will survive him so long as memory lasts.

Service to others, regardless of their station, was an essential part of Thappeus Sweet's being. To him it was an ambition. It was reflected in a personality that caught the admiration of acquaintances, and captured the hearts of those privileged

to be his friends.

It was as a friend—an intimate friend—that I knew him. I met him when I began my service in the House of Representatives, just as I met other Members of this body. But fortune made him my residence neighbor, too, and during my apprenticeship he took a personal interest that ripened into an enduring friendship. Our official relations were made doubly pleasant by a social companionship that was more than agreeable. Small wonder, then, that his untimely and tragic end shocked and grieved me, and left me with a sense of personal loss in his passing.

It has been aptly said that we live in deeds, not years, and thus we may appraise Thaddeus Sweet. His span of life in years was short. In deeds, it was rich. Without deeds—deeds of service—there would be no friendship. His life was richly

crowned by both.

With a rustle of the forest and a fading of the light,
And the silent calls and numerous of the swiftly falling night,
And the hum of unseen voices as the wild things take their flight,
The evening comes.

The evening came into the life of Than Sweet, and with it the darkness. But through it will ever shine in my memory the unfailing light of his friendship!

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, in company with my colleagues of the House I am paying this inadequate tribute to a distinguished son of my State, Hon. Thadded C. Sweet, who has gone from among us to return no more. I can add but little to what has and will be said by those who knew and served with him in this body.

The excellencies of mind and heart which characterized him in his more personal relations reflected in his larger relation as a public man and a servant of the people. Loyalty not only to his friends and his fellow men but to ideals and conviction was the great directing force of his energies in whatever sphere

of action they were directed.

He came among us, this friend that has gone, ripe with a record of fruitful public service and achievement in the great State of New York. Many there are among my colleagues from our State who served with him in the lower house at Albany, of which he was the speaker for six years; all of whom gladly testify to his outstanding ability and his sense of justice and fairness to all. To him political virtue was something more than mere subscription to party faith; to him it meant action, deeds, accomplishments for the general good. His sudden and untimely end in the prime and vigor of early manhood leaves us stunned and nonplused. We stand in awe before the majesty of death, to ponder the great mystery of the life beyond the grave.

Mr. Speaker, it should be a source of pride and satisfaction to his family and his friends that without respect to party his colleagues, who have served with him in this historic body, will ever remember him not only for his unsullied character and ability but with the warmest affection for the man and the friend.

Mr. HANCOCK. Mr. Speaker, the tragic and shocking death of Thaddeus C. Sweet in an airplane accident on May 1, 1928, ended a life of great accomplishment and of greater promise. Success had been his in many walks of life, earned by his own efforts alone; and his future was bright with the prospect of many years of achievement and usefulness. The sudden ending of his career in middle life, while physically strong and mentally vigorous, and while busily and joyously engaged in carrying the many private and public burdens that rested on him so lightly, was a sad loss and a bitter bereavement to his friends and associates and the country he served.

He had a genius for friendship. He delighted in kindly deeds. The Good Samaritan was his guide and pattern. No human being in distress, no matter how humble, ever appealed to him without a prompt and generous response. He truly loved his fellow man. No opponent was big enough to intimidate him or cause him to make obeisance; no one too lowly for his broad, human sympathy. His friends were legion—with such a man

it could not be otherwise.

In the community where he lived, his was the sound judgment and quiet forcefulness that directed the affairs of the village and its institutions. In the Legislature of the State of New York, where he served 11 terms, 6 of which as speaker of the assembly, his personality and influence was outstanding. In the Congress, where his third term was interrupted by death, his knowledge of legislation, his experience in business, his wise counsel, his devotion to duty, and his personal charm won him a position of prominence and prestige, as well as the finer tribute of the confidence and affection of his colleagues of both parties.

Our hearts go out in sympathy to his devoted family, suffering from the bitter grief which only faith in divine Providence can assuage. We mourn his loss; we honor his name; we chrish his legacy to us—the memory of happy hours spent with him, the friendship he gave us so freely, and the inspiration of

an upright and honorable life.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, the unfortunate accident that caused the untimely death of Hon. Thaddeus C. Sweet was a public misfortune. Prior to his entry into Congress he had a long and successful business experience and training, as well as important legislative service in the New York Legislature, being the speaker of that body for six years. He came to Congress with a sound and ripened judgment in business and legislature. In an unusually short time his ability gave him prominence and his diligence and information in the discharge of his duties commended him to the confidence of the House, which entertained for him the highest esteem. He was universally loved for his manly strength and uprightness. As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means he evidenced marked ability for this important work, and we sincerely regret that he will counsel with us no more.

### THOMAS STALKER BUTLER

Mr. DARROW. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Thomas S. Butler the State of Pennsylvania lost a distinguished son and the Nation was deprived of a conscientious and courageous public servant.

At the time of his death our late colleague, who we affectionately called "Uncle Tom" was serving his sixteenth term in Congress, and was not only the dean of the Pennsylvania delegation but father of the House, as we designate those longest in consecutive service. In that respect he occupied the same position as other distinguished Pennsylvanians—Kelley, Randall, O'Neill, Harmer, Bingham, and Dalzell.

The Butlers are of ancient lineage in this country, tracing their ancestry from Noble Butler, who was born at Bedminster, England, in 1704, and who came to the United States when a young man. He was assessed in Kennett Township, Pa., 1725-1730; in East Caln, 1734-35; and after 1736 in Uwchland, where land is at present held in the family's name. Records are found in the keeping of the Society of Friends showing that he was an overseer in their meeting. Family records illustrate the fact that John (?) Butler was the progenitor of that line from which Hon. Thomas S. Butler was descended. John Butler and his wife, Bersheba (Noble) Butler, were both natives of Bristol, England. They were in the city of Philadelphia prior to April 21, 1711, and from that year to this members of the line have been of prominence in the annals of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER was born at the old family seat in Uwchland Township, near Lionville, Chester County, Pa., November 3, 1854. He was the oldest son of Samuel and Margaretta P. (Woodward) Butler, his father having been a farmer, teacher, and member of the State legislature, serving also as State treasurer. His father was born February 2, 1825, and

died February 1, 1891.

In the common schools of Chester County and in Bolmar's Academy of West Chester Mr. Butler received his elementary and secondary instruction, then became a student in West Chester State Normal School, being one of the first pupils in the latter institution, 1872. Under Joseph F. Perdue and Judge J. Smith Futhey he studied law and was admitted to the bar of Chester County in 1877 and to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1879, at the ages of 22 and 24 years, respectively.

For a brief period Mr. Butler practiced his profession alone and independently in West Chester, later forming a partnership with his cousin, Judge William Butler, jr., who had been a student in his law office, and in this connection continued until 1898, when William Butler, jr., was elected to the bench. Meanwhile the firm admitted William S. Windle, a man of brilliant attainments, who had married a sister of William Butler, jr. For a number of years this firm operated under the style of Butler & Windle. In 1888 Mr. Butler was chosen to serve as an additional law judge to succeed his former preceptor, Judge Futhey, while William B. Waddell presided on the bench. In 1889 Mr. Butler, who had been appointed judge, was a candidate to succeed himself, but was defeated by Hon. Joseph Hemphill by 32 votes. A split in the Republican ranks was given as the cause, the struggle being more over the control of the party than over personalities. The effect was to strengthen him in his determination to engage in the public's service, and hence he came to be through a "lengthening of the cords and strengthening of the stakes" a national rather than a local figure. Had he been elected to the bench in 1889 he might have spent the rest of his life there, rather than in Congress.

Be it said that at all times Mr. Butler faithfully represented

his constituents in the congressional district comprising Chester and Delaware Counties, and that in all his career there never was a question raised regarding his ability or his integrity or of his personal services in behalf of constituents and the country as a whole. He never grew rich in office and was not given to display, but from the very beginning observed in his manner of living a certain simplicity which won and held for him the confidence and esteem of everyone, creating a neighborly feeling throughout his district in Pennsylvania. He maintained this neighborliness despite the fact that he associated with the greatest men of the Nation and held high positions of trust and honor. Though opportunities for private gain were abundant, he thought of God and home and family, and "trespassed not

in the accursed thing."

When Mr. Butler went to Congress for his first term, he succeeded John B. Robinson, of Media, Pa., who in his youth had served in the Navy and was a member of the Naval Committee of the House. At that time the Navy had not reached a degree of such high importance. However, dating from the time the Maine was blown up in the harbor of Habana, the Navy sprang into importance, and since then has been a real power to be considered in world affairs. Mr. Butler familiarized himself with the service and was constantly beset by officials regarding its urgent needs and appropriations therefor. He was not reared as a naval man, but rather, as he said, as a member of the Uwchland Meeting of Friends, and all his instincts were for peace. However, he thrust himself into the program, labored for the Navy's interests, and was proud of the achievements which it won throughout the world.

The position of a leader always is assailed by opposing forces, and Mr. Butler's position was somewhat of an unpleasant one after the World War, when propaganda for and against national-defense measures showed unusual activity, and, moreover, was much better organized than it had been ever before.

One side insisted that we should have the greatest navy in the world; the other, with no less adroitness, insisted that our men-of-war be scrapped, and at once, and all swords be beaten into plowshares. Extremists on either side attacked him, and Mr. Butler, with these pressing annoyances, took counsel with whom he would and hit upon the course which he believed correct, best for the country; and this he adhered to unflinchingly, at the same time showing respect for those who really were in earnest in their appeals for a more radical and spectacular stand. As chairman of the Naval Committee he enjoyed the absolute confidence of Congress and the people at large, and his district stood by him in all emergencies. On other issues he was equally harassed and heckled, and while he could not declare himself in such a way as would give universal satisfaction, he was credited with having done what was right in his own eyes. Not infrequently, after the "smoke barrage" had blown aside, it was revealed that he had acted on inside information, which had warranted the actions for which he was criticized.

As a public speaker Mr. BUTLER was always popular. He liked nothing better than to meet a group of country people and to talk to them in genial fashion about the changes had taken place on the farm since he was a lad helping with the field and barn work. Having an easy appreciation of their problems, he kept their hearts light as he talked, and underneath this pleasantness ran an undercurrent of serious thought in their refentive minds. But during his long term in national office he made it a rule to hold aloof from local affairs, preferring to meet his neighbors as such rather than to manage anything among them.

For this reason he permitted himself to show no special interest in civic matters nor to hold public office. In 1927 he consented, however, to accept a position as trustee of State Teachers' College, an institution he had attended when it was a State normal school. He had been a trustee from 1885 to 1889, but after having become active in politics had withdrawn from the

Mr. BUTLER was one of the initial promoters of rural free delivery, and it was through his influence that the borough of West Chester had two such deliveries a day for a period of He procured the appropriation for the building of the West Chester post office and those in other towns of the district, and did vast service in improving general mail conditions. During the World War he paid a visit to France and mingled with the soldiers of the United States, who received him with a glad welcome. He went into the front trenches, and from various points of view was able to see the operations of the enemy. In addition to his fine ability as a statesman he had those personal qualities which endeared him to all who came in contact with him. This was reflected in the fact that he had not the slightest opposition in his own party, there having been hardly a single active campaign against him in the many terms of his office. One of his characteristics was his interest in young men and women, and his kindly advice and counsel had much to do with the molding of the lives which came under his influence. Particularly was this true with regard to those who gained their first knowledge of the law under his preceptorship. thoroughness of his training is evidenced by standards maintained by men who were his pupils at law and to the heights to which they have risen in the profession or in other ways in which they have been called upon to serve the public.

Mr. BUTLER married Maud Mary Darlington, daughter of the late Congressman Smedley Darlington, of Faunbrook, East Bradford Township, Chester County, in West Chester on February 20, 1879. She survives her husband, and was to him a most devoted assistant during his years of national service. Much of her time was spent with him in Washington, where she aided him in keeping in touch with noted personalities and

in never forgetting his home people.

Mr. and Mrs. Butler became the parents of three sons, who survive their father: (1) Brig. Gen. Smedley Darlington Butler, of the United States Marine Corps; (2) Samuel Butler; and (3) Horace Butler. Also surviving is a sister, Miss Annie M. Butler, who has made her home with his family for many years.

Mr. Butler died in Washington on May 26, 1928, following an illness of several weeks brought on by a heart attack. The body was returned to West Chester the day following, funeral services were held Tuesday afternoon, May 29, under charge of Dr. Charles R. Williamson, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church and a speaker of the Society of Friends.

Tributes to the veteran of the Pennsylvania delegation in the House of Representatives were many, and from all parts of the Nation, from persons in all walks of endeavor and all positions in society, from proudest to humblest. Public expressions were everywhere in evidence. Hon. Curtis D. Wilbur, Secretary of the Navy, said:

Chairman Butler belonged to the Navy not only because his son, Gen. Smedley Darlington Butler, was in it but more so because his heart was in it. He had a genuine affection for the officers and men of the Navy, and for 30 years had fought their battles on the floor of the House. He saw the Navy in two wars fight for the country he loved. We will all miss the man whom we learned to love as "Uncle Tom."

On the evening of May 31, 1928, the Los Angeles paused for one minute in its flight over the cemetery and scattered flowers upon his grave.

I am indebted to Miss Isabel Darlington, former law partner of Mr. Butler, for furnishing me a biographic sketch prepared

by a publishing company.

Early in my congressional service I formed a friendship with an admiration for Mr. Butler, and when the opportunity came I was happy to serve with him as a member of the Naval Affairs Committee and later to work under his leadership as chairman of that important committee. During that period our associations were more intimate, and I found him to be always able, always intelligent, always fair, never desirous of extravagance, but always desiring the Navy maintained in a high position. He had one quality which develops leadership; that is confidence in his cause and confidence in himself, which no doubt was the reason for his success. An outstanding trait in Mr. Butler's sterling character was his uncompromising loyalty to conviction. He was a man of intense convictions and had the courage to express them, but he fought so fairly, so frankly, and so openly that no one even questioned his sincerity.

Although a Quaker in life and lineage, Mr. BUTLER was nevertheless an enthusiastic advocate of preparedness, and his name is closely woven with the advancement of our Navy during the past 30 years. He was ever ready to fight for an adequate navy and to defend it from assault. One of the last bills he sponsored was the so-called cruiser bill, which only recently

passed the Senate and has become a law.

His kindness, his achievements, and his triumphs will always be a precious memory to those who loved him, and I count it as a priceless heritage to have had the privilege of enjoying his friendship.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, the life, character, and public services of an individual Member of Congress are matters of importance as well as interest not only to the family and friends of the deceased and to his colleagues in Congress but to the people of the entire country, because it is of the lives, character, and services of the Members individually that the final resultant of service is made up. Each Member contributes his share, which may be large or small; the service may be long or of short duration, but each makes a contribution, and the sum of all is the measure of the effectiveness and usefulness of this body.

The service of Thomas S. Butler in the House of Representatives was far beyond the usual in its length, and all will agree that his contribution during that long period was a very large and substantial one. He entered the House at an age sufficiently young to enable him to become saturated with the spirit of the service of the House, and he was here long enough to thoroughly

understand how to make his work most effective.

Others will tell more in detail of his special service as a member and for a long time chairman of the very important Committee on Naval Affairs, and, therefore, I shall only refer to it in passing. It might seem strange to those not familiar with the spirit of service in this House that one of the most peace loving of men, who, in addition, had been brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Society of Friends, should become one of the most valuable members and finally the leader of a committee of the House whose duty it is to deal with the grim realities of preparation for war. If there were inconsistency in such a situation, however, it never appeared to Tom BUTLER He saw his duty, faced it squarely, and never flinched. flagged, or wavered in the performance of that duty. Through the turbulent period of the war he rose almost to majestic heights as he toiled with his colleagues in dealing with the vexed problems of those days.

If every Member of the House of Representatives should write his own account of Tom Butler's career in Congress, there would, of course, be as many different accounts as there are Members, but in one thing probably all would agree. I doubt not that all would bear testimony to the same fact that no Member of this House during the service of any Member now living has exemplified a more lovable character than Tom Butler possessed. The effect of this lovable character was felt in all his relations with his colleagues, for his good nature was contagious and few could resist it. I do not mean that he was always placid, for such he was not. In fact, in times of stress, and when matters which he deemed of great importance were

under consideration, he was far from placid, but his intense earnestness always carried the conviction that his heart was right, and for this reason everyone loved him and, if possible, agreed with him.

In a few instances when Members have served for a considerable length of time in the House of Representatives and have particularly endeared themselves to the membership of the House, some affectionate designation has been attached to their names. It was so in Tom Butler's case. Everyone with deepest respect, approaching reverence, called him "Tom Butler," and for many years during the latter part of his service here he was called by most Members "Uncle Tom." There is more honor in such a designation than in many a long eulogium. The designation "Uncle Tom" epitomized more than many phrases could be made to do the admiration, respect, honor, and love of his fellow Members. So he lived and moved and did his work among us, beloved by all, and when he went he left a gap that will not soon be filled.

Mr. WOLFENDEN. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, May 26, 1928, Hon. Thomas S. Butler joined that innumerable caravan to the realns above. This beloved statesman was the personification of that oft-repeated expression, "the fullness of life." Once as I stood in the Wanamaker Art Gallery studying the painting, Christ Before Pilate, a little girl stood close by with her mother; then suddenly she ran up to the painting and tried to undo the thongs that tied the Master's hands, and I would that I might paint such a word picture of this outstanding character that we would see him in our midst to-day.

He entered the lower House in 1897 and at once became interested in the naval program. He found wooden vessels and he fought for steel, thereby earning the title of the "father of the steel Navy" after three decades of insistent persistent effort. Each session was an added opportunity for unselfish service to

his country and his constituency.

The Butlers are of honored ancestry, dating back to Noble Butler, who was born at Bedminster, England, in 1704, coming to this country when a young man, being assessed in Kenneth Township, Pa., in 1725, and East Calm in 1734, and after 1736 in Uwchland. At this latter place land is still held in the family name, and from this time the Butlers have always been active in the affairs of the Keystone State.

Our friend, the Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER, was born at the family seat in Uwchland Township, Chester County, on November 4, 1855. His father was a member of the State legislature

and later served as State treasurer.

He received his scholastic training in the schools of Chester County, being one of the first pupils in the West Chester State Normal. With prophetic vision he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1877. His firm, which included his cousin, Judge William Butler, jr., attained a high degree of prominence, and in 1888 he was chosen as an additional law judge, but was unsuccessful at the following election.

Eight years later the people of his district sent him to Congress to become a national figure and emblazon his name as one who served to the limit of human endurance. From that time until his death he was in truth a Congressman in all that honored title implies. He gave his attention assiduously and well to rendering the highest degree of service to his

country and to the folks back home.

He had the likable trait of making all his callers at ease and established contacts that lasted as long as life itself. Always unassuming, he apparently had no desire to attain wealth, but devoted his energies to properly safeguarding the country. His work on the Naval Committee is one of the brightest

His work on the Naval Committee is one of the brightest pages in our country's archives. At his inception into this body his knowledge of the needs of the Navy was necessarily limited, but study and experience developed him into an au-

thority on this particular line.

In his early days in Congress there was no pressing need for up-to-minute naval equipment. However, the Spanish-American War sounded a genuine alarm and plainly showed the necessity for a marked change in the naval program. Congressman Butler lent his every activity to this call and the Navy became his life work. His monument to-day is fittingly depicted upon the high seas where America can now contend with the other powers of the world.

His work was extremely difficult. At times he had considerable opposition from the pacifists and the economists, but eventually he prevailed. This in itself is a tribute to his vision and justified his position as chairman of the Naval Committee.

Devotion to the work at hand became his life's ambition, nor would be swerve to any other interest, despite all manner of calls on a man marked with his recognized ability.

It always was a matter of keen delight for him to take his friends to those who held the highest positions of trust and honor in the country. His homely virtues won for him undying friendships, and he was constantly acclaimed throughout his district. Congressman Butler was admired and beloved by all who knew him as a man who always had the courage of his convictions. This is clearly attested by the continuous wholehearted support he received from his constituency during a period of 31 years of service.

The pressure of business at the Capitol did not in any way lessen his attention to the needs of his district, and the various public buildings in Chester and Delaware Counties are living

reminders of his work.

His intense humanity led him to go to the scene of action amid those stirring days when the whole world was rocked with war, and it was there he became more convinced upon a pro-

gram of adequate naval protection.

He loved the great outdoors and took pride in stocking the fish streams and in the distribution of all varieties of seeds throughout his section. He received valuable counsel from his beloved wife, who was Maud Mary Darlington, of Chester She spent much of her time in Washington and was at all times his invaluable aid and companion.

Distinguished guests often visited their home on West Miner Street, West Chester, as well as friends from all parts of the two counties. There was a friendly greeting for all, no matter what their station in life. Such visits never failed to increase the admiration for this statesman to whom passing years brought increased responsibilities and labors.

He had three sons. His son, Brig. Gen. Smedley Darlington Butler, delighted his father by the manner in which he handled the position of director of public safety of Philadelphia under Mayor Kendrick. The Congressman's wife and his sister still

continue their home in West Chester.

Last spring the entire country was plunged into sorrow when the news came that this fine character, beloved and admired by all who knew him, had laid down his mantle and passed to the Great Beyond.

The funeral services were held on Tuesday afternoon, May 29. Dr. Charles R. Williamson, of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, officiated, and a speaker from the Society of Friends.

He was laid at rest in Oaklands.

His name stands among the leaders on glory's page. Kind, sympathetic letters poured into the old homestead. His Washington office was flooded with letters that told in part of the great loss sustained. It seemed everyone was affected by the passing of this patriarch who only a few weeks before had appeared on the front page of all the leading newspapers telling of his fight on the floor of the House for increased battleships.

NICHOLAS LONGWORTH, Speaker of the House, said:

Tom BUTLER was a unique character in the House. Everybody was fond of him. Without question he was one of the men who accomplished genuine results for the proper increase of the Navy; one of the few men who have done really big things for it. He was absolutely consistent in that direction, and was for many years, especially since the Washington treaties, for Mr. BUTLER insisted day in and day out upon the maintenance, at least in reasonable degree, of the 5-5-3 ratio. He always had that in mind. If the veteran Pennsylvanian had done nothing more than that, his place in the congressional history would be secure, even if he had not been at the hour of his going the oldest Member of the House in continuous years of service and the holder of the longest continuous record of service for all time.

It was my privilege to know "Uncle Tom" intimately through the later years of his life, and I count myself indeed fortunate in having a close contact with this outstanding leader. positive and earnest and derived intense pleasure from his work on the Naval Committee, yet was never too busy to lend a willing ear for some personal service. He had the happy faculty of greeting you in such an intimate, personal manner that you always looked forward to the next visit.

In the various meetings held in his district his introduction was a signal for a wonderful demonstration. His constituency fairly idolized him and took deep pride in his achievements.

The poet has well said:

Full minded, wise, and kindly just, Instinctively we turn to such a trust, Through men so stamped we grow from age to age, And write our progress on immortal page,

Mr. WATRES. Mr. Speaker, there are few men qualified to adequately appraise the long service rendered by our friend THOMAS S. BUTLER. His is a record unexcelled for loyal devotion through his years to the interest of his country and his

For those of us who served with him during the latter part. of his life it remains only to cherish the inspiring memory of his example and to give expression as best we can to our sense of personal loss.

He sought to accomplish his purposes as a legislator, not by dependence on skillful maneuver in debate but by sole depend-

ence on the justice of his cause.

His great source of power was his ability to seek it not from

within but above and beyond himself.

Above all, he manifested faith in and a love for his associates which was returned in like degree. He was loved by his associates as it is given few men to be loved.

His life will continue to be a source of inspiration as long as there remain in this body men who had the privilege of serving

with him.

Mr. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the death of Congressman Thomas S. BUTLER takes from Congress one of its most influential figures; from Pennsylvania one of her greatest sons; from America one of her truest patriots.

Though he was father of the House at the time of his passing. Congressman Butler had the spirit of youth in his heart. With a dauntless faith he refused to admit the impossible. Obstacles and difficulties in his way only gave greater zest to the struggle

to overmaster them.

The light of friendship was ever in his eyes. He had a cheery word and a sunny smile for all. He was an everlasting fountain of good humor as well as sound judgment. He won and held the affections of his colleagues and his constituents by the simplicity

and sincerity which made him truly great.

Father of the new and great United States Navy, Congressman BUTLER made invaluable contribution to the Nation he loved and served. His long life was devoted to the best interests of the Republic. Patriotic love for America and her people burned like a fire within him. He counted no effort too great if it would add a little to the safety, security, happiness, and prosperity of America.

He was a believer in peace and in the justice which alone makes peace possible and permanent. He was a member of the Quakers, and its name, Society of Friends, fitted him well. Never did he act with haste or prejudice upon the great measures which came before the Committee on Naval Affairs, over which he presided as chairman. Always he asked one question, "Will this legislation advance the common welfare?" Upon the answer depended his attitude.

During the World War, in the pivotal weeks of July and August, 1918, he studied our naval and military activities at first hand in the war zone. One of my treasured memories is that of the journey homeward from Brest to New York with

Congressman Butler in early September, 1918.

His vast information about the Navy and his unfaltering faith in the cause of America brought all his shipmates around him to sit at his feet as learners and pupils. He was like a lighthouse in the storm, radiating courage and encouragement to all with whom he came in contact.

Congressman Butler was an exemplary influence in every walk of life. As a legislator he led fearlessly along the highway of true progress. As a friend he was true hearted and helpful in his comradeship. As father and husband he exemplified the highest and best virtues, and the memory of his tender love must be consolation to those he left behind.

No man has been more missed in all the long history of the House of Representatives than this genial and delightful soul,

this brave and competent leader.

We who know him would have held him with us always. our wish could not avail and amid the grief of a great host of friends he was laid away in the God's Acre at old Chester beneath a wilderness of flowers.

Still he is not dead. His character and his deeds live on as inspiration to the generations to come. As long as America endures there will be grateful tributes paid to Congressman THOMAS S. BUTLER for the example and service achieved during many years in the lawmaking body of the Nation.

And all those who knew him will say, with Tennyson:

I climb the hill; from end to end, Of all the landscape underneath, I find no place that does not breathe Some gracious memory of my friend. And in my spirit will I dwell And dream my dream and hold it true. For though my lips may breathe adieu, I can not think the thing farewell.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, during the comparatively short life of our Republic the State of Pennsylvania has contributed an exceedingly large number of men to public life who have dis-

tinguished themselves in most unusual degree.

In that group will be included the name of our late colleague, THOMAS S. BUTLER. Much has been said and will be said by others touching the life of this illustrious son of the great Keystone State. Even so, there are a few observations that I am inclined to make.

When our late colleague was called from our midst by the grim reaper, he left an indelible record in the minds of the Members of Congress with whom he labored for so many years.

No Member of Congress can serve long before an appraisal of his worth and ability will have been made by his colleagues. This appraisal is made upon the basis of the unconscious everyday life and action of the Member himself. It is made through contact, through observance of the Member in his deportment among his fellows; through the degree with which the Member measures his words; through candor or lack of candor; through habits that reflect carelessness or accuracy, and that indicate studiousness and attention or their opposites.

## A KINDLY MAN

The most outstanding characteristic of Tom Butler as we knew him was kindliness. There was not a Member of the

House of Representatives who did not love the man.

When the doors of the Fifty-eighth Congress opened to me Tom Butler had already established himself in the affection and the confidence of the membership of this great body. had already claimed their regard, their admiration, and their affection. He was a man in the prime of life, yet he had seen years of service in the House of Representatives.

A new Member, I was drawn to Tom Butler because of his friendliness, because of his kindliness of soul, and I know that he reciprocated toward me in measure that was heaped up and overflowing. For many years, in speaking to me, he would address me by the affectionate term of "son."

During the later years of his life Tom Butler was chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, at a time when I was chairman of the committee handling the naval supply bill. We understood each other. We did the closest of the teamwork. We did not always agree, but we had faith each in the other, and at all times I recognized and cherished that great, fine, and generous soul.

A LOVER OF PEACE

Strangely enough, our colleague, of Quaker ancestry and training, was assigned for the most responsible work of his entire career to the great Naval Affairs Committee of the House. Mr. Butler was a man who loved peace. He believed in accord among nations, just as he believed in amity among people of the community in which he lived; and yet he believed that peace and amity could best be preserved by a great nation, as by an individual, through its maintenance of self-respect; through its devotion to the doctrines of righteousness as recognized by civilized peoples of the world; and, if need be, through the defense of these very principles by physical power, even as the Master of old drove the money changers from the temple.

Imbued with this philosophy, Mr. BUTLER was a most valuable member of the committee with which his name had come to be associated. He realized the folly of unbridled and unrestrained naval construction upon the part of the nations of the world. He realized the folly of such a program if adopted

by the people of the United States.

A moment ago I said that Tom BUTLER was a kindly man, and may I add that, paradoxical as it may seem, only men of that striking characteristic should be charged with responsibilities that involve the lives of people, the rights of men, the destinies of humankind.

In its larger aspect, kindliness is statesmanship. It is statesmanship in that it has regard for humanity, regard for all

In translating into action his convictions Butler stood for two things: Teamwork among the nations of the world, looking to the reduction of armaments and their maintenance in moderation through international understandings; and in the absence of international understandings the maintenance by the United States of a sizeable Naval Establishment.

In carrying forward these principles courage was required, courage to stand against those who would have made the welfare of the country subservient to militarism; courage, on the other hand, in resisting the earnest entreaties and importunities of those who believe that even now an example should be made by the United States of practical disarmament that would result in other nations following in our footsteps, and thereby relieve the peoples of the world of the burdens of militarism and remove the ready means that are believed to incite misunderstandings and war.

HE WAS A MAN OF COURAGE

One of the notable characteristics of Tom Butler was cour-Tom Butler was earnest in his deliberations, honest with himself and his fellow man, and when he had reached a conclusion that satisfied his own soul he had the strength of character to stand for his convictions.

A time when Butler was called upon to manifest courage was when, as the ranking member of the Republican Party of the Committee on Naval Affairs, he supported the resolution in the spring of 1917 recognizing a state of war existing between the United States and the Central Powers of Europe. His courage and resolution were drawn upon when later in the year he stood against the dominant control of the Military Affairs Committee of the House and favored the policy of the selective draft for the building up of the Army of the United States as against the policy of undertaking to build up the Army through the volunteer system.

The war over, the President of the United States in France seeking to work out not only a formula for the conclusion of peace but for the maintenance in the greatest degree possible of world peace among the nations throughout the years to come, Tom Butler stood for a policy calculated to outline a program for increasing the naval strength of the United States under the leadership of the late President Wilson, a program that the then President of our country believed, if declared to the world, would be of the greatest assistance to him in establishing a formula under which a greater measure of peace and accord among the nations might be attained.

So, then, the oustanding characteristics of our late beloved colleague were, as I see them, kindliness in all his dealings, sincerity of purpose, loyalty to country, courage, and resolution of soul, all of which blended into that fine attitude of approach with which he undertook the heavy responsibilities that were

intrusted to his care.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, when Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER passed from this earth on the 26th day of May, 1928, after having served his country for 32 years, Capitol Hill lost one of its most spectacular characters, for it was to Mr. BUTLER to whom the House of Representatives had long looked for leadership and advice in matters affecting the United States Navy.

He had a ready wit and a homely expression which few, if any, Members of the House could parry, and his colleagues were ever ready to place complete confidence in any expression of opinion which came from the distinguished chairman of the Committee

on Naval Affairs.

There are few men in the House to-day who command the same confidence that so long reposed in Mr. BUTLER.

The most complicated pieces of legislation affecting Navy personnel were often passed by the House without a roll call after Mr. Butler had told the House that he himself believed the legislation to be sound and in the best interest of the country. Detailed explanation of these complicated bills was rarely required of Chairman Butler. The House knew that a bill to go through Mr. Butler's hands and reach the final stage of passage must have merit or "Uncle Tom" would never have reported it.

It was my very great pleasure to serve on the Committee on Naval Affairs with Mr. Butler for nearly 15 years, and I am only sorry that he is not here to see the 15-cruiser bill finally enacted into law and being appropriated for. The present Navy and Marine Corps owe much to Mr. Butler and his constant promotion of the national defense during 32 years' service on the Committee on Naval Affairs, during the latter 9 years of which he was its distinguished chairman.

To recount the numberless bills which bore his name, and which finally became enacted into law, would take a long time, but I am sure that he took a more active part in Navy and Marine Corps legislation than any man who has ever lived on this earth. He loved both of these services and worked for them conscientiously, almost until he was taken from us by Him above

When Uncle Tom Butler was called by the Great Reaper, Pennsylvania lost one of its outstanding citizens and the Nation lost a great public servant. His words and deeds will be followed by others on Capitol Hill for hundreds of years to come.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the pale messenger that never tires and never pities, the messenger that called Sappho from her odes and Letitia Landon away from her sorrow, the messenger that called Byron to where he could sleep, and piloted Poe to the "misty dim regions of Weir," did on the 26th day of May, 1928, knock upon the door and reach upon the inexorable roll call the name of Thomas S. Butler and guide him into that radiant hereafter, of which hope is the creator and faith the defender. A soul which needed no cleansing to fit it for the companionship of the just.

His death has caused a great loss to the Nation, to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and to his family and friends.

THOMAS S. BUTLER, of West Chester, Pa., was born in Uwchland, Chester County, Pa., November 4, 1855. He was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress and succeeding Congresses and reelected to the Seventieth Congress. He was the father of the House, having a continuous service of nearly 32 years. The only committee on which he ever served was the Committee on Naval Affairs. He was made chairman of this committee in the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress and served in that capacity until his death.

He was by far the best-informed man on naval affairs in the Congress, and I am not overstating his capabilities when I say that no man within my knowledge has ever shown such dissecting powers as were at his command. He was a student, and acquired his knowledge, as all truly learned men acquire theirs, by work and reflection. He was well acquainted with the tech-

nical features of naval law and naval regulations.

During the time that Mr. Butler was chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee much important legislation was enacted. The last bill of national importance which he sponsored and guided through the House was for 15 cruisers and 1 airplane carrier. His loss to the committee can not be measured. He believed in a strong, adequate navy; one that should be ever ready for war, but that would never be required to fire a single shot.

He was a strict party man and had the confidence of his party associates. As a Member of Congress he had the respect of his political opponents because of his loyalty and adherence to his party.

He was a wise legislator, in that he possessed a correct vision of what was necessary to be done in order to furnish the Govern-

ment with its needful defense,

It has been said:

Honesty is the oak around which all other virtues cling; without that they fall and, groveling, die in woods and dust.

The paths of his public life were crowded with vast power and responsibility, and yet no stain ever followed his footsteps. His hands were never solled by the betrayal of a public or private trust. He served, as few men have, with courage and manly bearing, with no thought of self, for the deadly virus of selfishness had not cankered his soul. Uppermost in his mind were his family, his country, and his God.

His splendid qualities, recognized by all who came in contact with him either socially or officially, and his brilliant mind and devotion to his duties and the causes he espoused, endeared him to all of his colleagues in Congress; and, Mr. Speaker, I measure my words when I say that there never was a deeper or more universal regret on account of the death of any Member of Congress than was felt when Hon. Thomas S. Butler an-

swered the last roll call.

The world is better and the people happier for his having lived; and in his death his constituents lost a courteous, faithful, and efficient Representative, his State one of its most distinguished citizens, his country one of its most able lawmakers, and his colleagues one of their best-beloved associates.

We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;

In feelings, not in figures on a dial.

We count the time by heart throbs.

He most lives who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.

Mr. Speaker, I appropriate here, as a part of my remarks, the tribute of Hon. W. R. Coyle, a Member of the Sixty-ninth Congress and Member elect to the Seventy-first Congress from the thirtieth Pennsylvania district, who served on the Naval Affairs Committee under the chairmanship of our deceased colleague.

TRIBUTE OF HON. W. R. COYLE TO THOMAS S. BUTLER

To have known Mr. Butler in the fullness of his experience was to realize the power of love and the glory of service personified. In him were all those elements of character which make men to be beloved of other men—the simplicity of the poet; the directness of the mathematician; the frankness of the child.

No higher privilege could come to any new Member of Congress than has come to me through being accorded his friendship. No father could have shown more consideration for a son for whom he desired a repetition of his own career of service. From the fullness of that experience, gained during more than 30 years of contact, both with the great and with those of low degree, he imparted in apt and terse phases, not only earlier estimates of men and events, but those current as well.

I never knew a broader tolerance nor one so sincere in conceding to other men the right of each to his own opinion and belief. The one rebuke I had from him, administered as it was with affectionate understanding, came because I failed to show this tolerance. Even this great and gentle heart had, however, no thought of tolerance for the man or nation that sought to injure the country he loved and served or hamper or weaken his boys in blue or khaki who carried that country's bright flag in war. Self-seeking was unknown in him and abhorred by him. By birthright, by instinct a lover of peace, he fought and plead through an active and long life for adequate arms and equipment for the boys of the first line—the Navy.

Surely these boys, allow and aloft and in the surface fleet, with affectionate understanding, will note and regret the passing of this great heart—truly the father of our modern Navy—and feel toward him, the active advocate of preparedness, as Kipling felt toward Lord Roberts:

"But from his life a new life springs
Through all the years to come
And the glory is the least of things
That follow this man home."

Mr. DRANE. Mr. Speaker, "Thomas S. Butler, Republican" was the language upon the printed page of Congressional Directories since the beginning of the Fifty-fifth Congress, and so it was until the second session of the Seventieth Congress, when it was among the missing—Thomas S. Butler had finished a life of activity and usefulness in the public service in which he had grown old. His public service is known by all men who read, but it is not in terms of public service that I love to think of him—distinguished as that service was.

I came to Congress 20 years later—a Democrat—and before I had an opportunity to observe and analyze his public service, I was honored by his tender of personal friendship. And so I have always thought of him, not as "Thomas S. Butler, Repub-

lican" but as THOMAS S. BUTLER, friend.

Often out of office hours we would meet in some quiet place, giving or taking advice—Republican to Democrat or Democrat to Republican—on questions of public policy, giving no thought at all to the fact that we were not of the same political faith. Many and many a time we had our little intimate conferences and so, mutual respect, confidence, and friendship grew to mutual affection. He mourned with me in time of great sorrow and in later years smiled with me in my joys. He was a kindly man, a wise counsellor, a devoted friend. As such I loved to think of him, and so I shall remember him until my own "little life is rounded with a sleep."

Mr. DREWRY. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to go into details of the civil and political career of Mr. Butler, for others far better qualified to speak along these lines will tell of his work for his community and State. I would confine my remarks to his service on the Naval Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, and in testifying, out of the fullness of my heart, to the qualities and characteristics which endeared him to those with whom he came in contact.

Mr. Butler had served on the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives for 31 years, having been appointed a member of this committee when he was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress. He acted as chairman of this great committee since

1919.

The work of the Naval Affairs Committee is confined to proposed legislation affecting the naval arm of the military service of the United States. Properly speaking, there should be no partisanship on such a committee. Under the chairmanship of Mr. Butler, during my membership, there was none. He frequently stated that he knew no party where the defense of his country was the issue. I never heard him indicate that he had a partisan bias to any question. Every member was urged by him to express his views on every proposition before the committee, and he frequently changed his opinion after having had a full discussion. He gave apparently as much weight to the views of the most recent minority member as he did to those of his own party.

He presided with the utmost fairness and courtesy to every member of his committee, and gave everyone full opportunity for a presentation of his views. In fact, his chief delight was to call his committee around him at a table and there hold an informal discussion on the merits of proposed legislation. He hated formality and with simple directness brought out many angles of a subject that might never have been considered under the limitation of formal rules of procedure. Sometimes, in fact, there was some grumbling about the laxness with which he presided, but when the discussion was ended it was found that there was not left in the mind of any member any thought that his views had been arbitrarily ignored. If the majority

disagreed with him, he gracefully agreed to support their view. With such an example before the committee, where even the chairman did not try to force his opinion, the members could do no less than act harmoniously. Consequently, every measure favorably reported received the unanimous support of the committee on the floor.

His knowledge of the Navy and its needs was unsurpassed by any Member of Congress, and I doubt if many high-ranking officers of the Navy knew as fully as he did the complex legislative needs of the service. He gave his full attention to it and studied it throughly, item by item. Each and every bill received his minute attention. He had a well-trained, independent, courageous, and an essentially honest mind, and he was conscientious in the application of these principles to the matter in hand. He determined for himself the right of every cause and fought bravely in the expression of his views. There was no compromise if the question was of right or wrong, but if it was a matter of expediency or propriety, he never hesitated to join hands with the majority if he was of the opinion that there was any doubt as to the correctness of his view.

His outstanding characteristic I always thought was his patriotism and his devotion to the duty of serving his country. He was a Quaker, but a "fighting Quaker" when his country called him to its defense. His love for his country was exemplified in his love for the Navy, the country's first line of defense. His clear mind saw the necessity for an adequate navy, if his country was to protect itself from attack and aggression. He would never have favored a war of aggression, but neither would he stand for an insult to his beloved country or mistreatment of its people. So he threw himself with energy into a study of world conditions in their application to our naval needs. It is no secret that he did not agree with the administration on one occasion as to the enlargement of our cruiser strength, and he vigorously maintained his view to such a degree and exhibited such striking knowledge of the subject that the House supported him in the increase desired. It was a great tribute to the confidence his colleagues had in his judgment and to his courage in presenting his views. Patriotism was the keynote of his character. He loved to serve his country, and his constituents recognized his peculiar fitness for the service and kept him in office for nearly 32 years. Of all the men who have had the distinction of service in this great legislative body since the beginning of our Government, few have had such a testimonial to the public confidence in their patriotic service and integrity. No man could have had such a record without possessing great qualities of head and heart.

The qualities which placed him high in the affectionate regard of his constituents through all the mutations of political life earned him the love and esteem of his fellow Members. Many there were who with deep affection called him "Uncle Tom. but by many of his colleagues he was loved rather as a father than as an uncle. I welcome this opportunity to express my appreciation for many courtesies and kindnesses, little acts in themselves but contributing largely to the comfort and experience of a younger man of the opposite party in the service of the country. He is not dead who lives in the memory of his

Mr. SANDERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I come to pay a brief tribute of respect to the memory of my good friend, THOMAS S. BUTLER. He served with distinction through the Fifty-fifth and succeeding Congresses until the time of his death. I came to know him well when I was placed on the Committee on Naval Affairs, of which he was chairman, a position which he was holding when he answered the last call. Never will I forget my first meeting with him after I had been named on that committee. He tenderly placed his arms around me and said, "My boy, I am glad that you are on our com-mittee and I want to tell you that we do not have any politics in our committee." Here in this body when at times we are Here in this body when at times we are so sharply divided by party lines it was good to me to know that under the leadership of Mr. Butler on this great committee the welfare of our country would be the paramount consideration. I do not believe that in our committee work Mr. Butler was ever influenced by party consideration. His rugged honesty and lovable disposition endeared him to all. He served in Congress for more than 30 years, giving his life and his splendid talent to his country's service. I had the honor to be one of the committee to accompany his remains to the cemetery in his home town, West Chester, Pa., and the great gathering of his neighbors and friends on that solemn occasion attested the love and affection which a grateful constituency had for the one who had served them so long, so faithfully, and so well.

#### HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, HENRY R. RATHBONE is the subject of these few remarks inserted in the RECORD by virtue of the leave to insert heretofore granted.

I leave to others, and particularly to the words of Hon. CHARLES S. DENEEN, hereby attached to and made a part of these remarks, the recital of Mr. RATHBONE'S services in this Nation.

And in view of the fact that we are deprived on this occasion of hearing from Mr. RATHBONE, himself, concerning his services in this House, I content myself with quoting a number of his own public statements concerning his aims and aspirations.

And I take the liberty to add a few incidents connecting me with Mr. RATHBONE in a very long acquaintance.

I knew Mr. RATHBONE for 28 years, from May, 1900, to the

15th day of last July, 1928.

I have in my office and on my desk here in Washington a large and handsome inkstand, the base of which is 20 by 10 inches, and which is surmounted by a bust in bronze of Ulysses S. Grant, in full uniform as General of the Armies of America, full general. You all know that he was twice President in "reconstruction days," and before that, by my own father's action, was colonel of the Twenty-first Volunteer Infantry in 1861.

This inkstand, with its significant bronze bust of the old Silent Commander," U. S. Grant, was presented to me on the day of my own inauguration as governor, January 14, 1901, by that political organization, still prominent and powerful, the Hamilton Club, of Chicago. And the happy and handsome man who made the presentation speech that bright day was HENRY R. RATHBONE.

The place was the governor's mansion at Springfield. Seeing as I do the old commander on my desk ever morn and noon and evening. I am reminded often of that eloquent address delivered by Mr. RATHBONE on that occasion.

Happy, indeed, was that hour of achievement to me; and happy, indeed, was that speech of Rathbone.

I can never forget Mr. Rathbone's appearance and bearing at that time. He was just 10 years younger than I—he was just 30 and I just 40. He was very dramatic.

His physique was always superb and compelling, as we all

His gestures and voice were always correct. Likewise know. his attitude.

I recall that I said to myself at that time, "I would like that man to be a part of my administration."

But that thing never happened, for the reason that Mr. RATH-BONE never asked or sought, directly or indirectly, so far as I know, any State office or preferment.

However, this did happen: In 1908 he made a hundred speeches for me, and, of course, they were all careful, truthful, and—I thought and still think—admirable.

Campaigning in Illinois is always strenuous, and campaigning

in Chicago, as all men know, is superstrenuous.

In 1908 occurred the first state-wide primary in Illinois; my recollection is that many Democrats aspired to the Democratic nomination for governor, but only two Republicans sought the nomination for governor—Deneen and Yates. Governor Deneen won. The majority was less than 10,000, but it was decisive. All the losers accepted the decision, RATHEONE and YATES as cheerfully as any.

It was always so with Mr. RATHBONE. Repeated disappointments in his early candidacies for Congressman at large did not deter him from persevering until ultimate victory was his again and again.

During all his service as Congressman at large I was his colleague. His service was a strenuous and ever more strenuous effort to be a real Congressman and a true public servant.

Once upon a time an Illinois United States Senator called his son to his knee and said:

My son, I want you to grow up and serve the Republic.

So it was with this man; he strove to serve the Republic. Mr. Speaker, I think it appropriate, as showing his aims and aspirations, to insert here a half dozen excerpts from an address delivered by Mr. RATHBONE on May 29, 1928, as follows:

### REVIEW OF MY RECORD IN CONGRESS

Mr. RATHBONE. Mr. Speaker, to my constituents, the people of Illinois, under the leave granted to Members of the House of Representatives of printing in the RECORD their own statements on any subject, I am taking this oportunity to give a brief review of my record in Congress. I am serving my third term in the House of Representatives, having been elected in 1922 a Member of the Sixty-eighth Congress. am again a candidate for reelection as Congressman at large. I shall stand or fall by the record I have made, and I welcome this opportunity of rendering an account of my stewardship to my friends and constituents, who have so generously given me their confidence and support.

#### BUSINESS

I have consistently supported throughout my congressional career economy and business management in all the affairs of government. I have voted for tax reduction, lowering of the income-tax rates, raising of the exemption limits, and the cutting down of the nuisance taxes, as well as the abolition of the war tax on automobiles and auto parts. I have also voted for a revision of the postal rates and for legitimate and necessary expenditures on public buildings.

#### MERCHANT MARINE

I have voted for the merchant marine bill in order to promote American commerce and keep our flag upon the seas.

#### AGRICULTURE

Every measure that has come before the House of Representatives since I have been a Member of that body in the interests of agriculture has had my earnest and enthusiastic support. Among these have been the various bills for the stabilization of prices for farm products, the corn sugar bill, the corn borer bill, and the Hoch resolution providing for a reduction of freight rates on farm products. The farmers of our State and Nation can count upon my continued cooperation with them in all their efforts to bring about a better condition of American agriculture.

#### IMMIGRATION

Believing that it is essential that America should be kept American and that our standard of living and citizenship should not be lowered, I have wholeheartedly supported restriction of immigration. However, I have also supported the Jenkins bill, which sought to mitigate some of the harshness of the present law and to permit of parents and children of immigrants already in this country to be reunited with their families, without the number already established by law being exceeded.

#### VETERANS

Hardly a day has passed since I have become a Member of Congress that I have not had an opportunity of rerdering some aid to the service men or their dependents. There has not been a measure in their interests that I have not gladly supported, among these being the adjusted compensation act, various hospitalization bills, the disabled emergency officers' bill, and the Civil and Spanish War pension bills. At the instance of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, I have introduced a bill providing for a system of pensions for World War veterans.

### RADIO

Firmly believing that the radio is one of the greatest civilizing agencies of the present age, I have supported legislation to bring order out of chaos, prevent interference, and place broadcasting on a sound and permanent basis.

## PRESERVING HISTORIC MEMORIES

The memory of the past is the inspiration of the future. Believing firmly in the importance of preserving historic sites, I have introduced a number of bills, which have aroused great interest throughout the Nation. Among these is the bill for the purchase of the famous Oldroyd collection of Lincoln relics, which has become a law. Other bills of a similar character are three bills providing for the survey and construction of Lincoln memorial highways running through and past practically all of the places where Abraham Lincoln and his parents lived and where the most important events of his life took place before he went I have also introduced a bill for the reconstruction to Washington. of Old Ford's Theater and the making of that historic building into a Lincoln museum and central headquarters of the Grand Army of the Republic, a bill for the rehabilitation of the house where Lincoln died, and a bill for the erection of a suitable monument to George Rogers Clark at Fort Gage, Ill.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS

While I have supported every measure for reasonable national defense, I have also done everything in my power to promote international good will and the peace of the world. I offered an amendment to the naval appropriation bill in the Sixty-eighth Congress, which was later adopted, in favor of the cooperation of this country with other nations in an attempt to bring about a further limitation and reduction of naval armaments. I have also sought to define what I conceived to be the true policy which this country should follow in the matter of our foreign investments by a resolution which I have introduced. This resolution contains a declaration that the United States will not go to war, intervene, nor exert armed or economic pressure upon other nations in order to compel the payment of private debts.

I trust that the foregoing brief summary will give to my constituents and to those interested some idea of the things that I have stood for. I shall stand for the same principles in the future. My record is my platform

I am deeply grateful to the 7,000,000 people of the State of Illinois for their confidence and support. I have but one ambition—to serve them and the Nation to the very best of my ability.

Mr. Speaker, I present, as a part of my extension of remarks, a copy of the address delivered at Mr. Rathbone's funeral in Chicago July 18, 1928, by Hon. Charles S. Deneen, United States Senator from Illinois, as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE HON, CHARLES S, DENEEN AT THE FUNERAL OF CONGRESS-MAN HENRY R, RATHBONE ON JULY 18, 1928

Some time ago Mr. RATHBONE said to a friend at a Masonic funeral that when he passed away he hoped that the Masonic ritual would be repeated at his own funeral. The simplicity of the ritual and the nobility of its sentiments appealed to his mind and to his heart. To him the universality and the democracy of death called for a common expression of sorrow from and of sympathy to surviving relatives and friends.

In harmony with the ceremonies on this occasion, may I present briefly a few facts about his life and his career.

HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE was born in Washington, D. C., February 12, 1870. He came of a family of unusual intellectual qualities and of high social station. His father was a graduate of Union College, was a volunteer soldier in the Civil War, and held the rank of colonel at its close. His mother was a woman of high station and of unusual social and intellectual attainments. It is generally known that Mr. RATHBONE'S father and his mother, before their marriage, were guests of President and Mrs. Lincoln in the box at Ford's Treater at the time of the assassination of the great emancipator, and that his father was wounded while endeavoring to protect the martyred President.

His maternal grandfather was the Hon. Ira Harris, at one time a judge of the Court of Appeals of New York. He was one of the three founders of the Albany Law School, one of the oldest law schools in the country, was active in the organization of the Republican Party, and in 1860 was elected a Member of the United States Senate from New York, where he was a staunch supporter of President Lincoln throughout the Civil War.

His paternal grandfather was a successful business man, and at one time was the mayor of the city of Albany, N. Y.

Mr. Rathbone had unusual educational advantages and training. He was educated at Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., at Yale University, at Albany Law School, and at the University of Wisconsin. After completing his studies he came to Chicago and entered upon the practice of his profession. During his college days Mr. Rathbone had indicated a decided aptitude for public speaking. He was chosen class orator at Yale. He was selected to represent his graduating class at the Albany Law School. His training and his ambition to be a public speaker caused him to prepare himself for the trial of cases in the courts, but before he entered upon this branch of the law he made an exhaustive investigation of the law of negligence, reading every case in the appellate court and in the supreme court of this State, and thus became so familiar with the cases that he could cite the controlling principles in the leading ones without reference to the books.

He soon took rank among the prominent trial lawyers in our courts and acquired a large and lucrative practice. A lawyer who was an office associate of Mr. Rathbone in his early practice told me yesterday that Mr. Rathbone prepared his cases with unremitting patience and toil; that he mastered the facts and the law in the cases intrusted to his care. These labors accounted for his ease and poise in court and his ability to present clearly and forcibly the issues involved.

While he was engaged in the arduous practice of the law he dreamed of a larger field of activity and usefulness. Four years ago, when we were traveling through the State in a campaign, I rode with him at times for a number of hours, and on one occasion he told me that after his admission to the bar he had an opportunity, through the aid of influential friends, to be appointed to a prominent position in the legal department of the Government at Washington but that he made up his mind that he would go West and establish himself as a lawyer, with the hope and expectation that after he had accumulated a competence he would direct his energies to political life and return to Washington as a Member of Congress.

This high purpose was never out of his mind. His rare gifts of eloquence brought him many invitations to speak before churches, lodges, patriotic assemblies, and in schools and other institutions of learning. It is no exaggeration to say that few lawyers or public men in our city have spoken more frequently than he or over a longer period of years. His reputation soon extended beyond the city of Chicago, and invitations came to him from all parts of the State.

As in the law, he prepared himself thoroughly for public speaking. He pursued a systematic course of reading and study in literature, economics, politics, history, and constitutional law. Because of this rigid discipline he was able to speak intelligently, interestingly, and eloquently on a variety of subjects and on any public occasion.

He did not confine his public speaking to ceremonious occasions and large audiences but he went where he was asked, regardless of the size of the audience, and at every engagement he gave to his audience the best that was in his mind and heart. In this way he established a solid reputation as an orator and as a speaker well informed on public questions.

Mr. RATHBONE had executive and administrative abilities of a high order. He was unanimously elected president of the Hamilton Club, of Chicago, in 1916, and his administration met with the general approval of the members of the club. During the presidential campaign

of 1916, on assignment of the national committee, Mr. RATHBONE conducted a training school for public speakers for the campaign.

During the World War Mr. RATHBONE devoted practically all his time to patriotic work. He was chairman of a special committee of the Chicago Bar Association which outlined the activities to be pursued by lawyers in connection with the war. Plans drafted by the committee were submitted by him to a conference of delegates of the State and local bar associations at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., and at the annual convention of the American Bar Association.

The war committee of the local association handled 2,000 cases a month, giving free legal advice and rendering assistance to soldiers, sailors, and their families. Lawyers were furnished to the exemption and to the appeal boards. So well was the work done that Mr. RATH-BONE was called to different bar associations of the country and of Canada to relate the plans of the Chicago committee and to explain its work.

Mr. RATHBONE made a large number of speeches in Illinois and other States during the war. Twice he toured the State, once with the Jackie Band and another time with a war exhibition train in behalf of the third and fourth Liberty loan drives.

Mr. RATHBONE was an active member of the Chicago Association of Commerce and served on a number of its important committees,

Such was his preparation for the political career with which we are all familiar. In 1922 he was elected Congressman at large for our State. He was elected for three successive terms thereafter and was the nominee of his party for that high office at the time of his untimely death.

Mr. RATHBONE entered upon his work at the National Capitol with great pride and joy. The measures relating to social service first enlisted his attention, and he thereafter became interested in the bill for the amendment to the child labor law, the pension bills, the bills relating to the salaries and the conditions of work of the postal employees, the soldiers' bonus bill, the hospitalization measures for disabled veterans, and the workmen's compensation bill.

He was especially interested in the municipal affairs at Washington, the city of his birth. He favored extending the right of suffrage to the inhabitants of the District of Columbia. He became interested in the public schools and in the District of Columbia Rent Commission.

His interest in the District was quickly recognized, and he was in demand as a speaker on a great many public occasions in the District. A number of times he spoke over the radio on matters of local interest to the residents of Washington.

He was diligent in his studies of measures of general interest. His industry and his talents made a place for him in the National House of Representatives. Some time ago he was chosen the orator to deliver the address to the House on Lincoln's Birthday.

This is not the time nor the occasion to speak in great detail of his services to his State and to the Nation. In due time the House of Representatives will set apart a day for tributes to his memory by his fellow Members.

Of his personal character and characteristics I am sure he would not wish me to make more than brief mention. He made friends easily. He enjoyed friendships and held them tenaciously. He was pleased to render services to friends. He was kind by nature, not given to saying harsh words about others. He was a man of broad sympathies. He would not turn away from his office the poor who needed professional advice and aid. He was scrupulously careful about his financial obligations.

He loved his country and never tired of speaking of her institutions, her Constitution, her traditions, and of the equality and opportunities of her citizens. He had faith in the common man, and loved his fellow man. His life was clean and unblemished. He had a nobility of mien and bearing which indicated the life he lived and the thoughts which filled his mind.

As we look back in retrospect and recall his noble birth, his student days, his struggles at the bar, his activities in civic life, his services to his country in times of war and peace, his unfailing kindness and courtesy, and his generous impulses, may we not say: "Here was indeed a man. He played well his part in every station, and nothing became his life better than his quitting of the stage."

He did not anticipate death, and up to 10 minutes of his passing away he expected to recover his health. The courage which had sustained him in life did not forsake him in death, for he quit the mortal shores of time and sailed for the distant scenes without repining.

"Friend, aboy!
Farewell, farewell.
Greetings and help the echoes tell
Faint but eternal.
Friend, aboy!"

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Speaker, I sustained a peculiar relation to our late colleague, the Representative at Large from the State of Illinois, the Hon. Henry R. Rathbone. He resided in the tenth district, which I have the honor to represent, and we were of course both inhabitants of Illinois. He was therefore my constituent, as I was his. His popularity and high standing,

not only in our congressional district, but in the entire State, were attested by the large vote of confidence given him in each succeeding election. His industry was indefatigable; his patriotism and devotion to duty unimpeachable. He loved his work in the Congress and probably impaired his health by his generous response to every call for the employment of his rare oratorical talent. His addresses on Lincoln were masterpieces, for which he was justly famed far and wide. He took a special interest in the District of Columbia, in which he was born of parents who were personal friends of the martyred President of the Civil War period. At the time of his death, Mr. RATHBONE was president of the Illinois State Society of the National Capital. This body had a special meeting, devoted to his memory, on November 23, 1928, at which a notable eulogy was pronounced upon our late colleague by another eloquent son of Illinois, the Hon. Theodore G. Risley, Solicitor for the Department of Labor. Under leave granted by the House, I extend these remarks by the insertion of that address:

ADDRESS ON THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE OF HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE, DELIVERED BEFORE THE ILLINOIS STATE SOCIETY, AT WASHINGTON, D. C., ON NOVEMBER 23, 1928, BY THEODORE G. RISLEY, OF MOUNT CARMEL, ILL.

By the death of Henry Riggs Rathbone, which occurred on July 15 of this year, the Illinois State Society of Washington lost its distinguished president, the State of Illinois an eminent Member of Congress, and the Nation a faithful and patriotic statesman.

Mr. RATHBONE was born in Washington in 1870 and was known as the only Washington Representative in Congress. He was the sole Member of the House born in the city of Washington. He was always the friend of the District, and in every proper way sought to promote its development and beauty.

He was the son of Henry Reed Rathbone and Clara Harris Rathbone, who were with the Lincolns in their box at Ford's Theater on the night of the President's assassination. The story of this tragedy inculcated in young RATHBONE a profound reverence for the character of the illustrious emancipator.

Mr. RATHBONE was graduated from Yale University in 1892 and from the Albany Law School in 1893, and afterwards from the University of Wisconsin. He moved to Illinois, where he was soon admitted to the bar and had a successful career as a trial lawyer. In 1903 he was married to Laura Lucille Harney, of Oshkosh, Wis., who survives him.

In 1916 he was elected president of the Hamilton Club of Chicago. As a Member of Congress he advocated the causes of prohibition and farm relief and was an earnest supporter of a Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway. He took an active interest in aviation and championed the bill honoring the Army fliers who circled the world in 1924. He contributed invaluable support in submitting to the States an amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibiting child labor.

He possessed, both by natural endowments and valuable experience, high qualifications for the performance of legislative duties. He was an indefatigable and painstaking student of economic, industrial, and social conditions; his knowledge of public affairs was extensive and unusually accurate, and he was illuminating and effective in the discussion of public questions. The character and importance of his legislative service to his State and his country were of a high order and he enjoyed the confidence and respect of his fellow legislators. After having served as Congressman at Large from the State of Illinois for three terms, he received the splendid tribute of a renomination for that important office which manifested the appreciation of the people of Illinois of his valuable public service.

### A STUDENT OF LINCOLN

Mr. RATHBONE enjoyed a national reputation as an assiduous student of, and brilliant lecturer on, the life of Lincoln. He was the author of the bill which authorized the Government to purchase the priceless Oldroyd collection of Lincolniana and earnestly endeavored to have the old Ford's Theater established as a Lincoln museum.

He was clear in his convictions, unfaltering in his purposes, and fearless in the advocacy of his opinions. He was a patient investigator, and in the alluring field of research he found the keenest of pleasure. His local attachments were profound, but his mind was broad, his ideals elevated, and his views on public issues were continental in their scope.

His convictions were sincere and his opinions were usually well matured. The simplicity of his conduct, his kindliness, his common sense, and transparent honesty appealed to the people and enlarged the circle of his influence.

His understanding was comprehensive, his judgment clear, and his motives and actions were at all times controlled by reason and conscience. He never compromised to the prejudice of that which he believed to be right, nor indulged in sycophantic arts to win fleeting applause.

He studied public questions from every angle which appeared to him and discussed them with a lucidity and a cogency that was convincing, and his sense of discrimination was exquisite. His professional and political ethics were irreproachable. SERVICES AS PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS STATE SOCIETY

Mr. RATHBONE deeply appreciated his election as president of our society, and he sincerely felt it to be a genuine compliment, and particularly so because of his love for and loyalty to our great State. He had a zealous desire to foster the spirit of good will and promote the finer sentiments of social relationship among us and also to inspire in his fellow Illinoisans an ever-increasing devotion to the welfare of our great State and an enduring veneration for the men and women who, by unselfish sacrifices and with efficient hands and stout hearts, have contributed to her material success and moral and spiritual welfare. HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE has

> "Passed beneath that low green tent Whose curtains never outward swing,"

but he has left behind the sweet incense of a cherished name. To his beloved widow, at this time of her irreparable loss, we tender our deepest sympathy.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, during my 20-year service in the House of Representatives I had the pleasure and honor to serve with a great many splendid, sincere, and patriotic men.

The State of Illinois, which I am in part representing, has been extremely fortunate in giving to the Nation more than its share of such Representatives. Some are now still in their private capacity of service to their State and to the Nation, and many have gone to their reward and from whence no traveler returns.

Among the foremost of these men easily are: The former Speaker of the House of Representatives, "Uncle" Joe Cannon, who had attained, due to his energy, ability, courage, and his long service, a position second to none since the existence of our Government; James R. Mann; Martin B. Madden; Ben Caldwell; Martin B. Foster, who left behind them enviable records of achievements, and many others, but none of them were more devoted to their duties or possessed greater desire of being of service that our dear departed colleague, HENRY R. RATHBONE, whose main object in life was to serve his fellow man.

Born and raised in the Capital of the Nation, he seemed at

all times to be desirous to give the very best that was in him

to the Nation and to the Capital of the Nation.

And though of old Republican stock, he has shown at all times that independent spirit which frequently would have been embarrassing to less principled men. With him party lines were not as binding as the interest of the Nation. He not only preached but followed the precept "That he who serves his country the best serves his party the best.'

Having known him before he entered the House of Representatives, I therefore watched his activities from the first day of his term, and though the State of Illinois has given to the Nation many capable, industrious, sincere Members, I do not know of anyone who was more devoted to his duties and more desirous

to be of service than he.

It is to be regretted that he was torn from us prematurely and that he no longer will be seen hurrying or speeding from one committee room to another, endeavoring to fulfill his manifold duties and to comply with the hundreds of requests that came to him as a Member at Large of the great State of Illi-

Mr. BUCKBEE. Mr. Speaker, HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE Was a man that one can never forget-for he was a man of exceptional making. He was a man who was a man-a friend of all classes and of all races. His friends were numbered in hosts, and his passing was felt by all. The clay with which our Creator molded him was of the finest elements. First, it had durability and stamina, and yet, in spite of all its firmness, it contained an element of kindness; an element of friendliness for all. It was a clay presentable to all—dignitary and laborer And HENRY RATHBONE was true to the last degree of his Maker's wish.

All his life he tried, and it can not be questioned for one moment that he did not succeed, to mold his life and deeds after that immortal one whose very name makes one stand in awenone other than our everlasting patriot, Abraham Lincoln. Time and time again was noticed the semblance of his deeds

and actions to those of Lincoln.

His ability as an orator was recognized-and it could not but be so-wherever he was heard. His imposing figure, his eloquent flow of words, and his expressive manner are qualities given to very few mortals. And the appreciative factor of all this—and it is a factor that will long be remembered—is that always he used his gifts for the betterment of mankind. Often did the Halls of Congress ring with his inspiring words, as he lent himself to the defense of a measure that he felt was for the good of his friends-his countrymen.

And so it is with sadness that I write in memory of the man; the man whom I, and everyone else, shall remember until we too are swept away. But perhaps the stately words of the poet can express my sentiments in tones more eloquent, and with a deeper ring-

> The color of the ground was in him, the red earth, The smack and tang of elemental things. The rectitude and patience of the cliff; And when he fell in the whirlwind, he went down As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs, Goes down with a great shout upon the hills, And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

Mr. HALL of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to add my word of appreciation of the life and work of my friend and colleague Henry Riggs Rathbone. The people of Illinois were proud of him. They had a pride in his devotion to duty. They were proud of his untiring industry and of his eloquence of speech.

He was a picturesque figure here in Washington, where he was born and where so much of dramatic and tragic interest touched intimately the history of his family. The wonderful energy of his tall Lincolnian body and the alertness of his welltrained mind were constantly at the service of his people and

his country.

Mr. RATHBONE was a lawyer of profound learning, making him wise in council, and his powerful eloquence made him an effective and successful advocate. In his years of service as a statesman he was true to his first love, the law, and he prac-

ticed his profession to the end.

With his manifold duties as a statesman and as a lawyer, somehow he found time to be of service in other ways. He was a teacher in the National University Law School and a lecturer at the Howard University, and in these capacities he instilled in the minds of the young students at both institutions. his own inborn high conceptions of patriotism, devotion to duty, and a will to service.

His service in these two institutions has left undying impressions upon the lives of the young lawyers and the young colored

students attending them.

In Illinois he was a unique figure. Tall, almost gaunt, strikingly good looking in a rough way, he was a constant and persistent and untiring visitor among our people.

I doubt if there was ever a public man in that State who was personally known by more people than was Mr. RATHBONE.

Everyone said they knew HENRY RATHBONE. This was because he loved people and he liked to meet them, liked to meet lots, of them and often. And when he did meet people his friendly smile and friendly words and friendly handshake won their hearts and made them his friends.

I remember having occasion to go to Pontiac, one of the large towns in my district, early one Sunday morning, and when I arrived, one of the firse persons I met was my friend Henry.

He told me he was going to Forrest, Chattsworth, and Fairbury that day and then was going to speak in the Methodist Church at Pontiac at night. I told a friend about this and I told him that Henry would see a lot of good men and women in each of these towns and my final remark was, "If RATHBONE completes a visit in four good-sized towns on Sunday, what could he do on a week day.

His service in Congress was especially acceptable to three classes of people-to farmers, to union labor, and to the colored

His great heart beat in sympathy with these, his constituents, and in his work here he never failed them.

His untimely death leaves an aching void in the hearts of the people of Illinois, and while all vacant places, it seems, can be filled, and are, still his place in the councils of the Nation will be hard to fill.

HENRY RATHBONE was of such a kindly disposition among his associates and he looked upon them with such a friendly eye that I must say that he, in passing, would have it said of him:

> But I would like to have my story told By smiling friends with whom I've shared the way; Who, thinking of me, nod their heads and say His heart was warm when other hearts were cold.

### LOUIS ADAMS FROTHINGHAM

Mr. LUCE. Mr. Speaker, Louis Adams Frothingham, a Representative in Congress from the fourteenth congressional district of Massachusetts, died August 23, 1928. That the nature of the loss suffered by the House, by the Commonwealth he in part represented, and by the country he so usefully served may be better understood, and that his memory may be better perpetuated, a record of his life should precede the tributes paid to sense of duty led him to retire after two years upon the urgent him by his colleagues.

The latest learning tells us that every man's life began untold zeros before he was born. When he comes into the world he is made up of an almost infinite number of contributions from ancestors. These we can not trace back even to the rivulets, much less to the springs. Only when the joining rivulets become streams do they have significance we can interpret.

In this instance enlightenment begins with a group of ancestors who were among the men and women finding a new home on the shores of Massachusetts Bay 300 years ago. He who bore the name of Frothingham came with the fleet of Gov. John Winthrop to Salem and then to Charlestown, where through many years the name was familiar. Four others were of the Pilgrims, who a decade earlier had landed on Plymouth Rock. Also there were the Rev. John Cotton and the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, clergymen eminent in the time when clergymen were dominant in Massachusetts.

From such stock, blended of Pilgrim and Puritan, came a family that ever since has been conspicuous for its influence on the life of the old Commonwealth. It furnished preachers who notably filled important pulpits; soldiers who in the Indian wars, the War of Independence, nad the wars of our own period held commissions attesting both capacity and patriotism; scholars who made valuable contribution to the treasure of literature; jurists who are remembered for their learning and sagacity.

What they did, however, is to us here of consequence only as revealing what they were—men of serious purposes and high ideals, men of integrity, men of courage, men of ability, men whose aim in life was to serve. Inevitably of such in his turn was Louis Adams Frothingham.

Born in Boston July 13, 1871, his earlier years followed the course usual in the case of Boston boys from families accustomed to look upon adequate education as the necessary foundation for the most useful life. From the public schools he went first to the Roxbury Latin and then to Adams Academy in Quincy, institutions long notable for thorough training of the mind, and then to Harvard College. Though diligent with his books, he was not to be best remembered for scholarly achievement, but rather by the physical faculties with which he had been remarkably endowed. He was one of the rare youths having that combination of muscle, nerves, and judgment which achieves preeminence in every form of bodily competition. This stood him in good stead to his latest years, as may be attested by his associates here who vied with him in the forms of outdoor contest suitable for the mature. In his college days it secured for him the prizes of successful leadership, and also its training against the needs of struggle in the various conflicts of afterlife.

Furthermore, with the aid of other qualities it helped win for him that most subtle of achievements—popularity. Athletic prowess by itself can not secure this. Popularity eludes mental endowment. It can not be bought. It can not be earned. In its purest aspect it can not be cultivated. It springs from qualities that defy analysis. Just why Louis Frothingham was liked, often beloved, by those who came within the circle of his acquaintance no man can tell. We know only the fact.

After graduating from college and then from the law school he turned his thoughts to broader fields of service than any one profession can give. Although admitted to the bar and at times afterwards practicing the law, the opportunities of public life were more attractive. Probably his interest therein was incerased by what he observed while acting for a time as secretary to a Massachusetts Member of Congress. Then his outlook was broadened by a share in the Spanish War. He had joined the Massachusetts Militia and naturally sought war service, which he found as an officer of marines on the U. S. S. Yankee.

Not long after returning, he was able to begin mounting the political ladder, being elected to the general court from the Back Bay district of Boston in 1900. In the next three years steadily increasing responsibilities were intrusted to him, and then by the house of 1904 he was chosen speaker. This was because apart from personal popularity he had convinced his associates that he was cautious, prudent, well-balanced, earnest, sincere, and of complete integrity.

The speakership of the Massachusetts House means something in Massachusetts. Unhampered by the constitutional shackles that minimize the opportunities for service in the legislatures of most of the other States, the general court of the old Bay State still has long sessions, gives an answer to every citizen with a grievance, maintains its leadership in the careful enactment of wise statutes for the public welfare. The speaker can not rule there, but he may guide if he will, and the young speaker from Boston was a wise and skillful guide. Commanding complete respect, trusted as absolutely fair, efficient as a presiding officer, he could have held the position long, but a high

sense of duty led him to retire after two years upon the urgent request of party associates that he become a candidate for the mayoralty of the city of Boston. That office seemed to his friends to need him the more, but the electorate thought otherwise, and for a time it looked as if the door to further opportunity in public service was closed.

Such was not to be long the case. Everybody felt that his forsaking the speakership to lead a forlorn hope was a sacrifice not to be forgotten, and so when his friends presented him as a candidate for lieutenant governor in 1908 he started with a deserved advantage not to be overcome, won the nomination with a handsome margin, and then the election.

In our State it is almost a habit to promote the lieutenant governor. After his apprenticeship of three years in the subordinate position, Mr. Frothingham would undoubtedly have been so promoted, had it not been for the fact that the governor, of opposite party and a candidate for reelection, was unusually skilled in holding the public favor, so that once more it looked as if public life were ended.

Then came an interval of service in other fields. As an overseer of Harvard—by the way, the youngest man to be elected such—he had the chance to serve the university by which he was so highly regarded. Certain lectures he there delivered were elaborated into an excellent book on the constitution and government of Massachusetts. Two hospitals benefited by his counsel as a trustee, and also he became president of a savings bank, which in Massachusetts is a philanthronic institution.

which in Massachusetts is a philanthropic institution.

Our entry into the World War gave fresh chance to put his training and experience at the command of his country. Besides receiving a commission as major in the Regular Army, he was able to be of generous help to the Massachusetts men on the other side of the water, for he went across as a member of a State commission to visit the Massachusetts soldiers at the front, and with his wife opened a home in Paris where the boys on leave could find friendly companionship and encouragement.

After the war he returned to the home in North Easton to which he had removed from Boston upon his marriage in 1916. There, amid beautiful surroundings, he was able to gratify his love for nature and to enjoy her bounties. The rose garden became his particular pride. You may trust the man to whom such things bring unalloyed happiness.

Again public life drew him. In 1920 he won the nomination and election to represent the fourteenth Massachusetts district in the National House. So well did he thenceforth perform the duties of a Representative that he could have come back here indefinitely. He commanded the complete respect and good will of his district. For its interest he worked faithfully.

In the House he was gradually winning that confidence which eventually brings important influence. Not a frequent speaker, he was listened to when he took the floor, for it was felt he would say only that which would help. His judgments in the committee room deserved and won attention. Had he been spared for lengthier service he would in time have reached high place in the councils of the Nation.

That he should have been cut off just when life held out such promise is one of the mysteries that pass finite understanding. He seemed to have in perfection the sound mind in the sound body. In all things he was temperate. There was no man among us whom at the close of the previous session we should have more confidently expected to greet when we met here again. Yet now nothing remains for us save to treasure his memory and be thankful that he was our friend.

My colleagues will appraise his character. I must not too much forestall them, but the friendship and association of a quarter of a century, through much of which we worked together, will not let me conclude without attempting to set forth in a few words the reasons why, to my mind, he was such a valuable servant of his fellow man and why his death was such a loss.

He had in unusual degree the kindly spirit, a sympathetic interest in those with whom he came in touch, the wish to make others happy. Though modest almost to shyness, he could on occasion be outspoken and firm. Behind his diffidence was real courage. He was high-minded, clean, sincere. Utterly devoid of affectation, lacking wholly in self-conceit, without pride of place, respecting himself and therefore respecting others, upright and honorable, the world was the better because he lived.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, the citizens of the fourteenth congressional district of Massachusetts have conferred upon me the very great honor of intrusting to my hand the torch held high in recent years by your former colleague, my distinguished predecessor, whose memory we honor to-day, Louis Adams Frothingham.

It was my privilege to know him first as the popular graduate of my alma mater, the close friend of many of my friends, who had risen to the position of Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts and later in Treasury days as the successful Representative of my congressional district. Recent experience, however, has afforded an insight into the ideals which governed him in life and an appreciation of the position which he held in the affections of his constituents, which will always abide.

Louis Frothingham devoted his life to public service. believed that life held no greater opportunity for one in his position than that of serving those about him. His life itself speaks more eloquently than words of his nobility of character, his high public purpose, and his unswerving adherence to whatever course he believed to be honorable and right. As soldier, legislator, speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, lieutenant governor, and a Member of the Congress of the United States he served his State and Nation with distinction and with fidelity and won the respect of all with whom he came in contact.

His also was the touchstone of friendship. His sincerity and ready sympathy were apparent to all. Recalled from and ready sympathy were apparent to all. duties overseas immediately after his death to engage in an active campaign for the position which had been his by common accord, it was inevitable that I should sense at close range the sentiment throughout his congressional district. can truly say that Louis Frothingham was beloved by his Wherever I went and among people of every constituents. walk in life I found the same expression of genuine affection for him. I hope sincerely that he appreciated how widespread this feeling was, for to me it seems about the greatest reward that could come to one in his position.

Hundreds of letters received after his death by his devoted widow afford striking evidence of the light in which he was held by a host of friends and admirers. State and Nation are the better for the life which he led. The torch should burn the better for the life which he led. more brightly in the memory of the ideals which guided him to the place won in the hearts of those he served.

The following tribute was written at the time of his death

by a friend of years standing:

Louis Adams Frothingham, although in politics for many years, was not a politician, as the term goes, yet in many political ways he was adroit. Had he been given the faculty for "mixing" he would have been irresistible. It would have enhanced his natural charm of manner, the kindliness and courtesy which were evidences of his breeding. It took more than a casual acquaintanceship to understand him and to know his sterling qualities.

Shy and diffident he ignored, as against his nature, to take advantage of many opportunities for keeping in the public eye. What he accomplished he did without any appeal to the gallery. He never made a promise he could not keep, and constituents found that it was his habit to minimize even big things he had done, whether for them or the district. He believed in party regularity, and he had enough political acumen to know that legislation is best accomplished by orderly process and not speeches.

When he talked in Congress he was usually very brief, and he wasted no words and got into no acrimonious discussions. He always held that an opponent was entitled to his views, a spirit of fair play which he manifested in all his contacts.

One of his heroes, and also a close friend, was the late Theodore Roosevelt, and this friendship remained unbroken, even though Mr. FROTHINGHAM did not bolt the party in the Progressive movement.

Rugged honesty influenced his every act. Not even political expediency would make him deviate a hair's breadth from the honorable He chose deliberately, on leaving college, to go and upright course. into public service, believing that he owed it to all the people to spend his time usefully, as all of his illustrious and talented family have done. Patriotism, of a sort this was, the same patriotism which sent him into the Spanish-American War, which saw him lieutenant colonel in the Massachusetts State Guard, and then major in the Regular Army in the World War, and also as a member of a Massachusetts commission who braved the dangers of front-line trenches to look after the comfort of Massachusetts troops.

He could have had a life of ease and pleasure, but he chose to busy himself with worth-while things. He could have attained far greater popularity by joining in the hue and cry for popular measures, but chose to work quietly, and by orderly process, for them. He could have capitalized his knowledge and learning, his friendships, and his associations for political advancement, but would not compromise his natural self.

It took a long time to finally know Louis Frothingham, and even then the revelation of his character brought constant surprises to find him so firm and inflexible for the right.

To know him was to be profoundly thankful that there are such men of high character and lofty purpose in political life; to be proud and pleased on penetrating the mask of modesty and diffidence to discover so many fine and noble traits.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, the name of Louis A. Froth-INGHAM is secure in the annals of Massachusetts and will take rank with many of those men who have made our State renowned. Reference to them by name need not be recorded, as many of them will come at once to mind. We are proud that, not only at the present time but throughout the life of the Nation, Massachusetts has contributed its share of men deserving of the honored titles of American citizens and leaders in the affairs of the country.

Others to-day will describe our late colleague's accomplishments as a public servant. I wish only to refer to his personal qualities and my association with him.

Among various types and kinds of men whom I have known, certain outstanding characteristics of Mr. Frothingham deserve mention. Modesty and sincerity are virtues which everyone would possess. The degree to which they predominated in his life merit our emulation. No matter whether in work or play, that which he did was splendidly done; that which he did with skill and accuracy he would ascribe to chance. He always praised the abilities of others and deprecated his own, although it was always apparent that his success was due not to chance but to ability.

Representative Frothingham was a man of the very highest ideals of citizenship. His own character was the best evidence of his sincerity of purpose. Louis Frothingham was never known to stoop to underhanded means to accomplish an end. He trod the straight path of honorable accomplishment.

My friendship with him extended over a quarter of a century, during all of which time he held the highest respect and esteem of his associates, due to the constant application of the sterling qualities which I have mentioned. Together with one other Member of the present congressional delegation, who will speak more at length than I, we were associates in the legislature in 1904, when he first was elected speaker, a position which he filled with distinction and credit.

Through political fortunes he was in and out of office in State politics until the beginning of his congressional career. A few years make rapid changes. I happened to be with him when, as a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, militant advocates of women's suffrage surprised us by an all-day heekling campaign. Our candidate never showed that he was provoked or failed to extend to the women following him from town to town throughout the Berkshire Hills the utmost courtesy and respect. His conduct that day was an evidence of his even temper and modest bearing.

During his service in Congress Mr. FROTHINGHAM displayed the same characteristics he had shown during his early political career in Massachusetts. Seldom taking the floor, his occasional speeches were always received with attention by his colleagues and his arguments indicated his interest in the subjects under discussion, as well as his knowledge of details.

His conception of the obligation of citizenship was always apparent. It was not confined to holding positions of honor in civil life, as he twice volunteered to serve under arms, first in the Spanish War and later in the World War.

We are proud of our association with him and of the example of his character and high type of manhood. His name will take high rank in the annals of Massachusetts public life as a man worthy of its best traditions.

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Speaker, my first acquaintance with Louis Frothingham dates back to the time when we entered Harvard College as freshmen in the autumn of 1889. Although he did not neglect, as did so many sons of well-to-do parents, the intellectual side of college life, at the same time he took an active interest in athletics. As a second baseman he had few if any equals in college baseball and was chosen captain of the Under his leadership, in our senior year, Harvarsity team. vard won an unbroken series of victories, and, in consequence, he became one of the best known and popular men not only of his class but of the entire college.

Louis Frothingham's popularity with his classmates was not merely the transitory popularity of the successful athlete but was based on something much more substantial and enduring. He always played clean baseball and throughout his college and law-school career he lived a clean life. Moreover, he was always modest and unassuming and thoroughly democratic in the true sense of the word, so that his classmates not only admired and respected him for his character and attainments, but they entertained for him a real affection.

Upon his graduation from the Harvard Law School in 1896 he was admitted to the bar and in 1901 was chosen one of the members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from the city of Boston, where he served with distinguished ability for four terms, the last two terms as speaker. From the

speakership he was promoted to the office of lieutenant governor, which he filled with distinction for three terms.

I did not have the same good fortune as my colleague, Mr. Luce, of serving with our dear departed friend in the Massachusetts Legislature, as my service in that body preceded his. In common with his other classmates, however, I followed his political career as well as his service in the Spanish-American War and the World War with intense interest and pride.

We were all delighted when he was chosen an overseer of Harvard College, to which office he was reelected by the alumni as many times as the rules permitted. He always entertained an abiding affection for his alma mater, and his addresses at the yearly reunions of the class of '93, in which he told us about the progress of the university as a result of his knowledge as a member of the board of overseers, were among the outstanding

features of these gatherings.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our graduation from college he and his charming wife entertained the members of the class of 1893 at their beautiful home at North Easton, Mass. They repeated their generous hospitality five years later on our thirtieth anniversary. On the latter occasion the wives and children of the members of the class were invited, and there was a goodly company gathered together on that beautiful estate from all parts of the country, and none of those present on that delightful occasion will ever forget the gracious hospitality and especially the kindly greeting given to each guest, young and old, by the host and hostess.

At the presidential election of 1920, Louis Frothingham was urged by the leaders of his own party to be a candidate for Congress from the fourteenth district, which for four successive elections had chosen a member of the opposition party to that important office. He finally consented to run and was triumphantly elected to the Sixty-seventh Congress, and reelected to the Sixty-eighth, Sixty-ninth, and Seventieth Congresses, and would have been returned to the Seventy-first Congress but for

his untimely death last summer.

As in the Massachusetts Legislature, so here in this great assembly of the Nation's Representatives, Louis Frothingham was respected, esteemed, and loved by all his colleagues. His was a life of clean living and high thinking. It could be truthfully said of him that he was one who not only never intentionally did anything wrong but who never thought anything wrong. His face always retained its boyish expression. He never seemed to grow old or to lose his youthful enthusiasm for the highest ideals. He abhorred the sordid selfishness which is constantly seeking to control public opinion and to influence legislation for its own aggrandizement. He regarded political office as an opportunity for unselfish service to the community the State, and the Nation, and he stood steadfastly for what he thought was right regardless of possible consequences to his own personal fortunes.

Like his distinguished brother, Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, who was for more than a generation an inspiring prophet of righteousness, his departure from our midst came quickly and unexpectedly, "in the twinkling of an eye" but, like his brother, our dear friend and colleague was ready to go. To all his relatives and to his host of friends his going came as a great shock, particularly to his wife, to whom as well as to all his family, goes our most heartfelt sympathy. As one who has known and loved him these many years, I can hardly realize that he has left us. In the fullness of an abiding faith, however, I know that he has only passed over the river, which we all must cross, a little ahead of the rest of us, to take up his abode in that "house not made with hands, eternal in the

heavens.

Mr. ANDREW. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, the name "politician" unfortunately does not always bring to mind the finest type of citizenship. It does not always connote the patriot who spends his life disinterestedly in the service of his country. But that was the kind of politician that we had the privilege of knowing in Louis Adams Frothingham. If we were blessed in our public life with more men of his character and of his ideals and standards the profession of politics would be in far better repute. Our lamented colleague gave the whole span of his mature life, save for two periods when the country was at war and he offered himself as a volunteer in the military forces, to the business of government in the best and the most admirable sense of that phrase. He helped to raise the respect in which a political career is regarded in the thoughts of all who knew him.

College bred, trained in the law, of independent income, secure in his position, with a wide and influential acquaintance, he might easily have followed a comfortable and remunerative life in the pursuit of law or business. He deliberately chose, however, the rough and uneven road of politics with its harsh

struggles, its inevitable rebuffs, its vulnerability to misunderstanding and abuse. One can recall many men who have spent their lives in public office, but one can recall few comparable to LOUIS FROTHINGHAM in unselfishness of ambition, in loyalty to convictions, in unswerving effort to have his life count for what he thought was right and true.

Louis Frothingham was essentially a likable man, not merely genial and gracious in manner but really friendly at heart. Though not devoid of personal ambition, he was always considerate and generous in appreciation of others. He never tried to elbow his way ahead of them. He played fair with his associates and rivals in the political field, just as he had with his team mates and opponents on the gridiron or diamond in his student days. He practiced no subterfuges. He knew no tricks. He was a good sportsman all the way through. He was sincere and direct and without camouflage or evasion. He never trimmed the pattern of his speech to win popular support. He sought no favors by disingenuous means. He tried to find the truth about public questions open-mindedly and he had a rare way of making alignments without regard to personal political advantage or to the favoring opinion of those at home.

His training for Congress was such as is only granted to few. For ancestry there were generations of forbears distinguished in the law, the Christian ministry, and philanthropy. For academic background there was Harvard College and the Law School, from both of which he had graduated and with which his affiliations ever remained close. He had lectured in the college for a time on State and city government, and during 18 years he was a member of the university board of overseers. His political preparation had been varied and thorough. Before coming to Congress he had served six years in the Massachusetts Legislature, including two years as speaker, and after that as lieutenant governor of the Commonwealth. He was peculiarly fitted to render helpful aid to the Committee on Military Affairs, of which he became a member, because his was the remarkable experience of having served successfully in the Marine Corps, the State Guard, and the United States Army.

With such a character and such a training it was but natural that the opinions expressed by Congressman Frothingham were received with respect and carried weight in the committee and on the floor of the House. During the four terms which he spent here he had come to exert more and more of an influence in Congress, and he had won year by year ever-increasing popularity at home which not only ensured his tenure of office for as long a time as he might choose but gave promise of eventual advancement. He seemed to be on the threshold of his most fruitful years and destined to a long and progressive career in

American public life.

On the 23d of August, last year, abruptly and without warning, death laid its hand upon his shoulder and led him away. At the very time when chapters of greater purport seemed about to be written, the book of his life was closed. The sudden ending of Louis Frothingham's promising career is a source of sorrow to every Member of this body. The House of Representatives lost an able Member held in high and growing esteem, and we, his former colleagues, greatly mourn the passing of a sterling character and separation from a generous, loyal, and delightful friend.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to speak at any length on the life and public achievements of our late distinguished colleague. These have been described eloquently in previous tributes which have to-day been paid to his memory. Yet I would express my sincere admiration for the character of Louis A. Frothingham, my friend and neighbor, for he represented a congressional district in part adjacent to my own. On occasions our official problems overlapped, and I was thus able to become personally familiar with the exceptional service which he was daily rendering to his constituents in his quiet, efficient way, and to understand one of the many reasons why he was four times elected to the House by great and everincreasing majorities.

He was in truth a man who embodied the finest traditions of Massachusetts. He came of honorable and honored lineage. He had received the best that America had to offer in scholastic education and profited by it. He was polished; a gentleman in every sense; a man of no inconsiderable means, yet withal, unfailingly simple, modest, and a sincere friend to all who merited friendship or needed assistance. His true simplicity was also shown in his great love of nature. Possibly some of you visited his wonderful rose gardens, in which he took so much pleasure, and which he shared so generously with all his friends.

He gave of his best to the State and Nation because of an honest desire to devote his special talents to the public service, and not—I know that you will agree—with any thought of personal glorification. Such an idea would have been wholly incon-

sistent with his life and character, and the modesty with which he wore the honors bestowed upon him at home and abroad

further proves it.

Every State, like every nation, seems to have a special type which exemplifies its own best characteristics and ideals. It is my feeling that Louis Adams Frothingham—what stirring historical memories those last two names bring to our minds—was typical of Massachusetts' finest traditions. To some, who knew him little, he may have seemed like an American aristocrat and conservative, but his quiet reserve cloaked a soul dedicated to the same ideals as those which had actuated his ancestors, who struggled for justice and liberty, both political and religious. Like St. Paul he merely believed in "proving all things and holding fast to the good." His influence was great. His example one which all of us might well have followed consistently.

Louis Frothingham was taken from us suddenly in the

Louis Frothingham was taken from us suddenly in the prime of a life, rich in heritage and intellectual training, and ripe in wide experience. Such a one the State and Nation could ill afford to lose, especially at an age when many more years of worth while service in the public weal might have been expected of him. Yet regrets of this nature and the sense of personal loss are in part compensated by the recollection of his already notable record as a citizen, soldier, and statesman and by the example

which he left for others to follow.

Mr. UNDERHILL. Mr. Speaker, once again the gaunt hand of death has taken from us a beloved and respected colleague. Indeed, sir, the necrological record of this body for this Congress is hardly believable.

To-day we are gathered to commemorate the memory of a distinguished son of Massachusetts, one whom we were all

proud to call a friend.

Louis Adams Frothingham, scholar, soldier, and statesman, was born in Jamaica Plain, Mass., July 13, 1871. Born amid affluence and ease, the progeny of an old and respected Bay State family, yet he labored incessantly and gave freely of his time and energy to his country. Imbued with patriotism and always interested in the military, he joined the marines and served with that body as a second lieutenant during the Spanish-American War. Upon his return to civil life he took an active interest in politics and in 1901 was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He served in that body for five years, the last two as speaker. From 1909 to 1911 he served the Commonwealth zealously and well as lieutenant governor. When the World War came upon us he again joined the colors, serving as a major in the United States Army. Upon his discharge from the Army, he resumed his activity in politics, and in 1920 was elected to Congress and served continuously in this body until his untimely and sudden death.

Mr. Speaker, I knew Mr. Frothingham first in 1902, when we both served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. I grew not only to like him but he had my respect, for to him—

It was not the loss of a battle that counts, But how did you fight, and why?

He had a charming personality, always good natured, a keen lover of sports, and a real student of government. Above all things he was a gentleman of the highest order. To know him was to love him. Our friendship remained unbroken until his death. To me his passing was not only a public loss but a personal sorrow.

Mr. DOUGLASS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Hon. Louis A. Frothingham the Commonwealth of Massachusetts suffered the loss of one of her most distinguished and best-loved sons, and the Nation was deprived of one of its most patriotic and useful servants. Born in Massachusetts, a descendant of a long line of sturdy American stock, he loved the lofty traditions and splendid institutions of his native State, and all his life labored with unflagging zeal for their perpetuation

A lawyer by profession, he honored and adorned the bar. Ardent desire for public service early led him into the field of politics, where special talent for legislative work soon raised him to the front rank. His remarkable service while a member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, where he established himself as a sound, progressive, highly capable legislator, led to his quick promotion to the speakership of that important body. Later he rose to the high office of lieutenant governor of his State, serving in that capacity with renewed honor and distinction.

He served his country valiantly and devotedly in both the Spanish-American War and the World War. Having himself been a soldier, he brought to Congress an intimate knowledge of the needs of the soldier. Thus he became here the loyal

friend and defender of the veteran and his family, to whose interests he was ever keenly alive. In fact, here in Congress and throughout his long public career he was always the friend and defender of every good and just cause.

He never put party above principle or State or country. He was respected and beloved by men of all parties. As a legislator, as a soldier, as a man, he served humanity and loved to serve. He served humanity because he believed in humanity and considered every man his brother. He had a positive genius for friendship and his friends were legion.

His nature was calm, positive, but not combative. He was not combative because he scorned to wound or offend. He never, I think, had an enemy of his own making. He valued the respect and good will of his fellow men above all earthly

rewards.

He was generous and kindly. He was dignifiedly modest; unseemly pride never had sullied his refined sensibilities. He was a high-minded, idealistic, exemplary Christian, whose unnumbered works of simple mercy and unheralded charity will constitute a monument to bless and perpetuate his name. He was the soul of honor. He could not stoop to do a mean thing; he never harbored a mean thought, for he was above all things else a gentleman, a cultured knight sans peur et sans reproche.

It was my rare privilege to know Louis A. Frothingham as a friend for over a generation and a half. "And none knew him but to love." To me his untimely taking off in the prime of his life and at the height of his usefulness came as a distinct personal loss. His gentle spirit is in the eternal realms of his Creator; on earth his memory still lives fragrant, sweet, inspir-

ing. Requiescat in pace!

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is with infinite sadness that I pay a brief tribute to a distinguished

colleague and esteemed friend of 20 years.

The suddenness of his death came as a great shock. One week before he died I passed a pleasant day in his company. He was in good health and in his usual happy spirits. When the message came of his death it was almost unbelievable. It emphasized the uncertainty of life.

Well do I recall my first acquaintance with Louis Frothingham. It was in 1908, when as a successful candidate for lieutenant governor he was an inspiration to all the young Republicans of the old Bay State. A political revolution prevented what would ordinarily have been a certain procession to the governor-

ship and higher honors.

To his eternal credit he accepted the unexpected twist of fate with the same equanimity with which he accepted the high honors heaped upon him in his young manhood. His greatness in defeat won for him the admiration of his party and his host of friends. Later when his party wished to reclaim the four-teenth district, it instinctively turned to him. The election followed, and no better evidence of the splendid service he rendered in Congress can be offered than in the constantly increasing pluralities with which he was returned to office.

Louis Frothingham stood out as an honest, capable, conscientious public servant. He never sought the glare of the spotlight. He was content to do his duty as his conscience dictated

in a modest, efficient manner.

If one was to single out his predominating personal characteristics, it would be to name his sweetness of character and loyalty to his friends. These attributes, generally appreciated, won the firm friendship of all who came into contact with him. No man was blessed with firmer friendships than he.

Massachusetts mourns the loss of a distinguished and beloved son. We have all lost a true and loyal friend. He has gone to his reward. His place in the hereafter is assured. His inspiring character and worthy deeds will live in the fond and enduring memory of his friends, and his splendid life of achievements will assure him a home of happiness in the great eternity beyond.

Mrs. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, we know that Louis Adams Frothingham passed to the Great Beyond last August; all that could die has gone. But his gracious, friendly, helpful spirit lives on and can never cease.

Born to wealth and a life of ease, Louis Adams Frothing-ham chose the harder way of toil for others. Gentleman by birth and tradition, in every way he lived up to the true meaning of that word. He could not do an ungentlemanly thing; he could not perform a mean act. I have never heard him utter an unkind word. He never espoused an unworthy cause. With his intense loyalty to his friends and great loyalty to his ideals, he enriched his own life in enriching the lives of others. His extremely active and successful life left him singularly unspoiled, singularly gentle. The shots of political battles and the struggles of professional life left upon him no marks of bitterness.

His friends were legion and included the most exalted in the land and the humblest, and all took pride in his friendship. His oldest friends tell me that during his entire life rich and poor sought his counsel, and no friend in trouble ever came empty handed away.

As soldier, lawyer, statesman, and scholar, he gave to each and every place his best. His life was all too short. His brilliant career ended all too soon, but he died as he lived, in service. He was ready to give his life for his country in war; instead he died in the service of his country at peace.

Mr. STOBBS. Mr. Speaker, when the Grim Reaper came among us and cut down, in the prime of his life, our beloved colleague, Louis Frothingham, it was very hard for us to understand. Strong, vigorous, and athletic, it seemed impossible for him of all men to be stricken. We feel his loss greatly.

Louis Frothingham came to Congress with a splendid background of public service in his home State of Massachusetts. He had also, on the two occasions of the Spanish-American War and the World War, shown his patriotism and love of country by entering its military service.

He was admirably fitted by temperament, training, and experience, to be a successful Member of the National Legislature. His service in this body was marked by high idealism, combined with sound judgment. He performed his duties faithfully, diligently, and most conscientiously. His personality inspired affection. He was beloved by all those who knew him well.

The outstanding trait of Louis Frothingham was his character itself. He was essentially a man of character. No one could imagine his doing anything, either personally or legislatively, that would seem to deviate in the slightest degree from the highest ethical standards. He abhorred practices below par in others. He was at all times so manly, so straightforward.

His loyalty and devotion to his family and his friends was outstanding. He embodied the best traits of a New England environment. He personified the highest type of a New England gentleman.

His loss to his State and to the Nation is irreparably great. His loss to his friends and to his family is beyond expression.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, it was with very real grief and a sense of personal loss that I learned of the unexpected and sudden passing from this world of my late friend and colleague in Congress, Hon. Louis A. Frothingham. To eulogize him properly is a task beyond the capabilities of my poor power of speech. Enough to say that to us who knew him through intimate daily intercourse no eulogy is necessary to fix him firmly in our minds and memories. I believe it would be difficult to forget-for me, at least-the kind, quiet gentleman, so unfailingly cordial in the course of the many times our duties in Congress as members of the same State delegation have brought us together, both at work and recreation. Since my first coming to Congress, and even before that time, when I met him in Worcester, Mass., at the State convention of the American Legion, I felt that here was one whom I could call a friend and whom I would not hesitate to call on whenever I needed advice or information. Always he was glad to extend to me as a fellow member of his delegation bits of knowledge or data which he believed might be of help to me, and I never hesitated to avail myself of this privilege. I recall with pleasure and pride that on the day when I first took my seat in Congress that Congressman Frothingham came to me from the Republican side of the House and in his quiet, sincere way shook hands with me and wished me the best of good luck during my coming term. It will seem strange to me now to feel that I shall not see his familiar face nodding its friendly greeting to me.

I have had much admiration for the fine character of Congressman Frothingham, and always have enjoyed and admired his wonderful command of English, the ease and fluency of his diction, his utter lack of pretense, and quiet sense of humor.

There is not much that can be said. Only that our friend is gone, and although new faces will come, as in the course of nature they must, and others will nod their greeting, just as Louis Frothingham used to, nevertheless I know that there will be a pleasant memory to many of us, and life will be just a little fuller to us for having known a fine and sincere gentleman. After all, when, as one by one we pass on, there is nothing much more we can hope to leave behind us, and how wonderful to leave a memory which brings a thought of affection and admiration to those who knew us. And this our friend, whom I am happy to have called my friend, has done.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, I present for the Record the resolutions adopted by the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives as a mark of respect to our late col-

league and fellow committee member, Hon. Louis A. Frothingham:

- Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His mysterious yet wise providence, to call from our midst our esteemed colleague, Hon. Louis A. Frothingham, we, the members of the Committee on Military Affairs, in expressing our sorrow at the loss of one who took an active part in the deliberation of this committee: Therefore be it

Resolved, That in the death of Mr. FROTHINGHAM each member of the committee has all the sense of loss of a personal friend; and be it further

Resolved, That in the death of Mr. Frothingham the Congress has lost a Member, straightforward, courageous, and honest in his views; and his district a Representative who truly voiced the patriotism and devotion to the principles of representative government founded by the forefathers; and be it further

Resolved, That we sympathize with the bereaved family in their hour of sorrow; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread on the minutes of the committee, be made a part of the memorial service to our deceased colleague, and a copy be transmitted to the family.

JOHN M. MORIN, Chairman Committee on Military Affairs.

#### THOMAS LEWIS RUBEY

Mr. DICKINSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I knew intimately Thomas L. Rubey for more than a quarter of a century. I served with him in the Senate of Missouri, over which body he presided as president pro tempore, and later as lieutenant governor with credit to himself and his high office.

He was elected to Congress from the sixteenth district of Missouri in November, 1910, and served continuously until his death on November 2, 1928, except for two years following what is known as the landslide of 1920 which retired so many of his Democratic colleagues. Mr. Rubey represented the district so long represented by "Silver" Dick Bland, who on many ballots was the leading candidate for President at the Democratic convention in Chicago in the year 1896, when Mr. Bryan was nominated.

During all of his service in Congress Mr. Rubey was a prominent member of the Committee on Agriculture. He served his district with honor and distinguished credit. He was loved by his constituents as few men have been. No purer or better man ever came to Congress from any district than this industrious Representative, who served his constituents with a singular devotion to duty and with an ever-present desire to represent the best thought and best interests of his outstanding agricultural district. He lived a good life. He discharged every duty. He wronged no man. He was just to all. He loved his friends, his home, his State, and his country. He followed the dictates of his own conscience in every action after diligent study on every question. He voted on matters of legislation with a stubborn desire to cast a correct vote in the interest of those whose Representative he was and what he believed to be for the best interest of his country. He left an honorable record.

Though nominated without opposition, he withdrew his name and was not a candidate for election in November, 1928, having reached the conclusion that his impaired health was such that he should not again ask for election.

He was by far the strongest man in public favor in his district and was worthy of every honor conferred on him. He was an educator, a banker, a legislator in State and Nation, and successful in every line of endeavor. He was a Christian gentleman, a citizen of the highest type.

He was born in Lebanon, Mo., and on November 2, 1928, at the age of 66 years, he passed away there. I attended the funeral services of my much-loved colleague, held at his residence on Sunday afternoon, November 4. It was a beautiful ceremony, conducted under the auspices of the Masonic lodge of which he was a prominent member, and a wonderful tribute was paid by a great Mason before an immense audience of friends who came to do honor to the foremost citizen of that section, whose life and character was a wonderful example to all who knew him. His remains rest in the cemetery of his much-loved city of Lebanon.

He has gone to his reward. He leaves behind him his widow, an unusual woman, his companion in life. They were as lovers journeying together along pleasant paths. The recollection of his devotion, his high character, his love of right and of country, and of his many virtues of mind and heart will be an ever-present memory to cheer her as she lives her further life.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, Tom Rubey, as we knew him during his long service as a distinguished Member of the House of Representatives, was born in the State of Missouri of fine parentage. He received a good education, having taken his

degree from the University of the State of Missouri. For a number of years he taught school at Lebanon, Mo., and at the Missouri School of Mines at Rolla, Mo. Before coming to the Congress he saw service in the general assembly of his State. having served in both of its branches; and for two years, 1903-1905, he was lieutenant governor.

A thorough Missourian and a loyal member of his party, he achieved fame and greatness. His colleagues from that State regret his going. His widow and other loved ones can console themselves in the fact that Thomas L. Rubey was a man of character and attainments and put them to good use in the service of the people. Likewise can his friends join his loved ones in his passing and unite with them in saying:

His sun went down in the morning, While all was fair and bright: But it was not an eclipse of darkness That hid him from our sight. For the valley of death was brighter Than the hills of the life he trod, And the peace that fell on his spirit Was the calm, deep peace of God. His sun went down in the morning, While all was fair and bright; But it shines to-day on the hills far away In the land that knows no night.

Mr. ROMJUE. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Thomas Lewis Rubey the House of Representatives mourns the loss of one of its ablest and most beloved Members. His constituents have lost a faithful, honest, and dependable friend and public servant. I have had the good fortune to know him intimately. been one of his constituents while he served well in the Missouri State Senate and as lieutenant governor of our State. of these positions he served with great credit and distinction, as he has done in every instance in which he has been called to public service.

THOMAS LEWIS RUBEY was born in Lebanon, September 27, 1862, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Rubey.

He spent his early life on the farm and attended the district schools and later the Lebanon schools. He then entered the University of Missouri, from which he was graduated with the A. B. degree.

Due to his interest in education, Mr. Rubey was elected superintendent of the Lebanon schools, where he gained the distinction of being one of the foremost educators of the State.

The first office ever held by Mr. Rubey was that of county school commissioner. This position came to him unsolicited by appointment from Gov. John S. Marmaduke. At that time Mr. Rubey was superintendent of schools. He filled this unexpired term and at the next spring election was elected school commissioner.

In 1890 Mr. Rubey was nominated by the Laclede County Democratic county convention as member of the legislature.

Although Laclede County was strongly Republican then, he was elected, and when the legislature met in January, 1891, he took his seat in the house of representatives at Jefferson City.

In 1892 Mr. Rubey was selected by the board of curators as professor in the Rolla School of Mines, which position he held until the fall of 1897. He won the Democratic nomination and

was elected to Congress for the first time in 1910.

Congressman Rubey always was deeply interested in agriculture and served as a member of the House Committee on Agriculture during his terms in Congress. In the matter of education, he showed a keen desire to foster the public schools of the country as one of the greatest heritages of American boys and girls.

His was an admirable character. The longer and more intimately one knew him the more affection and respect one had for him and his views on any subject that gained his attention. I presume individuals have different means of estimating the characters of great men. Perhaps some traits of character make a stronger appeal than others. The traits of character possessed by Tom Rubey which marked him as a really great man, according to what I consider the fundamental standard, were these: He was thoroughly honest and had no duplicity in his make-up. He was as loyal and as industrious in looking after the interests of the people whom he represented in Congress as he was in giving attention to his own private affairs; indeed, he was more so, for with him public service came first. It is my judgment he would be alive to-day had he not overtaxed his energies as he did in working so unceasingly in the interest of the farmers in their struggle for some relief from the unequal burdens thrust upon them during the few recent years. He worked overtime and with a commendable zeal to secure the passage of an agricultural relief measure. Combined with his

rugged honesty and his unfailing energy in behalf of public service, there was his Christian character. That he possessed, and as I think of him in that character, I recall his own utterance on an occasion when he was speaking of a departed friend in these lines:

And to friends and loved ones who put their trust in him "Who doeth all things well" there comes that sweet consolation: We'll meet thee and we'll greet thee on the never-ending shore; We'll dwell with thee in glory,

To be parted never more.

There are many of the finest products of nature that improve with age. In the main they are products that were always good, always wholesome, and time slowly, gradually, and perhaps imperceptibly strengthens, mellows, and enriches them. It gratifies me to know that this development which nature reserves for her best and rarest products was given a place in the life and character of my departed friend.

We always knew him as conscientious, honorable, and loyal, and as the years passed along there was with him a great measure of kind philosophy which embraced all mankind and a great tolerance of the opinions and views of others. perhaps a wide difference of opinion as to what constitutes the most desirable setting for our last days on this trying but interesting earth and our answer to the final summons to another sphere of activity; but the better judgment of mankind, it seems to me, incines to an experience of usefulness and helpfulness until the hour of our departure shall strike, and to the hope of a peaceful passing into the shadows. From this point of view, with honors upon him, respected by all, and loved by those who knew him best, a good man, a faithful citizen, a devout Christian, passed to his reward.

Blessed are those whose ways are the ways of uprightness, whose days are days of usefulness, and who, answering the last summons, die in the Lord. In this manner so lived and died

our friend.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of Thomas Lewis Rubey this body has lost one of its able and outstanding Members. The great State of Missouri one of its most beloved citizens and native sons.

For many years Thomas L. Rubey taught in the Missouri School of Mines, a department of the University of Missouri. He also served in both branches of the general assembly of his State. He also served as lieutenant governor of his State and in this body for 16 years. In his long career of public service he believed "a public office was a public trust." The people's interests were his interests. He so lived that he had the respect and admiration of all who knew him. No man can ask more.

The memory of his labors and sacrifices will remain engraven on the hearts of the people of his district and State.

To those of us who knew him well his failing health was an unending sorrow. Day by day for the past year, with a smile on his face, concealing as best he could the never-ceasing pain from which he suffered, Thomas L. Rubey marked off his days. We knew that his case was hopeless and that good health was not to be for him. He knew it, too, of this I am convinced; yet never once did he decry his fate but went forward to the end, true to himself, his friends, and his trust, meeting all with a smile that spoke the great courage that was within him.

He met death as he had met life, with unfaltering faith and

undaunted courage.

When we come to measure him and appraise his worth, we know-

His life was gentle, and the elements So mix'd in him, that nature might stand up And say to all the world, "This was a man."

Mr. LOZIER. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Hon. THOMAS LEWIS RUBEY this House lost one of its ablest, most useful, and highly esteemed Members. He was splendidly equipped for efficient public service. He had a vigorous, well-balanced, and well-trained mind. He possessed sound judgment and reached his conclusions by logical processes. It was not his habit to hastily form his opinions. He weighed every proposal carefully and subjected it to the acid test of reason, common sense, and right. But when he reached a decision he allowed nothing to swerve him from his duty as he saw it. He was strictly honest personally, politically, intellectually, and in every other way. He was courageous in advocacy of what he believed to be right. He was at all times outspoken and never quibbled or equivocated. Although he aggressively championed principles and policies which he believed to be just and reasonable, he was never unfair or intolerant toward those with whom he differed. He always had an open mind for the reception of truth. Because of his mental vigor, poise, sound judgment, and acute appreciation of ethical principles he was a valuable legislator, both in the general assembly of his State and as a Member of this House, the greatest legislative body in the world.

But, aside from those outstanding characteristics, he possessed a genial and loyable personality that bound men to him

as with hoops of steel.

Though we mourn his home going, who of us will say that he died too soon or that he left his work uncompleted? When I contemplate his useful and upright life I can not view his death as a tragedy nor as the end of existence, like the death of an ox or the uprooting of a giant oak by a tropical storm, nor as marking the beginning of an eternal sleep, nor as a Buddhist Nirvana, or beatific emancipation of the human soul from responsibility and worldly woes and afflictions, by its loss of all personal consciousness, either by utter annihilation or by completely merging it into the Divine. No; death is far different from any of these conceptions.

Rather would I look on his death as a friendly stroke, painless in its touch, severing the silver cord that bound him to the finite. After blameless years, having finished his task sooner than others with whom he labored, with the serenity born of a Christian life and a Christian's hope, he uncomplainingly laid down life's threadbare but unspotted mantle and, following where airy voices led, he crossed a narrow strip of pathless, waveless, tideless sea to the enchanted shores of a blissful everlastingness, where angry billows never break and where in the Father's house of many mansions blissfully abide those whom we "have loved long since and lost awhile." Life's fitful fever over, in the palace of the King he wakes eternally.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Representative Thomas L. Ruber was a faithful public servant in all that the term implies. He took his work seriously. No request from a constituent was too small to claim his personal attention, none so big but that he gave to it all that it demanded. A deep student of the problems of our day, he devoted much thought in an effort to help arrive at a proper solution of questions claiming the attention of the country. Especially was this true of agriculture.

Long a member of the Committee on Agriculture in the House of Representatives, Mr. Rubey was splendidly equipped for the place. He was farmer minded. He knew and loved country folk. He was one of them. In his boyhood he was brought into intimate contact with the things of the country. He was no mock friend of the farmer. Although during the latter years of his life interested primarily in banking, his breadth of view, his natural sympathies, and his economic understanding caused him to be ever conscious of the fact that when the farmer is failing there can be no real and permanent prosperity for the cities. During the lengthy hearings held before the committee of which he was a member Mr. Rubey was in constant attendance, even when not physically able. His first thought was of service to his people.

For more than a quarter century it was our privilege to know Representative Ruber intimately and well, and we shall never cease to treasure his friendship. He was intensely human, honest in thought and deed, frank and outspoken when occasion demanded, yet charitable and kindly in his estimate of men. The people whom he served were to him more than his constituents; they were his friends, almost, in fact, as one big family. He never permitted his people to place him upon a pedestal. He preferred that they think of him first as a friend,

and such he was in all that the word implies.

Not only did Representative Rubey love the people whom he long represented in Congress, but he loved also the Ozark country, his homeland. To him the mountains and hills were as mounts of promise and inspiration on whose heights there might ever be heard sermons for those who understood. Fond of the open, he enjoyed the sports and recreations of forest and stream. To him the changing seasons, so attractive in the Ozark Mountains, where nature presents an ever-changing panorama, were intensely interesting stories. In God's great out of doors he was at his best and there he was never lonesome.

In view of Representative Rubey's love for and understanding of the Ozark country, of the the joy he had felt, especially in the giories of the fall time, it seemed especially appropriate that after a long fight to regain his health he should have fallen asleep in early November, magic month in Missouri. When on a beautiful Sunday thousands of friends, including some of his colleagues, met in Lebanon to pay their last tribute of respect, all nature seemed to understand. The sun shone forth, not with unseeming blare and blazonry, but just enough to bring out the beauty of the Ozark blue. On a thousand hills, the hills of the land of his home, the Master Artist

had produced wonderful pictures. Gold and red and brown were blended. Then, in a cemetery in the city of Richard Parks Bland, another eminent statesman of the Ozarks, and where great trees were growing, the mortal remains of Representative Ruber were laid to rest. Lebanon had lost one it loved. City, district, State, and Nation were poorer for his passing, yet richer for his life.

As we drove toward our home that beautiful Sunday afternoon we thought much of the man, of the secure place he had held in the hearts of "the home folks," as he loved to refer to them, and of his fidelity and devotion. We could not think of him as dead. It was only the harvest time in the Ozarks On the broad tablelands, or in the fertile, narrow valleys, corn was in shock. Fruition is in the fall time. It is the season of the finished product. So it was in the life of Representative Rubey. He had done his work. A wise Providence had but called him home.

As we proceeded on our homeward journey, we understood more, too, of the part southern Missouri had played in our colleague's life. Driving now through a deep valley, darkness seemed near, but far up on the mountainside the sun was still shining. As the day died, the indescribable purple haze of the Ozarks crept slowly up the great hills producing an impression of abiding peace; the tinkle of cowbells was now and then audible, and with this perchance was the last evening note of a bird.

note of a bird.

Now our improved highway takes us over the crest of a great hill, and again on a far ridge we catch the last rays of the sun. So it was in Representative Rubey's life. He was ever climbing upward and looking for the sunlight if below him darkness seemed gathering. If he found among his associates doubtful qualities, he looked for the good. He preferred this, So, no wonder is it that the people whom he served in various capacities, and in all with credit, should think of him just as do you and I, not merely as a public official of ability, but first and last as a friend.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, out in the heart of the great Ozark Highlands of Missouri, where he was born, lies buried Thomas Lewis Rubey, former Representative of the sixteenth district of Missouri. No Member of Congress was more faithful to his constituency than was Mr. Rubey. He represented an agriculture district and his health declined while he fought the battle in the Agriculture Committee, of which he was a member for so long, and on this floor, in behalf of those who till the soil for a livelihood. While he came from a district alive with fertile valleys, his people, engaged in diversified farming, have their ups and downs. I have been in the vicinity of Laclede County, Mo., where Mr. Rubey was born, died, and was buried, when the corn towered high, only in a few days to be washed away by a raging mountain stream, out of its banks. His people would smile at misfortune and start anew as soon as the water subsided.

Tom Rubey, as he was known to the people of his district as well as to his colleagues here, served the people of 11 counties of Missouri for 15 years and 8 months, and he served them well. He was educated in his State, taught school in his State, and served his State in both branches of the legislature, as well as in the United States Congress.

His death, while a shock to us all, was not unexpected. Broken in health, he could always be found on this floor up to the close of the first session of this Congress. He had felt that a vacation in the Ozarks he loved so well would restore his old-time vigor, but finding progress slow after his return to Missouri, he withdrew as a candidate for reelection after receiving

the nomination without opposition.

Mr. Rubey was a lover of the great outdoors. A good fisherman, but a better hunter, he had roamed the hills of the Ozarks since a boy. The Niangua, Gasconade, Piney, and Meramee Rivers flowed through his district, as did many other mountain streams, and he spent his spare time taking the greatest of game fish from these rivers, hunting deer, wild turkey, quail, and other game on the hillsides. He loved a hunting dog, always possessed a good one, and was fond of talking of the dogs he had hunted over.

Honored with a public trust, he served those who honored him well. His devotion to his duties was exemplified by his almost perfect attendance at sessions of Congress until his health failed. His last great battle was in behalf of the McNary-Haugen bill. My views on this bill differed with his. In fact, all members of the delegation but one other and myself voted for the bill. Mr. Rubey was anxious to have a solid Missouri delegation supporting the measure. It was the first time I had ever known him to solicit votes for a measure in which

bill, but a few days after the vote we met and, placing his arm around me. said:

You did not vote for my bill, but you did what you thought was right, and for that I admire you. If you had asked me to vote for a bill which I did not think should be passed, I would also have refused.

Mr. Rubey deserved the support he received from his constituents. There is not a man in his district who knew him, Democrats and Republicans alike, who would not say if you asked him about Tom Rubey, "We miss him." This, I am sure, conveys the sentiments of the membership of this House, for I know we all miss him.

Mr. NIEDRINGHAUS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a feeling mingled with regret and pleasure that I say a word in behalf of the memory of Thomas Lewis Rubey, former Congressman from Missouri; regret that he is gone and his services are lost to the House, but with pleasure that his services have been so honorable and valuable to his constituents and our country.

The life of Mr. Rubey is typical of so many successful, useful American boys. He was born in the Ozarks, and like many ether Ozark boys procured an education as good as the mountain schools of his day afforded. He then became a teacher in order to obtain funds with which to advance his education. After his career as a teacher, he engaged in the banking business in Lebanon, Mo., where his recognized integrity and courtesy to his patrons built for him a successful business.

Later in life he was elected a member of the Missouri State Senate, where he served with distinction, and while serving as a member he was elected president pro tempore of that body. When a vacancy occurred in the office of lieutenant governor he automatically became lieutenant governor of Missouri, where

he served until the end of his term.

His splendid record as a member of the State senate attracted the people of the sixteenth congressional district, and as a result he was elected to Congress, where he served nearly 16

As a Member of Congress he was respected by his colleagues because of his honest, faithful official service. While a Democrat in politics, he never discriminated between the members of political parties in his district in the discharge of his official duties: and so diligent was he in his efforts to render efficient service that he continued at his post long after his physical condition was such as to make his work most distressing.

It can be said of him that his official life in Washington was a great honor to him and his family, and that his services were

of great value to the people who honored him.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on the 2d day of November, 1928, in the beautiful city of Lebanon in southwest THOMAS L. RUBEY passed to his eternal reward. banker, school-teacher, and legislator, Mr. Rubey was

one of the great and good men of his generation.

Of a quiet and retiring disposition, he was drawn into the political arena where he occupied an important place for more than a quarter of a century. As a member of both houses of the Missouri Legislature, as lieutenant governor of that great State, and as a Member of this House for 16 years, he served his State and country conscientiously and well. He scorned sham and hypocrisy, and had none of the cunning of designing, scheming politicians. His strength lay in his quiet, plain, open, honest acts and conduct. He cared nothing for the flare of the trumpet or the beat of the drum. The pride and pomp and splendor of official life and position that may have fascinations and allurements for some made no appeal to him. The fawnings and flattery, the plaudits and praise of the populace never beguiled, deluded, or entranced him. There were no vainglorious, bombastic elements in his make-up. There was no crying of his many virtues from the housetops. His entire public duties were performed without parade or bluster. He was never swayed by the "madding crowd's ignoble strife," but "along the cool sequestered vale of life he kept the even tenor of his way.'

A Democrat by nature and training his political advice was frequently sought by members of his party. Cool, calm, and conservative, his counsel was always regarded as safe and sound. In his legislative career he was a close student and attentive to routine work. Having been a professor for a number of years in a department of the Missouri University, he always took a deep interest in educational matters. For many years he was a member of the great Committee on Agriculture in this House and was ever solicitous for the welfare of the farmers,

His long experience in public life and his close application to the duties of the various offices held by him gave him a deep insight into the many and varying problems of government.

he was interested. He felt very keenly my opposition to the He was an untiring worker. Even when the ravages of disease had undermined his health and sapped the strength and vigor of his younger manhood days, he carried on without murmur or complaint. His long distinguished public service stamps him as a careful, a wise, and an able legislator. In his passing the State of Missouri has lost one of its most progressive and distinguished citizens and the Nation a highly esteemed and valued statesman.

> Influential, useful, and brilliant as was his public career, his business and private life was grander still. It was in his home and among the friends of his native city, who knew and loved him, that he was at his best. There it could be truly said of

> > None knew thee but to love thee. Nor named thee but to praise.

Always working and striving to make his community a better place in which to live, he was progressive, forwardlooking, upstanding, taking the lead in every movement for betterment and improvement.

In any effort to secure a new schoolhouse or church house, or to bring about better social conditions, higher educational standards, higher and nobler moral and religious sentiments, Mr. RUBEY was always found in the vanguard fighting the battle. His kindly, affectionate, helpful service to the community will always be gratefully remembered. He won the confidence and gratitude of the people, not by gaudy show or brilliant display but by the quiet persuasiveness of his sterling worth and the convincing appeal of his deep sincerity. His friends in him. They trusted him. They had confidence in him. He met their faith and trust and confidence by unswerving devotion to duty and unwavering fidelity to their cause. His assistance and advice was constantly and quietly and freely given to those with whom he daily met and lived.

His life and character radiated light and warmth and sunshine, bringing hope and happiness to all with whom he came in contact. The night was never too dark or the road too long for him to go on an errand of mercy. If I were to seek the source of all his power and greatness, I would point to his genuine sincerity, his deep sympathies, his-kindly spirit, and his earnest desire to help.

As long as real worth and sturdy manhood are recognized in official position and acclaimed in public ceremonies, as long as loyalty to friends and fidelity to duty are fostered and treasured and cherished, either in the courtly palace or around the humble fireside, so long will the name and memory of Thomas L. Rubey live in the hearts of his countrymen.

In the city of his birth and surrounded by throngs of sorrowing friends, he was laid to rest beneath a wealth of flowers. There amid the scenes of his boyhood days and the scene of many of his activities and achievements he rests in peace, with the blessings and benedictions of thousands whom he has befriended and helped along the way hovering over him.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Thomas L. Rubey represented the State of Missouri as a Member of the House of Representatives in seven Congresses. During his entire service in the House he was a member of the Committee on Agriculture. of which I have had the honor to be chairman since 1919.

I had the honor and good fortune, by virtue of frequent contact during our long association, to have an opportunity to learn his splendid character, his noble qualities, and purposes so manifest in every walk of life, both public and private. He was a plain, unassuming, unpretentious, and unselfish man. of sterling qualities, of loving disposition, eminently sociable, pleasant, courteous, obliging, loyal, with a character founded on integrity, with a will to work his way honestly and bravely, endowed with lofty ideals, fortified with a wealth of experience and learning by long years of public life; pursuing his duty with industry, fidelity, unyielding courage, and fixity of purpose. The better I knew him the more I admired him, and realized why his constituents trusted him, and why he was held in such high esteem by his many friends.

Coming to Congress as he did with his genial disposition, keen intellect, noble character, and experience in legislative work, coupled with his patriotic, active, and effective public service, his unswerving and unusual devotion to truth, to the best interest of his State and Nation, always evident in his performance of public duty, naturally won him distinction and many

It goes without saying that a life so bright, a character so pure, with such noble qualities, splendid career, and record as a statesman and citizen has made the world better and added to its happiness.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I herewith insert the resolution adopted by the Committee on Agriculture on December 10, 1928, on the life and services of Hon. Thomas L. Rubey, late a Representative of the State of Missouri and an honored member of this committee:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF HON, THOMAS L. RUBEY, LATE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI, AT A REGULAR MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE HELD ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1928

Whereas the Committee on Agriculture has heard with profound sorrow of the death of one of its prominent members, the Hon. Thomas L. Ruber, late a Representative of the State of Missouri: Therefore be it Resolved by the Committee on Agriculture in this meeting assembled, That in the death of Congressman Ruber this committee has lost one of its most industrious, serviceable, and diligent members; the House of Representatives one of its most faithful servants; and the State of Missouri one of its most distinguished citizens.

Resolved further, That this committee extend to Mrs. Rubey its condolence and heartfelt sympathy in her hour of bereavement.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be made a permanent record of this committee and a copy be sent to his widow.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the big honors that has come to me as a Representative in Congress was to be chosen as a member of the Committee on Agriculture, and one of the chief benefits and pleasures that I received as a member of this committee was to get acquainted with the Hon. Thomas L. Rubey, near whom I had the pleasure of sitting in the committee room.

I saw in Mr. Rubey's face a kind expression that would make it possible for me, a new member, to go to him for the benefits of his mature judgment on public as well as private matters. I was never disappointed. When I sought his counsel I always received from him gracious consideration and an expression which proved that he had given to the question at hand the most profound thought. He spoke seldom in the committee, but whenever he rose the members of the committee listened eagerly for what he had to say. My five years of service with him had led me, as it had his other colleagues, to form a deep affection for him and to have a great respect for his devotion to public service.

One of my pleasant memories in connection with Mr. Ruber is that he and his gracious wife stopped at my home in Wooster, Ohio, when they were driving back to Missouri at the close of a session of Congress.

The people of Missouri and the citizens of our country are better off for his having served and are the severe losers for his untimely taking off.

Mr. FULMER. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed grateful to the Missouri delegation for being permitted to pay my tribute to-day to the memory of Hon. Thomas L. Rubey.

From the time that I met Governor Rubey at Congress Hall Hotel almost immediately after his arrival to enter upon his duties as a Congressman until his death I considered him one of my best friends in Congress. He had served in previous Congresses; therefore, on his return he not only reclaimed his old friends but made friends with the new Members. He was assigned to the great Agricultural Committee, where he served with me until his death. It was on this committee that I had the pleasure of watching the statesmanship-like service of my colleague. It was only a matter of a few days before I observed his deep interest in his constituency, his State, and his Nation. I often visited with him at the hotel, in his office, and sat with him in the House, because I admired his friendly companionship and I had great confidence in his judgment on legislative matters. He was a man of few words, but honest and hardworking. He was a Democrat, but he knew no party or section when a bill had merit, and was for the interest of the great masses and his country. He seemed to understand his people and their needs. He spoke for and served his constituents as a man who knew he had the confidence of those he was serving.

In every instance it was not a matter of keeping his ear to the ground and the playing of politics, but his deep concern was in being right. No Member of this House had more concern about passing legislation proposing to put agriculture on an equality with other groups.

During the Seventieth Congress he returned to Washington almost physically undone, but his regular attention to the daily requests coming in from his constituents, to his work in the committee and the House cause me to say that truly he gave his life for his people; his country, and his God.

In conclusion let me say that his district, his State, and the entire Nation have suffered a great loss in the death of Governor Rubey. This kind of man is not easily replaced in this body or in the affairs of State and Nation. He received many honors at the hands of his people in this life, and we, with them, mourn his untimely passing away. May the soul of my friend, as I am sure it does and will, forever rest in peace.

Our hearts bleed, but faith bids us look up. Jesus said, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and

believeth in me shall never die."

There is no death! The stars go down
To rise upon some fairer shore,
And bright in heaven's jeweled crown
They shine forever more.

There is no death! The dust we tread
Shall change beneath the summer showers
To golden grain, or mellow fruit,
Or rainbow-tinted flowers.

They are not dead! They have but passed Beyond the mists that blind us here Of that serener sphere!

Mr. SWANK. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, it was with great regret that I heard of the death of my good friend and colleague, Hon. Thomas L. Rubey, a Member of Congress from the sixteenth district of the State of Missouri. He was a Member of Congress before I had the pleasure of knowing him. I first became acquainted with him in the Sixtyeighth Congress, and from that time till his death we were members of the Committee on Agriculture. We were together much of the time and became good friends. He was one of the most active members of that committee and took a great interest in the problems of American agriculture. He was familiar with the hard work of the farmers and their dire distress during the past several years. He was always studying hard to find some new solution that would help them. He was truly their friend at all times. No man in Congress worked harder for their benefit than he did. He realized that there could not be any general prosperity in the land unless it was shared to some extent by the farmers. He was an able, conscientious, and industrious spokesman in their behalf and ever labored for their good. He represented them and all the people every day in this body. He never gave up but always pressed the fight for equality for them. They will never have a better friend in Congress or out. When the farm leaders came to Congress they went to see Congressman Rubey because they knew where he always stood. He not only labored for agriculture but always favored all legislation for the best interests of his people, whom he loved.

He was a man of great heart and deep sympathy. He sympathized with the people of limited opportunities and many a poor man, woman, and little child felt the warmth of his kindly disposition. He went on the theory, which is a good one, that those who most deserved help by legislation needed friends in the American Congress, and he was always on the side of the people. Nothing could swerve Thomas Rubey from his plain path of No flattery could sway him, defeat embarrass him, praise blind him, nor threats frighten him. When he decided what was his proper course for the right, he could not be diverted, but traveled the straight line toward the fulfillment of his desired achievements. He was as gentle as a child, fearless at all times, and had the friendship of every Member of the different Congresses in which he served. He was truly a representative of the people who honored him—and it was an honor for his people to keep him here—and always kept their best interests in mind. By close association with him as a member of the same committee and as Members of Congress for six years, I knew him well. Many times have I discussed with him the problems of agriculture and of the American people. His whole mind and soul were bent on doing what was right and best for the people. The last speech on the floor of the House that I heard him make was an earnest and able plea for the American farmer. sympathized with the man and woman who work hard all day and never receive a sufficient amount for their labors to enable them to enjoy even the necessities of life. He believed that all honest men and women who work are entitled to some of the comforts of life that should recompense hard work and honest living. No person was too humble for him to listen to nor too poor for him to hear. No member of the committee to which he belonged stood higher than he and no man's counsel was more sought. He was always reasonable, logical, and agreeable. No man whom I have ever known appreciated frankness more than

he and despised hypocrisy more intensely. He was never angered by honest disagreement, but accorded to all the right to

their own opinions.

Many Congresses have gone, many more are yet to come, but in none of them has there been nor will there be a man more devoted to the public good than Hon. THOMAS L. RUBEY. He not only honored the district that so wisely sent him here but he honored the State of Missouri and the whole American people. I never saw a man that I thought was a better citizen than him whom we honor here to-day. It is, indeed, fitting that we should assemble in the Nation's Capitol at this hour to do honor to his memory and praise a name and a life that can well be emulated by every young man in this land which He was an honor to this House and loved all our THOMAS RUBEY did not live alone for himself, but for all his people and for his country. With our National Legislature in the hands of men like him, the country will be al-Nothing but the highest and purest thoughts ever entered his heart or mind. He always looked for the best in his friends and acquaintances and I never heard him say aught against any man during my acquaintance with him.

My life has been made brighter and better by having had the opportunity to associate with him and to know him so well. He was always actuated by the highest aims and the noblest thoughts. He, indeed, believed that "an honest man is the noblest work of God." He has gone to his reward, but has left a record of which his family, friends, and acquaintances may well be proud. The world is better because he lived here and mingled with his fellow men. Future legislation in Congress will bear the imprint of his work and thought while a Member. His advice, work, and counsel were greatly appreciated by his colleagues on the committee and in the House. And, at last, I can truly say, in the language of the poet-

> Green be the turf above thee, Friend of my better days! None knew thee but to love thee, Nor named thee but to praise.

Mr. CLARKE. Mr. Speaker, having served with Hon. Thomas L. Rubey for several years on the Agricultural Committee, and though not a member of the same party as he, I wish to bear witness of the help derived from the intimacies of work by that great committee that Mr. Rubey not alone was faithful in season and out of season in attendance but that he worked intelligently and patriotically for solid legislation in the demands the producers of our agricultural commodities rightfully had upon the Government. He revealed himself to me as a man of the highest probity, zealous in season and out of season in meeting the obligations, duties, and responsibilities that belonged to his high office.

The members of the committee appreciated his sound judgment. When "the Governor" had something to say regarding legislation or regarding the agricultural problems we were investigating he was given the greatest attention. It can truly be said of him that no district and no people in these United States had a more faithful representative than the district he

represented.

Mr. FORT. Mr. Speaker, my acquaintance with Governor Ruber was limited to the twilight of his life. The impression that he has left with me is that of a genial, kindly, courteous gentleman who painstakingly endeavored to fulfill his duties in public office despite the handicaps of age and illness. To the causes he believed in he gave a really intense allegiance. He never spared himself, coming to perform his duties as a member of the Committee on Agriculture or of the House when his physical condition really should have kept him at home. There is slight doubt that his conscientious attention to his work made less comfortable the last months of his life and probably shortened it materially. You never liked or respected him less for a difference of opinion, because the sincerity of his belief was always unquestioned.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, my acquaintance with our late colleague, Thomas L. Rubey, was confined to the first session of the Seventieth Congress. During that time we were fellow members of the Committee on Agriculture. Notwithstanding the fact that his health was very much impaired, Mr. Ruber was most faithful in his attendance of committee meetings and took a keen interest in every measure for the advancement of His long legislative experience and many years of service on the committee made his counsel and suggestions of great value. In his death this House lost an able Member and his district an experienced and capable representative.

Mr. HOUSTON of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, it is with sincere regret that I arise on this occasion, for it is always sad to chronicle the passing of a dear friend.

As a member of the Committee on Agriculture in the Seventieth Congress, I was privileged to know the Hon. Thomas Lewis Rubey, and to sit with him through many an interesting hearing upon matters touching farm relief and other agricultural subjects.

Even then he was in ill health, and it was only his courage and his devotion to the interests of the country, I am sure, that kept him at work, where self-interest should have dictated

greater care of himself.

He was always the courteous gentleman-friendly and sympathetic, helpful with suggestions to those of us with less experience. I mourn his passing away, and shall always cherish his memory.

Mr. MAJOR of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, this day and hour has been set apart by this body for memorial services for the departed Members of the Seventieth Congress.

As this roll is called the names of Hon. Thomas L. Rubey, of the sixteenth Missouri district, and that of Hon. Charles L. FAUST, of the fourth Missouri district, appear upon the list of those who have answered the last roll call of this, the greatest legislative body in the world, to appear before the judgment bar of God, before whom we shall, sooner or later, come to give an

account of our stewardship.

I have been asked by the Hon, C. C. Dickinson, dean of the Democrats, and the Hon. L. C. DYER, dean of the Republicans, of the Missouri delegation, to participate in the services of to-day in memory of our departed Members. It is an honor to do honor to the memory of the good. Heralded with the velocity of electricity by wire and radio, the sad intelligence has been borne to every hamlet in the land that Missouri has lost two of its foremost citizens and this body two of its most useful and outstanding Members, Mr. RUBEY, a member of the great Conmittee on Agriculture, and Mr. Faust, a member of the great Committee on Ways and Means-one a Democrat, the other a Republican, and both personal friends of mine. Their vote in the districts that repeatedly honored them is a testimonial of the esteem in which they were held by their constituents; their committee assignments are proof of their standing with their colleagues and in their party; and their records evidence that they fully appreciated the honors bestowed upon them and were true to the trust reposed in them. They were able, honest, and courageous. They were loved by their friends, respected by all of their colleagues, and honored by the constituency they served so faithfully and so well. Both died at their posts of duty.

We do not like to think and talk of death, and it is only when some bright particular star falls, or the train of eternity whistles near our own door, that train which has no surveyed route, no schedule, no stated stations; every home on God's earth a depot, and every member thereof a sure and certain passenger, that we take time to pause and ask: "Watchman, what of the hour?" and are reminded with the poet:

Life, I knew not what thou art But know that thou and I must part. And when, and how, and where we met, I own to me is a secret yet. Life, we've been long together Through pleasant and through cloudy weather; 'Tis hard to part when friends are dear: Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear; Then steal away, give little warning, Choose thine own time Say not good night, but in some brighter clime Bid me good morning.

TOM RUBEY and CHARLIE FAUST, as they were known and called by their friends and colleagues, were strong partisans, with strong political convictions, party feeling, and attachments, both believed that the interest of their country could be best served through the principles advocated by their respective parties. Though of different political faith, we loved and honored them both for their many sterling qualities and devotion to duty. In this sad hour we grieve with their families, their friends, and associates. In their political battles they fought for what they conceived to be the best interest of their country, and the breath of suspicion never tarnished the rectitude of their actions or the purity of their purpose, and dying left behind them an example that patriots will love to honor and many deeds worthy of emulation.

Their personal characters were replete with those qualities that make up the perfect gentleman-courteous to all, chivalrous. the soul of honor, with unquestioned courage; they endeared themselves to all they came in contact with. In those tender and more endearing relations of friendship, kindred, and neighbor, they were all that friendship could ask, affection claim, or kindness enjoin. They were Christian gentlemen, true to them-

selves, their friends, and their country.

In some countries there is a tradition that the spirit of their departed leaders, who in their lives were revered and honored, revisit the land of their love, and when the moon is shedding down its softest and its sweetest beams upon the earth the spirit of the departed leader descends and, passing over the land, blesses the fields and the meadows, and whispers low upon the night winds words of wise counsel to his people. Could these conditions prevail, Tom Rubey and Charle Faust, though dead, would far into the future counsel and labor for the people of their districts, their State and Nation, whom they loved so well and served so faithfully.

In their death we are again reminded:

That death comes equally to us all, and makes us all equal when he comes.

Their noble spirits have taken their flight to the God who gave them, so touchingly exemplifying that—

The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

#### WILLIAM ALLAN OLDFIELD

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, the death of WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD, of Arkansas, in the Capital City of the Nation on the 19th day of November, 1928, marked the passing of a remarkable man, who for 20 years had been one of the recognized distinctive personalities of the House and a party leader of resource and energy, loved and respected by his associates of every political faith.

When on the morning of February 4, 1874, a child was born to Milton T. and Anne Matheny Oldfield in the village of Franklin, Izard County, Ark., there was nothing to indicate that this son of the village blacksmith would have such an active and useful career and achieve the extraordinary distinction that crowned his efforts. He attended the rural schools and, after he graduated from the Melbourne High School, his family moved to Batesville, Ark., to enable him to finish his education in Arkansas College. Working to defray his expenses, he completed his course in that institution, graduating in 1896. He then engaged in that activity which, in many instances, has been a part of the training of many of America's distinguished men—teaching school in Little River County, Ark. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he volunteered his services and assisted in organizing a company of which he became first lieutenant. At the close of that war he returned to Batesville and began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1900. of marked ability, a strong, pleasing, radiant personality, and a love of his fellow men, it was but natural for him to enter the political arena. In 1902 he was elected prosecuting attorney of the third judicial circuit and reelected to another term in 1904. In his boyhood, while assisting his father in the village blacksmith shop, he met the Congressman from his district, and as a result there was born in his ambitious breast the determination to fill that position. His first candidacy for Congress in 1906 met with defeat, but in 1908 he was successful, and from the date of his entrance into this body until his death he was one of its most active Members. His intense loyalty to his party and his aptitude and capacity for practical organization very early won for him an influence in Democratic councils, and for several years prior to his death he had rendered splendid service as chairman of the Democratic congressional campaign committee.

His ability and industry were recognized by his election many years ago to membership of the Ways and Means Committee.

For 20 years, diligent, active, aggressive, yet genial and fair, he was in the front ranks of the contests waged in this forum, and his passing is a distinct loss, not alone to his loved ones, his district, his State, and his party, but to the entire Nation he served with such fidelity and zeal.

Mr. DRIVER. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Hon. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD the Nation lost a patriot, the State of Arkansas an eminent son, the second congressional district of his State an energetic and devoted servant, and I a sympathetic and loyal friend. To no Member of this body did the term "no middle aisle" so directly apply, for while he was a man of strong convictions and possessed the courage to utter and defend them, his uniform courtesy, his tolerant bearing, and his unfailing sense of fairness so impressed his adversaries that no enemies were made and no spirit of resentment was aroused. He enjoyed as but few have the confidence and esteem of his colleagues and the citizenry he so ably represented.

Mr. OLDFIELD was a native of his State and district. He was educated in its schools. Born on February 4, 1874, he completed

his college course with an A. B. degree in 1896 and entered upon the practice of law at Batesville, immediately impressing his worth upon the public. When war was declared against the Kingdom of Spain in 1898 he followed the patriotic urge in the hearts of all true sons and tendered his services, enlisting as a private in Company M, Second Regiment of Arkansas Infantry, and was discharged at the conclusion of the war as a commissioned officer. He returned home and renewed the practice of his profession with such outstanding success that he was selected in 1902 to fill the important office of prosecuting attorney of the third judicial circuit. His service was conspicuous and won a second term, at the conclusion of which he retired and returned to the practice of law in association with Hon, Charles Y. Cole, the present United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Arkansas. The demonstration of rare capacity, his high sense of honor, combined with unquestioned integrity, had so impressed the people he served that when the distinguished Member from his congressional district, the Hon. Stephen Brundige, retired, Mr. Oldfield was called to the Congress, entering the Sixty-first. He served continuously for 20 years, and at the time of his death was holding a commission for the Seventy-He served continuously for 20 years, and at the first. No public servant enjoyed to greater extent the absolute confidence and affections of those whom he represented. No constituency enjoyed more the loyalty and love of a servant. He was able, alert, and untiring in his labors, and such characteristics so impressed his colleagues that he was induced to assume many responsibilities incident to his duties as a Member of the Congress. Through his proven reliability and capacity he gradually ascended the scale of committees until he reached the Ways and Means, the outstanding one of the House, of which he was a member at his death. He was a member of the Democratic congressional committee for many years and directed its activities brilliantly as chairman for two years and was in such position when the summons came. He was the Democratic whip, and the expression is universal that he was incomparable in such office.

Mr. OLDFIELD was a burden bearer serving the whole of his political career.

The heights by great men reached and kept
Were not attained by sudden flight,
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night.

The great concourse of sorrowing people coming from every walk of life, meeting in his beloved city in sadness and grief on the day of his funeral, the lengthy procession accompanying his remains to the last resting place, and the profusion of beautiful flowers attested his popularity. The eulogies of Senator Joseph T. Robinson and Minority Leader Hon, Finis J. Garrett, and the funeral sermon of the pastor of his chruch brought manifestation of profound sorrow from the throng crowded in the home church.

Our colleague was blessed with one of the rare jewels of womanhood in his helpmate. The devotion existing and continuing throughout his life was an inspiration to the youth of our land. Ever standing by his side, aiding and encouraging him in his labors, sharing his trials and successes in a perfect sympathy. Our hearts are heavy with grief that she must suffer the loss of such ideal companionship.

Mr. PARKS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sad heart that I arise to pay a tribute of love and respect to the life and memory of my lifelong friend, the Hon. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD, of the second district of Arkansas. For more than 30 years the people of his district joyfully gave him whatever honors he sought. For four years he was prosecuting attorney of his district, and he so ably, successfully, and justly served in that capacity that he was elected to the Sixty-first Congress to succeed a man who had made a national reputation by his service here. Mr. Oldfield was a native of the district that honored him, and it was his lifelong friends who passed judgment upon his life and character at the polls and sent him here to serve in a greater field.

The luxuries of life were not given to him, and while he succeeded in graduating from one of the principal educational institutions of his State, it was only by industry, thrift, economy, and a desire to succeed and make himself a useful man that he was able to accomplish this. So hard did he labor and so faithfully did he serve here that he was soon made a member of the great Committee on Ways and Means. His hobby was a tariff for revenue only, and he willingly battled the great minds on the other side of the aisle whenever a bill to increase a tariff was presented. He asked no quarter and he made no compromises, and although he oftentimes met defeat, his sword was always flashed on the side of right, and when he went down he held aloft the flag of the people. In the Sixty-seventh Congress he

was selected the Democratic whip, a most important and responsible position, especially for the minority. It was his duty to meet with the leaders to plan our procedure, to keep the lines of his own party together, and to see that no discord was in the ranks. A better man for this duty could not have been found in Congress. Harmony was his watchword, and no two men of his party could drift so far apart that he could not reconcile their differences. He was free to praise and he never hesitated to criticize when necessary, but his criticism was constructive and he never offended the most sensitive.

Without hesitation I say that he was the most popular man in the House of Representatives. He was aggressive and so loved his party and its principles that he often had strong opponents, but I doubt if he had an enemy. He had both great moral and physical courage. While he took great pride in his service in civil life I believe he looked back upon his short military service while his country was at war with Spain with greater pleasure. His years were devoted to active public service and he was known best as a statesman; but one of his greatest characteristics was his affection for his wife and love of home. of us who were privileged to be his intimates and knew him by close association with him and his wife, saw in him one of the gentlest and most considerate of husbands. He was never blessed with a child, and all his deep affection was given to her who had taken the pledge to walk by his side in the shadows as well as in the sunlight. From the day that he met his girlhood sweetheart he cared for no other, and when their love grew into marriage they became real partners. So complete and equal was this partnership that each affectionately called the other "Pard."

His was a life of service. He was one of the great men of the House. We mourn him, but feel that while he must for a time sail that dark and unknown sea called "death," yet in the fullness of time he will anchor on the golden shore of the sunlit sea of everlasting life, where he will be privileged to wait and watch the coming of the sail that will reunite him to the one he left behind.

For love will hope, and faith will trust That somehow, somewhere, meet we must.

Mr. RAGON. Mr. Speaker, the death of WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD was mourned in every section of the country. His association with Members representing both parties in Congress was such as to bring genuine grief to all who intimately knew him.

To those who represent the minority party in the House of Representatives his passing meant the loss of one who manifested a personal interest in the fortunes of each member of his party. His death therefore brought a personal sorrow to each of his colleagues on the minority side, most of whom had drafted heavily from time to time upon his obliging nature. However, it was from every section of the State he loved so much that his death was so deeply mourned. BILL OLDFIELD was proud of Arkansas and Arkansas was proud of BILL OLDFIELD. burial in the little city of Batesville, resting in the beauty of the Ozark Mountains, citizens from all sections of Arkansas and from the remotest parts of his own congressional district gathered to pay their last respects to one who had served long and well their interests. The ceremonies were beautiful and impressive, but one could not stand in that multitude unmindful that the greatest tribute paid to our departed friend was the sorrowing presence of those representing all the walks of lifethe rich and the poor, the weak and the strong, coming alike to pay a last tribute to a leader whom they had followed with pride and loyalty.

One in public life is often beset with discouragements and is sometimes prone to meditate whether his efforts in public service are worth while. But when the rank and file in a great outpouring came to the last rites of a public servant of many years, it is such an unmistakable evidence of appreciation and affection that we, who are left, find heart to carry on with the consciousness that among the great American people, an honest public service will always find its just reward.

Mr. Oldfield was noted throughout his State for his capacity in forming strong friendships. He has so often spoken to me of the loyalty of his friends. To my own knowledge he did not underestimate them. But back of the loyalty of BILL OLDFIELD'S friends was first the loyalty of BILL OLDFIELD to a friend. Around the faults of a friend no man threw a broader robe of charity. This made men love him; this made men follow him in almost blind adoration.

Then, again, he was a man of courage. He rarely paused to give expression to his conviction. When once convinced of the righteousness of a course he had little patience with any scheme to avoid whatever its consequences might be. The lines of least resistance might have served to make his career more a path of roses than it was ever his to share, but it would have

meant the practice of a duplicity entirely foreign to his disposition. He was a rarity in modern politics, in that he tried always to take an unqualified stand on all questions of public concern.

His friends not only loved him for his loyalty and courage but they loved his determined spirit. He came from the rank and file. He was an offspring of those who walked in humble but honorable paths. He was the son of that mighty concourse of American people who have made our Nation's Hall of Fame. Call it "ambition," "urge," "determination," or whatever you will, but that spirit or disposition lifted BILL OLDFIELD from the humble environs of a blacksmith's home to one of the leaders in the Lower House of our National Congress. It would be no fairy tale to relate the manner in which he gained such eminence, but the true story would disclose a severe struggle to overcome many difficulties. It was his disposition to meet and to master that associated his name with distinction and honor.

With the background of a good home and family relation as a boy and young man and the inspiring influence of a good wife, BILL OLDFIELD used his splendid faculties to accomplish a successful career. Had he lived he would have been called to still greater fields of service to his fellow men.

It should be a sweet consolation to his family and his friends that they were given a part in the construction of his wonderful career.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a renewed sense of personal loss that I speak of the death of Hon. William A. Oldfield. He was for many years a most active member of the Committee on Ways and Means, having participated in the great measures of financial reconstruction following the World War. His devotion to the public service was signalized by activities in civil life, by patriotic service in the war with Spain, and well-earned promotion, and by a legislative career in Congress, in which he rose to be a vigorous and directing force in the party of which he was a valued member. He gave his heart to whatever cause enlisted his support. He attacked with vigor and defended strongly. Earnest, honorable, likable, we all admired him. Our regret at his final departure is deep and sincere.

Mr. BACHARACH. Mr. Speaker, it is with a feeling of genuine and profound sorrow and regret that I contemplate the death of my good friend and colleague, William A. Oldfield. He had already won his spurs in the House at the time I was first elected to Congress. It was not long after I took up my service that I was attracted to Billy Oldfield by his genial personality and soon became acquainted with him.

That acquaintance grew and ripened after my election to the Committee on Ways and Means, of which he was a member, and it developed into a real friendship which shall always live with me as one of the happy memories of my service in Congress. We differed very widely at times on the various legislative matters which came before our committee for consideration, particularly on tariff and revenue legislation; but this difference of opinion, which was at all times an honest one, did not interfere with our friendship for each other.

WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD was a man of strong convictions. He was in every sense of the word a Democrat and a believer in the dogmatic principles of his party. He gave much time and study to the intricate workings of all legislation affecting the revenues of the Nation, and he was a conscientious advocate of what he thought was best for the country.

A lawyer, a soldier in defense of his country in time of war, an able and efficient legislator in times of peace, the Nation, like the young and vigorous State which he in part represented in the Halls of Congress, loses a distinguished citizen and a loyal patriot in the death of WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD, while we who have been his colleagues for many years shall miss him and mourn him for his loyable character and friendship.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune to have been intimately acquainted with Mr. Oldfield, I met him in 1909 at the first session of the Sixty-first Congress. We were both new Members and the acquaintance formed nearly 20 years ago soon ripened into a sincere and lasting friendship. For over 10 years we sat side by side on the same committee, and meeting almost daily I had ample opportunity to become familiar with those qualities of heart and mind that characterized William A. Oldfield, and so endeared him to all with whom he came in contact.

Death during this Congress has exacted a heavy toll from the Committee on Ways and Means. Three of its members—Thaddeus C. Sweet, of New York; Charles L. Faust, of Missouri; and William A. Oldfield, of Arkansas—have answered the Reaper's call and, "crossing over the river, are now resting in the shade of the trees." They were all outstanding men, men

whose deaths were irreparable losses, not alone to their dis-

tricts and their States but to the country at large.

BILLY OLDFIELD, as he was affectionately called by his friends, was a natural leader of men. Able, studious, loyal, enthusiastic, and true to every trust, he possessed many of those qualities which the world calls human greatness. Greatness is a comparative word. One of the frailties of human nature is the proneness to believe that in the past those who rose above their fellows and were called great attained the mountain summits of a fame beyond almost the hope of the present generation to secure. We are therefore reluctant to assert and hesitate to declare to-day that which posterity will emphatically affirm to-morrow.

No revenue act providing for the huge sums necessary to pay America's part in the conduct and prosecution of the greatest the ages was ever enacted by the American Congress that in every phase of its construction William Oldfield did not play a prominent part. He took the lead in legislation looking to the relief of our sick, wounded, and disabled soldiers. As a member of the subcommittee that drafted the adjusted compensation act he rendered invaluable service and many of his wise suggestions are now crystallized into law.

He was an ideal chairman of the congressional campaign com-He loved the Democratic Party, and I have never known a more devoted adherent. No defeat could dampen his ardor, no disaster could destroy his optimism, but always the day after he was the first to see the silver lining and with boundless enthusiasm and sublime confidence he was again ready to "carry on."

Notwithstanding his intense partisanship his personal friends in the House were limited only by the number of Members in that body. He fought the opposition and he fought hard, but he always fought in the open. He was honest and candid and fair, and I heard as many genuine expressions of sorrow and regret over his untimely death on the Republican side of the

House as I did on his own.

It was my melancholy privilege to be present at his funeral in the little town of Batesville. The stores and other business houses were closed during the ceremonies, and there was genuine sorrow and concern upon the faces of all. The Methodist Church was unable to accommodate the vast throng of those who not only from Arkansas but elsewhere came to pay their last tribute of love and respect to one who in every way reflected in his own life the true simplicity and the splendid manhood so characteristic of his proud Commonwealth.

Mr. Speaker, the country needs more men like BILLY OLD-FIELD-men of lofty ideals and Christian character; men who have the courage of their convictions; men who, when they know they are right, "are not afraid to say no, though all the world may say yes"; men large of heart, large of brain, large of human kindness, and large in all those qualities which con-

stitute real greatness.

BILLY OLDFIELD has passed away. No longer will we see his smiling face and hear his friendly voice. He has passed away, but he is not forgotten, for he has left behind him that greatest of all legaciesan honored name, the memory of earnest deeds well done.'

> Statesman, yet friend of truth; of soul sincere, In action faithful, and in honor clear; Who broke no promise, served no private end, Who gained no title, and who lost no friend.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Speaker, it is a happy circumstance, though probably not known to the general public, that party affiliation has no bearing upon the personal and social relationships of Members of the House of Representatives. Friendships are formed here, as elsewhere, upon opportunities for acquaintanceship and mutuality of interest and confidence. The standing, and to a limited degree the select, committees of the House furnish such occasions for intimate associations on the part of their Members. Particularly is this true as to those committees, like that on Ways and Means, where sharp differences of opinion may arise and where the Members get into close personal contact. It was in the exchange and conflict of views in the Committee on Ways and Means that I had the privilege of becoming really acquainted with our late colleague, the Hon. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD, of Arkansas. There was many a sting in his political and partisan utterances on the floor of the House and in his press interviews as chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee. He was as intense a Democrat as I am a Republican. What is more, if I understood him correctly, he was a Democrat of the old school, a fundamentalist in party doctrine and adherence, and I, for one, honored his consistency and frankness. His party appreciated his worth and placed him in position of organization authority. But what a kindly, gentle, and

considerate soul he was in his personal contacts! How affable, straightforward, and open-hearted in his conversation and demeanor! No partisanship there, no personal grudges or disagreements, no disappointments or animosities of any kind! seemed fit for a long life of service and contentment, but the Grim Reaper mowed him down in the very prime of life. How strange the fortunes of men! How little we know our destiny! Our genial, industrious, and capable colleague, the genuine gentleman from Arkansas, is with us no more, and none mourn his loss and miss his presence among us more than his associates, Republicans and Democrats alike, on the committee which was honored and benefited by his service upon it.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, when on November 19, 1928, the soul of Hon. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD crossed the borderland and entered eternity, the Commonwealth of Arkansas and our beloved Nation sustained an irreparable loss, for, truly, one of the leading statesmen of our day passed from his sphere of earthly usefulness. In early manhood he served his State and country on the field of battle in the Spanish-American War, and for meritorious conduct was promoted from private to lieutenant. For 20 years, he had rendered faithful and efficient service to his people in the House of Representatives. He was a man of splendid mental attainments, of magnetic personality, of deep convictions, and possessed the moral and political courage at all times to defend He believed in the principles of Democracy and was a militant Democrat and ever ready to bear the gage of battle for his party. He was a fighting partisan of the highest type, giving hard blows to his opponents and serenely bearing any blows leveled at him. He neither gave nor asked quarter from a political foe, but was at all times a gentleman. He was a true tribune of the masses of the people, his heart's great desire being to protect their interest and to render them service. His life was open; his noble purposes and high character commanded the respect and admiration of all who knew him. In his political debates he left no stings and he never bore malice. He was universally beloved by the membership of the House irrespective of political affiliations.

That his own people loved, trusted, and appreciated him is evidenced by the fact that they elected his capable and beloved wife to represent them as his successor in this august body. Mr. Oldfield's devotion to his party caused him to battle for it in the last presidential campaign, when he was not physically able to stand the strain; and this unselfish, heroic sacrifice undoubtedly hastened his end. He was in the prime of intellectual manhood, in the zenith of his power and usefulness, a recognized leader in the House, a statesman of national reputation,

when the final summons reached him.

And could we choose the time and choose aright, 'Tis best to die, our honors at the height.

It was my good fortune to know him well, having sat next to him in the Ways and Means Committee room for 14 years. He was always at his post of duty. He was fearless, able, courteous, warm-hearted, and unselfish, and enjoyed the love and confidence of his fellows. We scarce hope to look upon his like again.

> Statesman, yet friend of truth : of soul sincere, In action faithful, and in honor clear; Who broke no promise, served no private end, Who gained no title, and who lost no friend; Ennobled by himself, by all approved.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a sad and difficult thing for one who admired and loved WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD as I did to attempt even a few words in the nature of an eulogy.

Mr. Oldfield preceded me as a Member of Congress by two years. He came in the Sixty-first and I in the Sixty-second Congress. Had he lived to the end of the Seventieth Congress he would have served 20 years. The fact that he was kept in Congress consecutively for so long a period of time is evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by the people of his district and the supreme confidence they had in him.

In the passing of Mr. Oldfield there is not any doubt but that Congress lost one of its ablest, most useful, and influential Members. His devotion to duty, his courtesy to every Member of the House, profound knowledge of great national problems were manifest at all times. He specialized in matters of taxation and had mastered this subject in detail perhaps as thoroughly as any Member of the House of Representatives.

I shall ever cherish with fond recollection and gratitude the many acts of kindness he extended to me. He was approachable, courteous, and considerate even to the extreme at all When I entered upon my duties as a Representative I was greatly aided by his wise counsel and sympathy.

As chairman of the Democratic congressional committee he rendered great service to his party.

His calling away, seemingly in the midst of a brilliant public career, is one of the mysteries of Providence too profound for human understanding.

BILLY OLDFIELD possessed every qualification of mind and character essential in the making of a truly great man. In fact, the life of William A. Oldfield was filled with useful deeds and unselfish service. His passing was perhaps as nearly a personal loss to every Member of the House as any man who has served in our body in this generation.

There is no death! The stars go down
To rise upon some fairer shore,
And bright in heaven's jeweled crown
They shine forevermore.

Mr. HILL of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the span of life is measured not so much by time as by accomplishment. Years denote only length, but accomplishment means volume. Simply to have lived for a term of years means little to the world, but to have filled those years with crowded action of useful service gives width and depth, richness, and splendor to life. In the drama of human progress attention is focused upon those who take the rôles of leadership. But leadership is the culmination of years of preparation, growth, and development. More years are required in the preparation for life's greatest service than in the performance of that service.

When Hon, William A. Oldfield passed from this life on the 19th of last November he was a national character, one of the leaders in the political affairs of the Government; a leader in his own political party; whip of the Democratic Party in Congress and chairman of the national Democratic congressional committee. He lacked only a few months of having served 20 years as a Member of Congress when he moved on to take his place in history.

It is said that "a life that is lived is a tale that is told." His life was full of action, accomplishment, and progress. A comprehensive story of his life can find expression only in the deeds he wrought and the goal he attained. His career was a phenomenal rise from an obscure beginning to an ending of national fame.

William A. Oldfield was born in the small village of Franklin, in Izard County, Ark., shortly after the end of the "reconstruction period," which left the people of that State in economic ruin. His father was Milton T. Oldfield and his mother was Anne (Matheny) Oldfield. He had three sisters, one older and two younger than he. It was a happy family; love and aspiration predominated. The early years of his boyhood were spent in this village of his birth. We called him Will. He was popular. He was a real boy, loved a good time, was full of fun, played first base on the ball team, was a good swimmer, and a lover of all boyish sports. He was an all-round good fellow. He was a handsome, wholesome, brilliant boy. Will Oldfield attended the public and "subscription" schools in Franklin. He stood high in his classes but did not devote all of his time to study. He did not have to. He found time occasionally to disturb the quietude of his immediate section of the schoolroom. In that time the teachers operated under the principle of "Spare the rod and spoil the child." Will Oldfield to study he was a good sport and indomitable. He never lost these traits of character.

these traits of character.

When he was about 10 years of age his family moved to the town of Newburg and later to the county-seat town of Melbourne in order to have better school facilities. It was in the public schools and academies of these towns that Will Oldfield received his preparation for college. He was now about 17 years of age. Then came the problem of finances for his college course. He had no money and his father was not financially able to send him to college. The hard times of the nineties gripped that country. He worked as a hired laborer, made cotton crops on shares, taught country schools, and borrowed some money. Through such means and by practicing rigid economy he finished the liberal arts course in the Arkansas College in Batesville, Ark., graduating therefrom in 1896. Following his graduation he engaged in teaching for a time as the principal of a high school. In 1898 he enlisted as a private for service in the Spanish-American War. He was discharged from that service with the rank of first lieutenant. He studied law, was admitted to the bar, and entered the practice of law in Batesville, Ark. In 1902 he was elected prosecuting attorney for the district comprising the counties of Independence, Stone, Jackson, and Lawrence in that State, and was reelected in 1904. Between 1906 and 1908 he was engaged in private practice. In 1908 he was elected to Congress from the second congressional district of Arkansas and was reelected successively at each

general election thereafter. He died 13 days after his last reelection to Congress, in November, 1928.

At the time Mr. Oldfield was in Arkansas College Miss Pearl Peden was also a student in that school. It was there that the romance of love between them had its beginning, which was later attested and solemnized in their marriage. It was a happy marriage. That romance has endured.

I knew WILL OLDFIELD from his early childhood. As a boy, as a young man, as a matured man I knew him. I knew him on the playground, in school, in the court room, in Congress. There was no guile in him and no pessimism. He got pleasure out of life and radiated it to his associates. He loved his fellows and was loved by them. Life held for him the prospect of success. Hope and courage never deserted him. He believed in the principle of justice and square dealing. The belief that all men are entitled to equal rights was with him a passion. He was a great Democrat with a capital "D"; he was a greater democrat with a small "d." WILL OLDFIELD made no effort to play to the galleries. He was not spectacular; but with a constancy of purpose he followed the course that led toward the greatest service and the accomplishment of his ideals. No words of mine can adequately express my appreciation of him. His was a humble beginning in a community atmosphere not especially inspiring, but he burst the shell of provincialism and rolled back the encompassing horizon until he saw and was seen as a national character.

WILL OLDFIELD, who, as a barefoot boy found pleasure in shooting turtles along the banks of Strawberry Creek, became a leader in the National Congress. What dreams may he not have had when his youthful eye watched the ceaseless flow of the smaller streams toward the larger rivers that in turn led on to the sea. Certain it is that in him was the developing vision that gave a glimpse of greater opportunities in a richer and broader life.

He pursued this unfolding visualization in response to an urge that inhered in him and would not be denied. The chrysalis breaks the imprisoning cocoon and reaches perfect development. The human will and intellect must break the encasing walls of limiting vision to gain the broader outlook on life. It is a far cry from the sand-lot ball ground of Franklin, Ark., to the Halls of Congress, but the distance was spanned by WILL OLDFIELD by the time he was 34 years of age.

The sentiment that a prophet is without honor in his own country does not hold good in his case. The district he represented in Congress for 20 years embraces the county of his birth. He never lost touch with the friends of his earlier life. He bound them to him by ties stronger than hoops of steel. He justified their confidence by keeping faith with them. Their admiration and respect for him developed into idolization. They feel that he was part of their life, and in them was pride in his advancement. They were as loyal to the cause of his success as they would be to their own interests, for in their view he was a part of themselves.

No native son ever inspired more devoted allegiance or held more firmly the strength of popular sentiment. They watched him grow from boyhood to mature manhood. They watched him develop and unfold the powers of mind and soul that brought him, the son of a village blacksmith, to leadership among men; even as David, the shepherd boy, became the King of Israel. In the hearts of the people of his own district the life and service of WILL OLDFIELD will find a shrine of love and devotion that will endure for all time.

When I first came to Congress, WILL OLDFIELD had been here 14 years. He was already a veteran in the halls of national legislation. He was mature in judgment and secure in the honor that comes with distinguished service. He was already a leader in his own party and in the Congress. His name was on the Nation's lips. He was a national character. To him had come the recognition which his public service commanded. I shall not discuss the scope of that service. Other colleagues will no doubt elect to do so.

The last illness of WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD was of short duration. When the press agencies flashed to the world the sad intelligence of his passing my heart was heavy. I could hardly realize that he was gone from us. It seemed unreal that we should not see him again in his accustomed rôle in the Halls of Congress. His going has left a void that can not be filled. He sacrificed health and physical life in the fulfillment of duty. But he still lives in the annals of his country and in the hearts of the people. Our own lives have been enriched and broadened by his association. He has given us the inspiration of service and progress and the ideal of a life abundantly lived. He was my friend and I respected, admired, and loved him.

Mr. BYRNS. Mr. Speaker, we mourn the death of our departed friend and colleague, Hon. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD, who

for nearly 20 years ably and faithfully represented the second congressional district of the State of Arkansas. It is a sad privilege to pay a brief but heartfelt tribute to his memory and

the public service rendered by him.

Others will tell the story of his useful life; the fidelity with which he served his country both in war and in peace; the service which he rendered to the people in positions of trust at home and before he was sent to Congress; and finally the enviable record which he made during his service here. He won for himself a position of leadership in the House and he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of its entire membership throughout the years of his service.

He and I entered Congress together in 1909. From that time until "God's finger touched him" and he passed on to another world, we were warm, personal friends. Only last September he visited in my home at Nashville, Tenn. We little dreamed that in a little more than two months his course on earth would be finished. He seemed to be in better health than he had been for some years. We discussed the presidential campaign, which was then pending, and the work of the next Congress, to which he was looking forward with much eagerness and interest. It is difficult for us to understand just why he was taken in the midst of his life of usefulness. The ways of Providence are often beyond our understanding.

He was a man of strong convictions. Holding as a Democrat an important position on the Committee on Ways and Means, he never failed to take a prominent part in its deliberations and to impress upon the House his views on tariff and financial legis-

lation.

He was a kindly, sympathetic man. He was a good friend. He was always happy when he could do some one a service. And it was this attribute of his character which popularized him with all who knew him.

It may be truly said of him, Mr. Speaker, that he rendered the best service that was in him, that he was faithful to every trust imposed in him and that his life was not lived in vain. I am proud of his friendship and will always treasure the memory of our pleasant association during the years we served together in Congress.

The contemplation of the death of such a friend is always sad. It is difficult for us to understand just why one should be taken in the prime of life and in the midst of a life of usefulness and service to those about him. But it is consoling that we may look back and enjoy the memories of pleasant associations and feel that the world is better because our friend had We are here but for a little while. Soon "taps" sound for all of us. To render some service to those about us in our sphere of life; to measure up to the qualities and duties of a good citizen; to endeavor to make the world better and so live that there will be those who will deeply mourn our passing, should be the high aim of every man and woman. Death is not so frightful to one who has such a true philosophy of life; neither is it the end. For surely when such a life passes from this earth it passes on to a higher and better sphere of exist-This was the standard for which our colleague, Will OLDFIELD strove, and that he succeeded in his high endeavor is attested by the fact that he died with the love and the admiration of all of his colleagues.

To his sorrowing widow, who was his chief inspiration, we extend our tenderest sympathy and rejoice that a grateful constituency has commissioned her to carry on as it did her husband in his lifetime.

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Speaker, our deceased colleague, the Hon. William Oldfield, from the State of Arkansas, was one of the strongest men who ever represented any district in the United States Congress. It was my pleasure to serve nearly 16 years in the House of Representatives with this distinguished man. According to my recollection, he served more than 20 years as a Member of the House of Representatives. He was a loyal Democrat, a great American, and a most useful citizen. To know William Oldfield was to love him. On all occasions he had at heart the interests of the average man and woman in this Republic. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee he was an indefatigable worker, always looking out for the interests of the people. His able mind and eloquent voice on the floor of this House demonstrated his worth to his district, State, and Nation.

Mr. Oldfield won a high place in the councils of his party and among the statesmen of America. He was a great man, worthy of every trust that the people of Arkansas reposed in him.

He was a gentleman in every sense of the word—bold, fearless, courageous, and honest. He was a regular dynamo of energy, ready at all times to do battle for what he believed to be right.

He was a stalwart Christian gentleman, a devoted husband, and a true and loyal citizen devoted to the cause of his country. He will be missed in this legislative body but his works will live.

Personally I was devoted to my dear friend BILLY OLDFIELD. I knew his worth as a man, as a legislator, and as a friend. I have lost a dear personal friend, but feel solace in the fact that he is in the presence of his Maker in a better and happier world.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, upon entering the House at the extraordinary session of Congress of April, 1913, I first met the late William A. Oldfield, of Arkansas. His kindly reception and generous offer of service to me, a new Member, excited my interest and my appreciation of him.

Subsequently I was frequently in contact with him, and was often the recipient of his expanding consideration and personal friendship. He seemed to anticipate my official needs and desires, thus evidencing his knowledge of Members and his

desire to serve them.

The procedure and the legislation of Congress, together with the success of the Democratic Party, held for him his deepest interest and most cherished ambition.

Mr. Oldfield was an intense partisan, but without personal hostilities, and his personal attachments and friendships were unhindered by partisan division or differences. His warm and generous nature resented such discriminations.

As suggested, he took the deepest interest in the business of the House, and was industrious in advising Members of the days on which important measures were likely to be considered. He endeavored to stimulate every Member of his party with a full sense of his responsibility to the House and to the country, and to this end he worked with an indefatigability which should excite the envy of every Member of the House. He gave to the House and to the Democratic Party throughout the country his

most arduous labor and unsparing time, doing his work tactfully but manfully, without fear or favor, and finding his recompense in noble service and devotion to the Republic. He believed the Democratic Party to be a great institution for public good, essential to the maintenance of the American system, and that it should be so supported and expressed by its leaders as to attract the confidence of the people of the Nation.

Mr. OLDFIELD was much interested in the Interparliamentary Union, and especially in the work of the American group of this union, and as a consequence he was a regular attendant upon its sessions, and on one or two occasions attended the international conferences of this union. In his attendance upon the conference at Vienna it was my pleasure to be with him, and his genial companionship and personal consideration on this

occasion will never be forgotten by me.

He had a great capacity for friendships. Of a sunny and happy temperament, eager to help, tactful and sincere, he made many friendships. I acknowledge in this public way my obligation for his kindly regard of myself, and his responses to official and personal requests made of him by me.

A sincere friend, a devoted patriot, a faithful public servant in and out of the Congress, wide sympathies for the struggling masses at home and abroad, he will not soon be forgotten, and somewhere and somehow the influence exerted by him will continue for the good of his friends and for the promotion of the best interests of the people.

Mr. SWANK. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, the saddest day in the life of any man is when some relative or friend receives that irrevocable summons to appear before the Great Judge of mankind and of the universe and to account for their lives during their brief sojourn on this earth. We are all answerable to that inevitable call when it is served upon us, and can be prepared only by leading an honest, upright life, heeding the exhortation of the Master and holding the esteem and respect of our associates. It is customary to praise the virtues of our friends when death has overtaken them, but we should also show our appreciation while they live.

This afternoon we are met here at this hour set apart by the House to do honor to the memory of our departed comrades with whom we have associated in our common work for our country and our people. On such occasions we extol their virtues and acclaim their greatness, but, Mr. Speaker, no eulogy can magnify nor encomium enlarge the fine character and the exemplary life of the man in whose honor I speak this afternoon. In all my acquaintance in the different walks of life I have never known a better man than Hon. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD. When I first came to Congress from out of the West he befriended me in many ways and was always my friend. He was of great assistance in more ways than can be told on this occasion. I often went to him for advice and counsel, and he always gave it kindly and wisely. He was the friend of everyone, and especially of the new Members of this great body.

No Member ever went to him for help and was turned away. If any assistance could be given, it was gladly done. Every Member of Congress was his friend. I shall never forget BILL OLDFIELD and never cease to do honor to his memory. It was an honor to be classed as his friend and always a pleasure to be in his presence. No person could dislike him, and no one that I ever knew had anything but praise for him. Such friends are indispensable to a successful life. He was one of the first men I became acquainted with on my first trip to Congress. He had a fine and lovable disposition possessed by few men. In his presence there was always joy and good feeling. When he entered a body of men, gloom disappeared and happiness abounded. If every man had such a disposition, what a different world this would be in which to live. The esteem in which his people held him told of their love and admiration for him. One of the ablest Representatives of one of our greatest States, he won his honors here by hard study, devotion to duty, his great capacity to make friends, by a keen brain, and a most thorough knowledge of the problems of state.

No words of praise and no orator's voice can portray his beautiful character, nor do justice to his honorable and useful Such an undertaking here I shall not attempt. confidence and love of his constituents for him is told by the fact that he represented them in the American Congress for 20 years and no district was ever better represented. He came from the common people and always was glad to be counted as one of them. Positions of honor, influence, and power never lessened his zeal in their behalf nor closed his eyes to their appeal. When a measure that affected the great masses of the common people came before Congress, he was one of its most able and ardent advocates. A Democrat of the old school that believed in preserving the rights of the people, he always looked for the common good of the Government which he loved. A partisan in politics, he was always fair and was respected by all. Ungentlemanly advantage was unknown to his nature. He was a good speaker, an able debater, quick at repartee, and convincing in argument. With deceit he was unacquainted and met every man as a gentleman. No man loved his friends more than he, nor was more forgiving to those who might differ from him. He gave to every person the right to think and act for himself. This Hall and no building is large enough to hold all those to whom he had done a kindness or spoken a friendly He always saw the bright side, and kindness beamed from his eyes and dispelled the shadows of unhappiness and

BILL OLDFIELD was indeed an American nobleman who saw the good in people in preference to looking for other frailties. Human applause and earthly greatness could never cause him to leave his path of duty and devotion to his people. The passing of no man from Congress ever caused more genuine grief than when he left us to take a look at the other side, and as sure as man was ever conveyed to those Elysian fields across the river, I am sure that he is resting there at this hour. He loved his friends, and their faults soon faded from his view, but their virtues were painted eternally in his memory. As a Member of Congress, he was at all times in the forefront for his country's good. Partisan politics could never blind him to his Nation's welfare. His life is worthy of emulation by every boy in the land and his struggles against adversity may well be a guiding star to satisfy the ambition of every young man who desires to serve in high places.

As a member of the powerful Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives he exerted much influence in the framing of tax and tariff legislation. Regardless of who proposed a measure, he was free to oppose or support, as directed by a clear conscience and an honest heart. He was ever alert for the best interests of his district, State, and Nation. Many of his former constituents live in the district which I have had the honor to represent in Congress for the past eight years, and without a single exception they were his friends, as was every person who ever knew him. He was ambitious, as every American citizen is desirous of accomplishing something for the good of his family and his country, but mere approbation alone never actuated him, but he was impelled by that human desire to be of service to his fellow men. While man likes to hear his name Sounded in the sweet accents of approval, my good friend BILL OLDFIELD was encouraged by higher aims and a nobler cause. His name is written high in the rolls of this House as one of the best men who ever served any constituency, against whom I never heard a word uttered, and in whose direction the finger of suspicion was never pointed. What a pity that all public officials can not serve as he served, with but one star to guide them, and that the star of public duty. Mind and character are the standard of American manhood, and my departed friend possessed both attributes to the highest degree. He was familiar

with hardships and adversity and progressed to one of the highest positions within the gift of his people by industry, perseverance, and a strict adherence to duty. He knew what it meant to walk through the dark, damp tunnel of despair as well as leap the silver stream of happiness and success.

His life and acquaintance will always be a benediction to me and a friendship that I shall ever cherish as clean, pure, and honest. So much did I love him that it would be a great privilege to me sometime to be able to render some service to a member of his family. There is no friendship that I have cherished more and no acquaintance of more lasting remembrance. Nothing mean or low ever entered his mind, but his attention was centered on the higher things of life.

Mr. Speaker, I find some consolation this afternoon and on this sad occasion because I know my beloved friend Bill Old-FIELD—we all called him "Bill"—is resting in that palace where we will hope to finally rest, eternally and everlastingly, from

the turbulent life of this world.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Speaker, in contributing these words to the memory of our colleague William A. Oldfield, I speak with a feeling of genuine personal loss. We loved him because of his real human qualities.

The Federal Constitution provides that the United States shall grant no titles of nobility. The fathers who builded that great charter must have believed that nobility in our country should consist of the achievement of the individual in serving his fellow man. Measured by this American standard of character and service, our friend Mr. Oldfield was a nobleman.

In the vigor of young manhood he volunteered his services in the defense of his country in the Spanish-American War. Likewise in later life he threw his energies in a militant manner, as a legislator in the House of Representatives, into every measure and policy proposed for his country's welfare.

While we admired WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD for his vigor, courage, ability, and integrity as a statesman, yet we shall not allow these characteristics to submerge those even finer qualities of manhood which he manifested as a leader and lover of men. He possessed a magnetic personality endowed richly with a spirit of hospitality. He had a glad hand, a fine spirit of humor, and a word of encouragement for everyone.

The miracles of healing, the words of love, the daily acts of service of the Man of Galilee for mankind in distress, add great emphasis to the Master's philosophy that the "pathway to the throne of God is found in the hearts of men." WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD must have recognized this divine philosophy because his feet constantly traveled this pathway and found a joy in a rich fellowship with his fellow man.

He was also a true follower of his political patron saint

He was also a true follower of his political patron saint Thomas Jefferson. With force and conviction he believed in the people and at all times tried to conserve their rights. Like Jefferson, Lincoln, and Bryan, Mr. Oldfield was proud to be a commoner. He hated sham and hypocrisy, and from the depth of his soul, believed that worth and character made the man. As a Representative he rendered great service to his State and Nation.

Statesman, yet friend to truth; of soul sincere, In action faithful, and in honor clear; Who broke no promise, served no private end, Who gained no title, and who lost no friend; Ennobled by himself, by all approved.

Personally we feel enriched in having been associated with WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD as a friend and colleague. We treasure his memory as one who served faithfully and well. Shall we not then garner from his life a renewed inspiration, a deeper devotion to serve mankind, a more constant love for humanity, all of which was so dear to the heart of our friend who has gone on before.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Mr. Speaker, at such a time it is very difficult for me to adequately express my feelings.

Another of our colleagues has been called, and we are again confronted by the mystery and the majesty of death. Another great personality is unable to answer the earthly roll call, and his vibrant voice, so often and eloquently heard in this Chamber, is hushed forever.

WILLIAM A. OLDSTELD, the man and the friend, has entered upon the journey from which the traveler never returns. He died at his post of duty on the altar of toil. In his unremitting application to every call for service he gave no heed to the limitation imposed on a greatly impaired constitution which raised a barrier that he was unable to pass without loosing the silver cord, and breaking the golden bowl of life. I feel that he knew this. In the strenuous discharge of his self-imposed duties as a Member of this House he was literally taking his life in his

hands, thus deliberately shortening a career that promised much in usefulness to his constituency and his country and

honor to himself.

He apparently counted a life that was lost in battling for the things he believed to be right, to be a life well lost. Our friend stood four square for his convictions. In his parliamentary combats he gave hard blows and accepted return like the gentleman that he was, but he was unfailing in his courtesy to his adversary, and never overstepped the bounds of courtesy. He was a keen, analytical, forceful thinker, and by unremitting study and research possessed a store of facts and figures, became an adept at repartee, and was a foeman worthy the steel of any man.

BILLY OLDFIELD, as we who knew him loved to call him, was loyal to his friends and to the causes he espoused. In their behalf he spared neither time nor energy, but expended himself with a zeal and a fervor that gave little or no heed to his health nor his interests.

These unselfish qualities of endeavor and loyalty were the means in large measure that brought to an untimely termination

a great career.

Mr. Speaker, to-day we mourn the departure of a good, strong, brave, and clean man. No soldier upon the field of battle ever gave himself more freely to the call of duty. If to-day is better than yesterday and to-morrow will be better than to-day, it is because men like our friend lived and labored in his day and generation.

The eminent colleagues from his State on the Great Plains in this House, who worked side by side with him in the successful effort to bring glory and honor and prestige to the Commonwealth he served so well, will enumerate his achievements

and his early struggles.

I well remember when I was first privileged to come to this great body to represent in part the State of New York, the friend I mourn in this inadequate tribute lent me his valuable aid in order that I might judge aright the duties of my great office and make a record for myself and the party to which I owe allegiance. He was a kindly, friendly, and patient mentor, the door of whose office was at all times ajar that I might enter for advice and inspiration. The friendly and cordial handelasp, the invitation to be seated, always assured me that I would leave his presence better equipped to meet the problem which had given me many anxious moments.

But such men are not dead; they live in the hearts of their countrymen. The verdict of history will be that he was notable in those qualities which go to make up the best and strongest characters and was a man of whom his State may well be proud. I doubt not that his grateful fellow citizens will long remember his services and that time will only make his memory the

brighter.

Some writer once said:

Every life, no matter if its every hour is rich with love and every moment jeweled with joy, will at its close become a tragedy as sad and deep and dark as can be woven of the warp and woof of mystery and death.

For them death is no tragedy deep and dark, for I know they believe that for him who suffers it is but the opening of a portal to the dawn of a grander, richer, more glorious existence, and that when the final summons comes to each of them in turn he may be sure that his loving comrades who have gone before will meet him with outstretched spirit hands to clasp again the hand of him they loved on earth and bld him welcome as he touches the unknown shore. And so believing, I say in all hope and in all reverence to my companion and my friend, "Good-by, good-by, until we meet again."

In the words of Mark Antony, mourning for his friend, the

great Cæsar, let me say:

This was the noblest Roman of them all. He only, in a general, honest thought And common good to all, made one of us. His life was gentle, and the elements So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Mr. MORROW. Mr. Speaker, memorial services were held to-day for the deceased Members of Congress who have left us during the Seventieth Congress. Pursuant to the permission granted Members to extend their remarks, I desire to pay reverence to a man who during his life filled many positions of trust and honor in his native State and in the Nation. During the Spanish-American War William A. Oldfield served his country with credit and distinction; entering the service as a private he was promoted to first lieutenant. He was elected to the Sixty-first Congress and served with distinction in Con-

gress for 20 years. At the time of his death he had been reelected to the Seventy-first Congress.

Mr. OLDFIELD in the year 1925 became the chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee of the House, where he wielded great influence in shaping the policy of his party in Congress and in the Nation. He was ever active in all party matters.

He was a sincere and firm Democrat, believing implicitly in the doctrines of his party and in the teachings of Thomas Jefferson that it is the right of the people to rule in the affairs of government. Mr. OLDFIELD was happy in the thought that to make man's future better meant a better government. Politics to him was not a desire for personal rivalry but rather an effort in the interest of a liberty-loving people for good government.

Mr. OLDFIELD was a man of the highest type of citizenship. He took a leading part in shaping the policy of his party and in tiding it to success in its activities in the lower branch of Congress; he was always fair and extremely courteous in his dealing with the opposition but firm in his position when he

believed he was in the right.

Our late colleague represented the State of Arkansas, but his work in Congress gave him a much larger field of activity in the affairs of government. His work in behalf of his State was of a constructive character, and later in the broader field of the Nation he gave the best in him to the service of the people. By his early life and training in civil and military affairs he fitted himself so as to take his place in the business and life of the Nation in our time. His was a character of industry, modesty, and achievement of honors won with patience and careful effort.

He believed in his legislative work that the intelligence of our citizenship in the affairs of our Government, and their interest therein, should be maintained by a live, militant Democratic Party. To that end he spent much of his valuable time and gave energetic effort to the success of these ideals. He stood and fought eloquently for clean politics in the affairs of the Nation. It can not be said of him that he did not give the best and most fruitful years of his life to the service of both his State and the Nation.

This world is a better world because he lived and had his being in it. There are those in his State and in the Congress of the United States who will always cherish the memory of Mr. OLDFIELD as a friend. To labor and bring happiness to family and friends is the duty imposed upon us in this enlightened

existence.

I can bear testimony in the six years I have personally known Mr. Oldfield that few men had combined in them the nobler qualities of mind and heart than had the deceased. His life was an inspiration to all to do better and to be faithful in the affairs of man and God.

The call has come for him, and while he passes from our lives he leaves the memory of his example and an inspiration to carry

on the great work he laid down.

Other leaders have already taken his place with the inspiration he left to carry on the battle of life in the interest of the masses of people—that the rule of government shall not be harsh—and that all the people in an intelligent Government like ours shall be a part of and have a voice in the affairs of the same.

I believe that death had no terrors for William A. Oldfield, and that while he had not run the course that had been allotted to man, he was prepared to pass on, feeling that his work had been well done and that his fellow man felt as he did—that when the call comes we must be prepared to meet it and face our Maker.

On this occasion I feel that it is fitting to quote from one of Lincoln's favorite poems:

Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud? Like a fast-fleeting meteor, a fast-flying cloud, A flash of the lightning, a break of the wave, He passed from life to his rest in the grave.

'Tis the wink of an eye, 'tis the draft of a breath, From the blossoms of health to the paleness of death, From the gilded salon to the bier and the shroud; Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?

Mr. DREWRY. Mr. Speaker, political life in our country is full of changes. We regret the absence of some who retire voluntarily and of others who are retired in the exigencies of political service, but such departures are recognized as liable to happen to everyone, and we hope that our paths will cross again. But inexpressibly more sad is the leaving of a loved comrade

labors

for that "bourne from whence no traveler returns." It is hard to believe that Billy Oldfield has left forever the scene of his labors for his country. He seemed so strong, so vigorous, so energetic in the measures which he advocated so earnestly and

with such sound common sense.

These qualities of mind and body carried him successfully through his educational and professional career. Early in life he began his public service and held offices of trust in his native State. Previously he had answered the call to arms in defense of his country and participated in the war with Spain. It is typical of the man that he enlisted as a private; and it is also indicative that he was awarded a commission before he was mustered out. What he did, he did with all his energy and he did it well. Later began his long service in Congress where he served for nearly 20 years.

Soon after coming to Congress I met him, and we were friends from the beginning of my term. He was always ready and willing to aid a colleague and would go to any trouble to do a friend a favor. He had the capacity for friendship to a high degree, and such men earn the friendship of others. He was intensely loyal to his friends. Loyalty is a quality upon which can be built a great character, but which, if not possessed, the whole superstructure is weak, even though the subject possesses other great qualities. He gave his friendship unreservedly; once a friend, he was always a friend and loyally aided in your

He gave generously of himself, and with no reservations. If he agreed to do a thing, he did it with all his energy. As Democratic whip he came into contact with all the members of his party, and he never abused the attributes of that position, while at all times firmly, honestly, and energetically carrying out the orders of the leaders. He made a great success in his handling of this difficult position and was largely responsible for the

legislative achievements of the minority party.

Then he was made chairman of the National Congressional Democratic Committee, and here his genius for organization had freer scope. He was a Jacksonian Democrat and he believed firmly in the principles of his party and the righteousness of its cause. In his opinion the country would be better served by the Democracy, and there was no room in his mind for disbelief in this conviction and no lack of energy and enthusiasm in his advocacy. Although his activities caused him much

physical discomfort in the feverish days of the last campaign, he doggedly and determinedly "carried on," giving of all that was in him for the success of his party.

He will be missed from the party councils, where his sound common sense and good political judgment were invaluable in the discussion of party affairs; he will be missed in the Halls of Congress, where he used his talents in behalf of his country; but most of all will he be missed in the hearts of his friends, who loved him.

Mr. WILSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in no field or sphere of human endeavor and activity can the qualities of unfaltering courage and direct aggressive leadership become more valued or of greater public service than in the House of Representatives of the United States.

Our departed and lamented friend, WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD, possessed and effectively exemplified these qualities. He was not only true to his convictions at all times, but on any and every occasion he was ready to fight straight through to establish and maintain the principles for which he stood and to which his party was pledged.

Under our system of government by political parties, in a legislative capacity one must be loyal to his party in order to be a statesman, since our legislative accomplishments in the main are results of organized efforts and actions by the major

political parties.

Accepting this view, Mr. Oldfield rendered splendid service to his country as a statesman and was a most valued aid to his colleagues in respect to those measures for which his party had made pledges to the public,

The source of my personal sorrow is in the loss of a true, constant, and loyal friend over the entire period of my service in the Congress. I feel sure that he, as other friends who have passed beyond, would have us feel that—

Death has not taken all away, These friends are with us still to-day; Each one of us still carries on Something of those whose souls have gone.

Mr. McDUFFIE. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have the privilege of paying tribute to the memory of my lamented friend the Hon. William A. Oldfield.

He who lives in the hearts of those he leaves behind does not die.

The memories of happy associations with Congressman Oldfield, affectionately known on this floor as Billy Oldfield during his 20 years of service, will continue to live in the hearts and minds of all his colleagues.

One of the first Members of the House of Representatives I met on coming to Congress was Mr. Oldfield, whose genial and cordial manner drew me near him, and throughout our service together I held for him a most affectionate regard. I shall always hold in grateful memory not only his many helpful sug-

gestions, but his never-failing courtesies.

In politics, while Mr. Oldfield was an intense partisan he was also an intense patriot. He loved the ideals and institutions of our Government, and in his official life he always sought to preserve them. His personal popularity in the Congress was not confined to his party, but on both sides of the aisle, as well as in the official life of Washington, he was held in high esteem. The performance of his duties as a Representative in Congress was characterized by that ability and untiring zeal which made him one of its outstanding leaders.

While mourning the loss of our distinguished colleague to-day we are greatly consoled in having amongst us, as his successor, his gentle and elegant wife, who has within her short service as a Member of the House of Representatives won her way into the hearts of the entire membership of this House. She did not seek membership in this body. The friends of her lamented husband urged that she not only serve his unexpired term but again insisted that she accept the nomination for the long term. This was not only a compliment to her but it attested the love, the esteem, and confidence in which Mr. Oldfield was held by a constituency who had commissioned him to represent them here for a long period of time. It is fortunate, indeed, not only for the district she represents but for us who miss the companionship and the able service of her distinguished husband that she has come to be with us.

Amongst the first of all human virtues is loyalty. Mr. Oldfield possessed a sense of loyalty that was unsurpassed. Loyalty to his country as a national legislator was his first thought, and no man was more loyal to his friends. His untimely death was a distinct shock and loss to his country, to the State of Arkansas, and particularly to that congressional district which honored itself by honoring him and which he served so loyally. He fought the fight; he finished the course; he kept the faith.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, William A. Oldfield, known among his colleagues as Billy Oldfield, was a native product of the State of Arkansas, not only by birth but education and political activity. Born February 4, 1874, he received his foundation for substantial advancement in the common schools of his county and his A. B. degree from Arkansas College at Batesville.

As a lawyer he stood high in his profession, became prosecuting attorney and when war broke out with Spain was among

those first to enlist in the service of his country.

In Congress he was among the leaders of the Democratic Party, holding the very important position as a member of the Ways and Means Committee. He was an able debater, and in speeches before the House of Representatives his addresses were clear, instructive, and showed a full knowledge of the subject under discussion.

I knew him for many years. He was a man of most lovable disposition and endeared himself to his colleagues on both sides of the aisle because of his courtesy, kindness, and affability. There is no doubt in my mind that he hastened his death by his overzealousness in the interest of his party's success.

As chairman of the Congressional Campaign Committee, he was ever alert and on the job. When he went to New York to help conduct the campaign from the Democratic headquarters, he was constantly at his desk and never missed an opportunity to promote the welfare of Democracy and the success of the

He will be greatly missed in the House of Representatives by all who knew him. Each one seems to fit into some particular niche in that great legislative body, and BILLY OLDFIELD certainly by his tact, knowledge, and disposition had his own peculiar place.

It is a pleasure to all of us to know that his constituents loved him and his wife so well that they have sent Mrs. Oldfield to the House of Representatives to succeed him. It does not seem possible that Billy Oldfield has departed from our midst, and those of us who have been associated with him for so many years will ever treasure his memory.

# CHARLES LEE FAUST

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, Charley Faust was beloved by his colleagues. Of r association with him in the Congress was

a pleasure. He has gone, like other beloved ones, from our

The milestones into headstones turn, and under each a friend.

The best evidence of his greatness and worth comes from those at home, as expressed in an address by United States District Judge Merrill E. Otis, delivered at St. Joseph, Mo., Friday evening, January 4, 1929.

I include it as a part of my remarks.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY FEDERAL JUDGE MERRILL E. OTIS AT ST. JOSEPH, MO., JANUARY 4, 1929, AT SERVICES HELD IN MEMORY OF CONGRESSMAN CHARLES L. FAUST

Here in St. Joseph, where we knew him best and loved him most, he was never Mr. Congressman, but always and to everyone Charley FAUST-genial, handsome, friendly CHARLEY FAUST. For everyone he met as he walked up and down our streets he had a smile and kindly words genuine as gold. There was not one of us but felt that he was never thinking of himself but of us only, of us as individuals, of our hopes, our interests, our aspirations, thinking in what manner, by what service he could contribute to the bringing of greater happiness to us and ours. He entered into the very hearts of us, and when he died it seemed that each of us in part had ceased to be.

We look back now over the life of this dear friend and none of us remembers ever to have heard from him one word of praise of self, one word of criticism of another. Never once in public address or private conversation did he so much as hint at any part he played. The pronoun "I" was not in his vocabulary. The graciousness of his helpfulness to each who sought it was never lessened by an express or implied "I have done this for you."

In all this district which so splendidly he represented not one human being felt envy of CHARLEY FAUST. Does a father envy the success his son achieves? He rejoices in it, rather. It is his own success. It was so we thought of the success of this man we chose to represent us. We were rising as he rose. Our hopes, not his, were shattered when he passed away

It is hard for us to think that he is gone and will return no more. True, we read the news, we met the funeral train that bore him back, we saw through tears the wasted form beneath the covering of flowers, we saw the cortege pass as the snowflakes softly fell, pass along our streets, across the river to the old home, but we can not quite grasp it yet, that Charley will not soon be here again to make us glad with that

warm handclasp of his and that old sweet smile.

I have been reading recently of those mysterious empires of the Orient at that time of which we of the Occident speak as the Middle Now and then in those Middle Ages some European traveler, some heroic Franciscan friar, some adventurous Marco Polo, at periods separated from each other sometimes by a hundred years, would penetrate the recesses of the distant East, observe its life and its achievements, and, painfully returning, write out accounts of what he saw. Only these far-separated glimpses (and they were imperfect glimpses) did the West catch of the East for a thousand years. that long, long time the life of the East and its civilization uninterruptedly went on. So, hidden from every other, is the life of each man. Of him concerning whom we think we know most of all, really we know little. Who undertakes to describe another's life undertakes that which it is not possible to do. I can describe my own life, but I will not, you yours, but you will not. Each buries in his heart his greatest tragedies, his deepest sorrows, his thwarted hopes, his most trying struggles, his real story-and no other knows that story that he may tell it.

How superficial any attempt of mine to tell the story of the life of CHARLES L. FAUST. That he was born in Ohio; that in his childhood he was brought to Kansas; that he attended school in Highland; that he studied law at Lawrence: that he came here to practice his profession; that for four years he was city counselor, discharging with fine ability the duties of that office: that in 1920 he was elected to the National Congress: that he was four times reelected: that he was a member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee of the House: that at 49 years of age he was stricken with a fatal illness and passed away-what an inadequate picture of the man does such a bare recital of the more conspicuous events in his career afford.

Why he was successful was no mystery. Why he was beloved was no mystery. Why he would have risen, as undoubtedly he would have risen, to a place of the greatest power and influence in national affairs. that would have been no mystery, but he was a mystery to me. For hours at a time I thought about him while he lived and for hours at a time I have thought about him since he died. I owed him a debt I never could begin to pay, but because I longed to try to pay it I strove to know his heart's desire, but I could never find it out. What was deep within his spirit I did not know. Some sorrow that a smile some ache within that no word made known, some premonition that no sign gave hint of, a loneliness amidst a multitude of friends, these I thought I could perceive as through a dark glass dimly, buried in his heart.

Why he was successful was no mystery. Before he was successful, already he had the appearance and the bearing of success. And those are attributes which of themselves, if supported by other qualities, contribute to success.

In part he was successful because others were vitally interested in him. Others were interested in him because more and more they came to know that he was vitally interested in each of them and in each man and woman and every child in the congressional district he so splendidly represented. Whoever wrote a letter to Charley Faust who did not immediately receive reply and service? No task was too small for him and none too great. No man in the community was so unimportant that FAUST did not treat him with the same deference he would accord the Chief Magistrate of the Nation and no woman so lowly in the social scale that she did not receive from him as fine a courtesy as he would show a queen. His most casual passing by was like warm sunshine breaking through dark clouds

Why he was successful and beloved was not a mystery. In Washington as well as here he was beloved by all who knew him. President Harding and President Coolidge each not only valued his counsel and advice but felt for him the warmest friendship. Members of the Cabinet greeted him by his given name. Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States were happy to spend an hour in his pleasant company. His colleagues in the House crowded the antercom of the Chamber where he lay ill, made anxious inquiries concerning him, felt deepest solicitude that he should soon be well again. His seat in Congress had become secure at last. Never again would it have been seriously contended for by another.

Each of 5,000 could make a speech to-night relating some unselfish service done for him by FAUST. It would be a better eulogy than that I can speak with trembling lips.

Each knows best his own relations with this friend of all. I best know

I can see him now as a dozen years ago I saw him when, a young lawyer, a desperately struggling young lawyer, I went to his office in the Corby Building on a mission of supreme importance to myself. How awkward I must have been. How my knees were shaking, my voice trembling, how difficult it was for me to say to the presentable gentleman who sat across the desk from me: "Mr. Faust, I would like to be first assistant city counselor." How he put me at my ease, with what kindness he spoke concerning my aspiration, what encouragement he gave me. How clearly I remember now every detail of that scene.

I can see him now as every morning he came into the city counselor's office in the old city hall with a friendly greeting to each of us who made up his official family. If we did anything worth mention he saw to it that we received not only full credit but all credit. If anything was done well, he had words of the kindest praise. If anything was

done ill no criticism, no faultfinding came from him.

I can see him now in that meeting so memorable to me which was held one night in the summer of 1920 at the Highlands Country Club. There were gathered the leaders of the party from the several counties of the fourth congressional district. The object of the meeting ostensibly was to decide on a candidate for Congress. I have always thought that the real object of the meeting was to eliminate as mercifully as could be and in as kindly manner as was possible one who was not the best fitted for the race, but who aspired to make it. Charley, as he was called on and can hear him say, "I am for the other man for this opportunity," and he was genuinely and sincerely for the other man.

I can see him now, as I did years afterwards, when one afternoon I was sitting in the court room of the Supreme Court of the United States awaiting the argument of a case, and he tapped me on the shoulder, beckoned me to the hall, and said: "Son, how would you like to be a Federal judge?"

I can see him now in a hundred scenes that are precious in my memory, as each of you can see him in as many that are dear to you.

I can see him now, and when my eyes have grown so dim that I can no longer see anything at all, I shall be able yet to say, "I can see him

As he lay there dying, and I think he knew that he was dying-the shadow already was fast sweeping toward the field of consciousness, as he lay there, he beckoned to his side his friend. I think it was not this friend alone whom he thus summoned, but in him each of us and all his friends. In his all-comprehending recollection then there was not one forgotten. Across his countenance flitted the old sweet smile. No word fell from his lips, only his smile spoke the affection his great heart felt. Nearer to his side he drew his friend. Tightly he clasped his hand. Gently he caressed his cheek. And so, holding to his breast us all with that one arm in which a little strength yet lingered, he bade us farewell 'till we shall meet again. And so, he fell asleep,

Mr. DICKINSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I knew Charles L. FAUST and highly regarded him. He was an able Representative of the fourth district of Missouri in the northwest corner of the State. A native of Kansas, he came to Missouri and practiced law in St. Joseph where he made his home. He succeeded Charles H. Booher, a Democrat, who served that district for 12 years. It was known as a Democratic district until Charley Faust seems to have brought it into the Republican column. He came to Congress—elected in 1920—in the landslide that

left at home so many Democratic Congressmen.

While other districts of Missouri returned in 1922 Democratic Representatives, the fourth district of Missouri remained loyal to Charley Faust. His great personal popularity and unquestioned ability and great service in Congress brought to his support many Democrats who believed in him-were his personal friends and recognized his fitness for congressional service, and by increasing majorities he continued to be elected. November election of 1928 he was elected by over 10,000 majority. He worthily executed his trust. His ability was quickly recognized and he was given membership on the Ways and Means Committee, and after I returned to Congress in 1922 we served together on that committee. Our offices in the House Office Building were near, and we saw much of each other. held him in the highest regard. If he had consented, he would have been nominated and elected United States Senator from Missouri to succeed Senator James A. Reed, who was retiring from the Senate, but he preferred to stay in the House and occupy the prominent position he held in committee and party counsels.

His sudden illness came as a shock to us all and his passing away a great regret to all his associates and many friends. His his service, his modest usefulness was recognized by all. He made friends. His courteous bearing, his fine presence, and capable service were marked by all. Continued service and a long life seemed a certainty. He looked the very picture of health. There was universal regret at his death. Congress, his State, and his country have suffered a distinct loss. We were close friends. I valued highly his friendship and sorrowed at his going. His many virtues will be remembered. His remains were taken to St. Joseph, attended by a committee of Congress, where services largely attended were held in memory and tribute to his worth and character and distinguished serv-Then his body was taken to his old home in Kansas, the home of his parents, his childhood, and youth, nad there interred to await the resurrection morn.

Mr. HOPKINS. Mr. Speaker, the fourth district of Missouri has lost a great friend and the Members of Congress have lost a loved and respected colleague through the death of Charles Lee Faust. The cloak of life has been taken from him, but in the hearts of his friends he still lives on. His was a record of devotion, a record of service, and a record of loyalty to his country and his constituents. No call for help ever came to him that was not heard. He seemed to live for the good he could do others, and his greatest pleasure in life came through service.

I find an interesting sketch of Mr. Faust's life in the following letter from Mr. Elliot Marshall, of St. Joseph, Mo. Mr. Marshall was probably one of the closest and dearest friends

Mr. FAUST ever had.

He was born in Bellefontaine, Ohio, April 24, 1879, and would have been 50 years old on his next birthday. Bellefontaine was in the congressional district that the late President Harding represented when he was in Congress. His parents were Wilson S. and Ella M. Faust. They moved West when he was a baby and located on a farm near Highland, Doniphan County, Kans. He started life as a farmer boy, plowed corn, milked cows, made hay, and did all the chores that fall to a farmer's son. He attended the public schools at Highland, and after being graduated attended Highland College.

For two years he taught a country school in Doniphan County to earn money to pay his way through college. Later he entered Kansas University, from which institution he was graduated in 1903, receiving the degree of LL. B.

His striking physical appearance attracted attention wherever he went. Seeing him for the first time a person would find it difficult to resist inquiring as to his identity. His loving, genial ways won him friends on all sides, and to the day of his death there were men in all walks of life who knew Charley Faust well enough to call him by his first name.

Mr. Faust attended the Presbyterian Church. He was a thirty-second degree Mason of the Scottish Rite, and a Shriner. He was a member of the St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce and a member of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, serving that organization as exalted ruler one term, 1919–20.

The city of St. Joseph and the entire fourth district heard with grief and sorrow on November 28 that Mr. Faust was stricken with thrombosis, but encouraging reports came from his bedside giving out hopes for his recovery. In a few days reports came that he was losing ground, and on December 17, 1928, at 11 p. m., the fatal and dreaded word was received that our Congressman was no more. The whole city was thrown into grief, for everyone felt that Charley Faust belonged

to them personally, and everyone loved and respected him and felt honored by having him their Representative in Congress.

Typical of the expressions of sorrow by various organizations in the fourth district of Missouri is the following resolution from the Missouri Association of Letter Carriers, of St. Joseph, Mo.:

Whereas it has pleased the Almighty in His infinite wisdom to remove from among us our worthy and beloved Congressman, CHARLES L. FAUST; and

Whereas the district has lost a faithful servant and the postal employees a true friend: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Branch 195, N. A. L. C., extend to the bereaved family our heartfelt sympathy in their sorrow; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the family, a copy to the House of Representatives, a copy to the Postal Record for publication, and a copy be spread on the minutes of the branch.

WM. C. TISCHER. WM. E. THOMAS. OTTO G. DAUGHTERS.

As the new Member of Congress from the same district which has been so faithfully represented by the man we are honoring to-day, I feel both the honor and the responsibility which is placed upon me at this time.

Mr. ROMJUE. Mr. Speaker, I would feel that I had neglected to perform a duty I owe to the memory of our dear friend, Charles L. Faust, were I not to add a brief tribute to his memory.

Well do I remember my first meeting with him. It was at Savannah, Mo., where we were both attending the funeral of the Hon. Charles Booher, whom he succeeded in Congress from that district.

From our meeting and acquaintance on that day down to the end of his life, CHARLEY FAUST and I remained close personal friends. While we were of different political affiliation, we frequently conferred on nonpolitical matters concerning which we might be of mutual assistance.

He was genial in temperament and a delightful man to meet. He made his constituency a good Representative, and his popularity with the people is indicated by his successive elections to

Congress by substantial majorities.

He received political preferment in his home city before being elected to Congress, and his popularity was ever on the increase, which was indicative of a satisfactory and splendid official service.

He was in such favor with his party, and his services so recognized, that he became a member of the most influential committee in the House—the Ways and Means—thus showing that his merit was duly appreciated and his ability recognized.

His death has removed one of our ablest and most popular Members, and in his death Congress and the country have sustained a severe loss. His departure is sincerely mourned as a national loss, and among those who associated with him, and those who knew him best, his memory will be cherished as a loyal and delightful friend, a congenial associate, a patriotic and devoted servant to his people, and a lover of his country.

The public have a very meager understanding of the strain to which a Member of the House or Senate is subjected. Those Members among you who have been serving here for even a few terms have seen time and time again the health of your comrades shattered, and you have seen them enter an early grave because of the often serious injury to health the services in this body have brought. Under the strain of the labors of political life the health of Charley Faust gave way and he surrendered to death.

By education, experience, and training of our colleague, based upon his native ability and strong and charming personality, he was equipped for what he became—an ideal Member of Congress.

He deeply respected the wishes of his constituents, and labored manfully to comply with their desires, so far as he could do so without doing injustice to his judgment as to what was right and best.

But I think no fear of political consequences or personal welfare ever turned him from what his own best judgment approved.

But our friend and colleague has passed on to a better world. He sleeps the sleep of the just. He was a good man, a good citizen, a loyal friend, and an able legislator, and in honor of his memory may I say:

Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days!
None knew thee but to love thee,
Nor named thee but to praise.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, the news of the untimely death of Charles L. Faust came to me as a great shock and left me with a sense of profound sorrow and personal loss. I feel

honored in calling him friend, with all that the word implies to

our close but too brief friendship.

Charles L. Faust died young in years but rich in a useful life, leaving a host of friendships of his own making. He was in the high noon of a splendid intellect, still in full flow and vigor of a perfect manhood. Stricken in mid-career with his work yet scarcely begun, and the laurels bound thick about his brow as green as when gathered in the early morning of his first success. There was no pretense in his make-up; hypocrisy was foreign to his nature. He was honest and plain. He met every issue, big or small, squarely and acted without reservation. He knew not of expediency and never attempted to learn.

In his public career he followed the dictates of a conscience

In his public career he followed the dictates of a conscience that always responded to the call of duty and the noblest im-

pulses of true manhood.

He was loved by all Members of the House regardless of politics. He did not talk a great deal but thought much, as the poet has said:

We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths; In feelings, not in figures on a dial. We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.

One had to know Charles L. Faust well to sound to its uttermost depths the virile force and power of his many-sided character.

His friendship was marvelously true. It was the ruling trait of his character. With him to be once a friend was to be always such; to him the voice of distressed friendship was as the voice of God.

A noble heart pulsing with a love for all humanity has been laid to rest where:

Love shall stand guard for thee, Friends without number, Bereaved and disconsolate over thee weep; Sweet be thy dreams. Untroubled thy slumbers; Tranquilly, peacefully, restfully sleep.

Mr. LOZIER. Mr. Speaker, it is one of the crowning glories of our free institutions that the humblest and most obscure citizen may aspire to and attain exalted station in the public service of our Nation. Under our system of government, public honors and public responsibilities are not reserved for the highborn, rich, and favored classes, but any young man of substantial ability, painstaking industry, and well-balanced ambition, may establish himself in the confidence and affections of the people, and on being called to high positions in the Government, may make a valuable and lasting contribution to our national life.

Our late colleague, Hon. Charles L. Faust, of the fourth Missouri district, was a conspicuous example of the poor boy who made good and won worth-while honors in the service of his country. Born on a farm and reared in the great agricultural Commonwealth, by diligent application and the exercise of liberal intellectual ability, he rapidly rose above his environment and demonstrated his ability and capacity for efficient

public service.

Since 1903 he has been an honored citizen of St. Joseph, Mo., where he engaged in the practice of law, and where he was city counselor for a number of years before his election to represent his district in Congress. He had a well-developed legal mind, and early in life set himself to the task of—

Mastering the lawless science of our law, That codeless myriad of precedent, That wilderness of single instances, Through which a few by wit and fortune led, May beat a pathway out to wealth and fame.

And right well he succeeded in the practice of his profession. He exemplified its exalted ideals and scrupulously observed its highest standard of ethics.

He was elected to the Sixty-seventh Congress in 1920, and reelected to the Sixty-eighth, Sixty-ninth, Seventieth, and Seventy-first Congresses in a district in which his political party was in the minority. Men of opposing political faiths loved and trusted him because they knew he was honest, candid, able, courteous, fair, and dependable. His was a short but busy life. He was remarkably free from sordid and selfish motives. As a Member of this House, he won and firmly held the respect, esteem, and confidence of his colleagues. He was not spectacular but substantial and sturdy. He was my friend and, although it is a melancholy privilege, I join with my colleagues in paying a sincere tribute to his memory.

Mr. NELSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Hon. Charles Lee Faust faithfully represented the fourth congressional district of Missouri, and when news of his death reached his constituents there was genuine regret among all the people, regardless of class or politics. Handsome in appearance, clean in his life, ever courteous and considerate, he was one of the outstanding and most popular Members of the national House of Representatives. He did not seek the spectacular. His best work was in committees, and especially in the powerful Ways and Means Committee, of which he was a valued member, and in which he would have played a much larger part but for his untimely passing. Many there are among the present Members of the House who can recall some kind deed at the hands of Charley Faust, as he was so often lovingly referred to. One of his greatest pleasures was in helping a friend, and to him even the stranger came in this class.

Although unmarried, Representative Faust was essentially a home man. Home ties meant much to him. Just before the 1927 holidays we were discussing Christmas. Mr. Faust was asked if he planned to go back to the old home for the holidays. His reply was to the effect that so long as his mother lived he never failed to go home for Christmas, but that since her death he knew that it would be so lonesome that he did not care to

go back.

Yet through one of those strange happenings which we call fate, or what we will, the body of this beloved Representative was borne back to the old home just before Christmas, 1928, Beautiful and appropriate services were held in the city of St. Joseph, metropolis of the district which he served. Eloquent were the words of tribute spoken by the minister, but not more meaning than were the thousands of good things said by the home folks who had known this kindly and considerate man. Apparently the entire city joined in the last tribute. It was genuine and heartfelt.

Still in the prime of life, and with a future filled with brilliant promise, it seems difficult to understand why Representative FAUST should have been called from his chosen career. Well done, though, had been his work. A man of splendid personality, a citizen of the highest character, and a real representative of

the people, he reflected credit upon the Congress.

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the death of Representative Charles L. Faust, so affectionately known to us all as Charley Faust, removed from our midst an outstanding character, and his death is a distinct loss not only to the people of the fourth congressional district of Missouri, which he so ably represented, but also to the State at large, as well as the Nation.

Some hardly realize why the passing of a Member means so much to the citizenry of his State. It is the position he has attained in the Congress and his willingness to serve the interests of not only his own community but the State that makes his loss so great.

Missouri, housing great industries, had in Mr. Faust a member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, willing and anxious to serve the people, always responding to their call for assistance when revenue or tariff bills were under consideration.

In the next session of Congress, and at this time when hearings are being held on the proposed new tariff bill, those who have appealed to him in the past to see that fair play was extended to their products well understand the great loss the people of Missouri sustained by his death. Rarely is a Member advanced to an assignment on the Ways and Means Committee until he has served several terms in the House.

Five times elected from a district, which for many years sent a Democrat to Congress, is evidence of his popularity among his constituents. Had he so desired he could have had the nomination for the United States Senate in the last campaign, and, as the nominee of his party was elected by a large majority, it will be seen he refused a seat in that great legislative body because of his love for the people of the fourth district. He declined to be a candidate for the Senate, stating he would prefer to remain in the House.

Like everyone who came in contact with Mr. FAUST, I cher-

ished his friendship.

Mr. NIEDRINGHAUS. Mr. Speaker, one of the first Members of Congress whom I met when I entered this body at the beginning of the Seventieth Congress was the late Charles L. Faust, whose character and public service we memorialize on this occasion. To me the duty which the hour imposes is a labor of love, and I avail myself of this opportunity to pay my tribute.

I was especially attracted to him by his genial and gracious manner, and from the time I met him until his death I con-

sidered him one of my best friends in Congress.

He was patient and painstaking; informed himself about the works of Congress and the various departments, and all matters which related to the business of the Government. He was always eager for facts and went to the bottom of every question with which he had to do. Keen and thorough, he was always prepared on every subject which he discussed. Served faithfully on one of the most important committees of the House—the Ways and Means Committee—and his opinions and judgment were highly respected by his colleagues.

The public esteem in which he was held was evidenced by the mourning at his death. I feel that the House and our good State, Missouri, has lost in him an extremely valuable Member of Congress.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, a strong and capable man was taken after a brief illness from the comradeship of the House of Representatives when our dearly loved friend, Hon. Charles L. FAUST, answered the final roll call. For several years he had been a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, an active and able participant in its deliberations. His purpose was to public welfare. His legal training and experience, and judicial attitude of mind made bim a valuable Member. Thoughtful, studious, deliberate in judgment, truly patriotic and careful in his decisions, he greatly revered his country, his State, and his district. He possessed a personality that men admire, and drew friends to him with a strong attachment. The absence from our deliberations, of one in whom we were accustomed to rely, is a serious loss which we deeply deplore.

Mr. BACHARACH. Mr. Speaker, it is for those who knew CHARLES L. FAUST more intimately and for a longer period of years than I knew him to pay to him and his memory that degree of tribute which he richly deserves.

It has been my good fortune, and one that has afforded me genuine pleasure, to have known Mr. Faust since his election to Congress in the sixty-seventh session, and more intimately since his election to the Ways and Means Committee a few years ago.

He was a man possessed of an unusual personality; quiet, dignified, outwardly reserved, he was, withal, a "man's man. Possessed of scholarly attainments, a keen analytical mind, he displayed a degree of ability which, had he been spared to the country, would have left its impress upon the pages of history.

To know Charley Faust was to prize his friendship. I know of no man in this House who was more beloved by its membership than our departed friend and colleague; this was equally true of his home people, and it was a distinct tribute to the high esteem and the love which his constituents had for him that he was elected and reelected to Congress as a Republican from a normally Democratic district. It may truly be said that the fourth district of Missouri was a "Faust" district.

Stricken suddenly in the prime of manhood, in his untimely death the House of Representatives has lost a beloved colleague, the State of Missouri has lost a distinguished citizen, and the Nation has lost an able legislator and a real statesman.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the funeral of our late colleague, the Hon. CHARLES L. FAUST, in his home city of St. Joseph, Mo. The entire community was in mourning. Men, women, and children streamed all forenoon to the church where his last remains lay in state. A tremendous concourse of people attended the funeral services, which were marked by evidences of personal loss and grief seldom witnessed even in the case of public men. The memorial addresses spoke in tender and simple words the deep affection and regard which all feit for our departed colleague. It was plain that he had been the outstanding citizen of the community and that his reputation rested upon his solicitude and kindness for all with whom he came into contact. This testimony bore out the estimation for him of his colleagues in the House. Quiet, considerate, affable, he won not only the esteem but the affection of all who came within the radiance of his cheerful presence. In the House, he gave constant attention to matters of legislation and in the Committee on Ways and Means, where I had the honor to sit by his side, he followed the hearings and discussions with the closest attention. His own observations were always pertinent and effective. His death was a great shock to us all. He was stricken in the apparent power of his manhood, when many years of usefulness and success seemed to lie before him. His relatives and friends have our deepest

sympathy. We share with them a genuine personal loss, but shall also cherish with them the memory of his noble character and distinguished career.

Mr. COLE of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in triumphal reelection, Charles L. Faust returned to Washington in November last, He was the acclaimed idol of the district which he represented in the House of Representatives. The people of that district loved him because he loved them and served them.

A fine, big man, physically and mentally and morally, was my friend, CHARLES L. FAUST, an Apollo among men, a son of Jove himself. He walked all the ways of life in thoughtful dignity. Reserved and courteous; sincere of mind and kindly of heart; a

rich friend.

I first met Mr. Faust shortly after coming to Congress in 1921; we came to Washington at about the same time. A mutual friend, Lurton H. Stubbs, now of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, but formerly of St. Joseph, Mo., happened in Washington and brought us together, quite insisting that we were so much alike in ideas and ideals that we must be friends. It needed no urging to make us such in fact. He soon seemed to me like a younger brother. I found no faults in him during all the years of our associations. He was never a demagogue, never a poser, sincere, earnest, honest in his public office as well as in his private life.

He thought so much that he talked but little on the floor of the House, for the most thinking men are apt to do the least talking. I am told that all his speech making in the eight years of his service was limited to one effort, which filled hardly a dozen lines in the Record. What he asked for in that brief speech was voted unanimously, such was the confidence his fellow

Members reposed in him.

Before our mutual friend Mr. Stubbs left Washington he added another former St. Joseph man to the list of my friends, Levis C. Hamilton, who had made so much money that his doctors had to prescribe retirement from active business for him. In St. Joseph he had been one of the coterie of friends who idolized Mr. FAUST. Mr. Hamilton had a car and a chauffeur, and so we three made many journeys together on holidays and Sundays to Annapolis, to Baltimore, to Gettysburg, to Harpers Ferry. Rare days of friendship and profitable short journeys into the patriotic history of our country. It was on these trips that I learned to know the real Mr. FAUST. We talked of many things that we had in common, for each of us was born in the mid-west country.

In the memories of such intimate friendly contacts Charles L. FAUST is enshrined for me; I can not and must not mar them by the usual eulogies of politics. What he did in public life was all safe and sound and right and true, but what he was as a

man and a friend was something finer still.

Mr. CROWTHER. Mr. Speaker, Charles L. Faust was one of my intimate friends on the Ways and Means Committee, where we had served together for nearly six years. In our daily contact I found him to be a gentleman of the old school, courtly and gracious and possessed of a desire to serve his country and his constituency to the limit. He was a splendid lawyer and had the added advantage of a judicial temperament. His decisions on legislative matters were made after careful consideration of the facts and were the result of sound conclusions. A man with such a mind was of inestimable value in his service on this great committee.

CHARLEY FAUST had a genius for making friends and retaining their admiration and devotion. I deplore his passing, and yet I rejoice that I knew him and had the honor to serve with

him.

I am reminded of the paragraph by Essary regarding the frequent losses of our membership:

The hand of change touches heavily the House and Senate each election year, reminding all observers that if life itself is uncertain, the tenure of elective office is more uncertain. Old and familiar faces which may have seemed as permanent as the Ionic columns of the Capitol vanish. Death and defeat take heavy toll, and the transitory nature of greatness is manifest.

### EDWARD JOHN KING

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I am gratified to have the opportunity to take advantage of the action of the House in granting unanimous consent for the extension of remarks on this occasion concerning Edward J. King. Edward John King was elected to this House in 1914 and took his seat March 4, 1915, in the Sixty-fourth Congress,

He has since been elected in seven other Congresses, namely, the Sixty-fourth to the Seventy-first, and had he lived until March 4, 1929, he would have seen 14 years' service in this body. Only the following Members now living are now Members from Illinois in this body, namely: Rainey, of the twentieth district; Sabath, of the fifth district; Britten, of the ninth district (admitted March 4, 1913); and Denison, of the twenty-fifth district; and Williams, of the twenty-fourth district, both Denison and Williams having been admitted March 4, 1915, the same date as King, and therefore both his seniors only by the accident of having their names precede him alphabetically. King was thus the senior of all but 4 of the 27 Illinois Congressmen.

Prior to Mr. King's entry into this House he had served four terms in the lower house of the Illinois General Assembly, in other words, the house of representatives, having been elected to the forty-fifth general assembly in November, 1906, and reelected to the forty-sixth in 1908 and reelected to the forty-seventh in 1910 and reelected to the forty-eighth in 1912. Prior to his service in the State legislature he served for two years—1893-94—as city attorney of Galesburg, having always been a lawyer in full practice since his graduation from law school.

His earlier education was first in the public schools; second, in the high school in the city of Galesburg; and, third, in Knox College, the famous institution to which he was always intensely loyal, the old college having a history of exalted and conspicuous and inspiring patriotism, its president for many years having been Hon. Newton Bateman, who was elected State superintendent of public instruction on November 6, 1860, the same day on which Abraham Lincoln was elected President.

Knox County, of which Galesburg is the county seat, contains not only Knox College and a number of other fine educational institutions but is also full of newspapers and shops and mills, making it one of the most important centers in Illinois.

The young Edward King, elected city attorney at the age of 26, found himself entering public life in a community of learning and labor, tolerant and in sympathy with the oppressed of all the world, and to-day'a great throng of organized labor and a host of railroad men and a strong battalion of colored citizens, as well as men acquainted with school and college and the classics, all pay homage to him and his memory.

Naturally, he was a fighter. His father and nearly all his male relatives were soldiers under Lincoln, and so was his grandfather's grandfather under Washington. King was absolutely independent. I know this because I was well acquainted with the four Illinois General Assemblies of which he was a member. The first of them was a general assembly presided over by Edward J. Shurtleff, who was elected by a combination of the Deneen men with the Yates men in that general assembly, King's running mate for the legislature in the ensuing general assembly, the forty-sixth, being Hon. Burnett M. Chipperfield, afterwards Congressman at large from Illinois; and he had another interesting experience when the people elected a Democratic general assembly in 1912, and the house of representatives had 72 Democratic members while the Republicans had only 52. In the fighting and floor work of that session, which lasted from January 8 to June 30, King was in his element.

His service here is known to you all; and, in fact, is an open book.

Nobody ever controlled EDWARD JOHN KING.

Nobody ever did the thinking for him. He had only one rule. Whenever anything came up he just asked himself the question, "Is it right?" and if he thought the answer was right, he acted accordingly day and night with all his might.

I have not the slightest doubt whatever but that his district would have continued to send him here the rest of his life had he lived. I must remain silent as to the number of times when he was right or wrong, the number of times when he was absent or present, the number of times when he differed with his committee—the great House Committee on Banks and Banking—of which he was vice chairman when he died. These matters are nearly all of record. I have not the absolute knowledge as to these things.

But I know that he was industrious and conservative and that the work of his office was done, and well done. He rarely let the sun go down on an unanswered letter, and the number of pension bills and public-building bills and bills for relief of various

citizens is impressive.

In addition, he was much on the floor and in debate; for example, in the Seventieth Congress he spoke and was attentively listened to on the subject of arms embargo, the legislative appropriation bill, the judges' salaries in the Philippine Islands, the subject of rubber, the loan to Rumania, the Senate tariff resolution, the report of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and many other things, such as granting consent of Congress for extension of time for construction of bridge across the Mississippi.

It is impossible to do what I would like to have done, namely, to quote a paragraph of each of the important speeches delivered during the 14 years.

I content myself with referring to one only:

In the Congressional Record of April 5, 1922, under the heading of "Statue of Abraham Lincoln," will be found nine pages containing the remarks of Mr. King and the petitions and resolutions offered in evidence by him, and in the report by the Committee on the Library in support of a resolution to recrect the statue of Abraham Lincoln upon its original site, Mr. King, in addition to many other things, discussed the influence of popular marbles in general and the Abraham Lincoln statue in particular. Its erection in front of the courthouse in Judiciary Park, its removal therefrom, and the reasons why it should be recrected. The argument showed deep study and intensive application and dealt convincingly with such questions as proportions and drapery and attitude and the question what is artistic and what is not.

The splendid success of Mr. King's effort is well known, and his devotion and dedication to the subject excited the admiration of the whole membership of the House, and the approval of President Harding, and the Library Committee, headed by Senator Fess and by Governor Luce and of the most powerful press.

I refer to this one speech because time prevents the discussion of others, and it would be impossible to quote from them all.

In saying farewell to our fallen comrade, and in extending our sympathy to the surviving wife and son, I take the liberty to add as a part of my remarks certain paragraphs from the argument of Mr. King on the Lincoln Statue, as follows:

John Ruskin says:

"The sculptor does not work for the anatomist but for the common observer of life and nature."

The art of the ancients reached down into the common understanding of the people and its plea to them concerned the highest and noblest aims of their country. Xerxes, the Persian conqueror, perceiving this silent appeal and influence, dismantled the statuary and pulled down the temples in Greece, and the first measure Darius took to suppress insurrection among his victims was to raze their temples and statuary.

On the other hand, recognizing the influence of the marble, Augustus had statues erected in honor of the heroes of the Empire who deserved the recognition of their country. His theory, and it seems a wise one, was that such a course was not only an acknowledgment of a debt owing by the nation but stimulated others to like heroic acts for the Empire. To elevate the warrior, the founder, or savior of a nation in the imagination of the people above the ordinary grade of people is a custom which has been handed down from generation to generation from the earliest periods of human history. By word of mouth, by pencil, by brush, by the chisel, has this work of immortalization gone on.

And so this exquisite white figure more than 53 years ago stepped into its position on its pedestal in front of the temple of justice and in the plaza of the city, fresh hewed, in the feelings and thoughts of the time, to become the object of admiration of the masses. Criticized? Yes; and so was the disk thrower by Myron, now and for centuries regarded as perfection in marble, and by contemporaries was declared a distortion and an overelaboration. Its artist creator in penury? Yes; but Phideas himself, known as the "sculptor of the gods," died in prison, an exile from Athens.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune to know ED KING very well. We served for years together on the Banking and Currency Committee of the House and upon several occasions situations arose with reference to legislation which came within the jurisdiction of our committee that gave me a chance to test his strength of character. From my association with him and from my observation of his conduct when his character was submitted upon more than one occasion to very severe test, I came to admire him and respect him very much.

He was one of the most sincere men that I ever knew. He was clean, honorable, upright, truthful, industrious, and patriotic. His courage under trying circumstances was remarkable. In fact, I regarded him as one of the most courageous men of the House. He had his ideas and his convictions, and he had the courage not only to express them but to defend them. He was a big-hearted man who loved humanity, got genuine joy out of service to the people who honored him. Instinctively, he sprang to the defense of the common man when his rights were threatened, and just as instinctively he stood against special privilege. He believed in the right of men to govern themselves because he had faith in the ability of men and women to handle their own affairs and work out their own destinies.

He was an ardent Republican, but among his closest friends were the Democrats of the committee and in the House. He was a great Republican, but a greater American. While he stood with his party organization and was true to the principles of his party, he was not bound by either if, in his judgment, they involved any surrender of his Americanism or his duty to his constituents

The State of Illinois is a great State and has contributed to this Nation many men who have rendered signal service, but of none may it be more justly proud than of Ep King, of the record he made as a public official, and prouder still of the clean life he led as a private citizen. I think we may fairly apply to him the lines once spoken by the poet of a great Englishman:

Statesman, yet friend to truth; of soul sincere, In action faithful, and in honor clear: Who broke no promise, served no private end, Who gained no title, and who lost no friend.

Mr. HALL of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Grim Reaper has again invaded the Halls of Congress, and Representative Edward J. King, of Galesburg, Ill., has passed to the Great Beyond.

Mr. King was another example of the poor boy who worked his way through school and by sheer force of character and determination made a success in life.

I knew him first when he was a member of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois.

In his service there he showed marked ability to work, to study, and to achieve.

His record in that legislative body brought him favorably to the attention of the people of his congressional district, and he was selected as the Republican standard bearer for Representative in Congress. He was elected by a large majority, and his service here, as in the State legislature, showed such a marked devotion to duty that he was reelected seven times.

His business and professional life were no less successful than

his political life.

He was a lawyer of outstanding ability and a banker of ster-

In the House he served on the important Committee on Banking and Currency, and at the time of his death he was ranking Republican member of that committee.

Mr. King was a man of modest and kindly disposition, and his conduct among his colleagues was such as to make friends and keep them. His work here, as elsewhere, was not of the showy sort. He was not given to self-aggrandizement.

He seemed to be imbued with the idea that he was the hired man of his constituents; that he was sent here to do their work for them, and he proceeded to do it as carefully, as conscientiously, and as industriously as though it were his own, which, indeed, it was.

In the passing of Mr. King I feel that I have lost a good friend; that his district has lost a good servant; and that our country has lost a wise and energetic Member of its Congress, the greatest legislative body in the world.

Mr. BUCKBEE. Mr. Speaker, it is with infinite sadness that I am called upon to help as best I can to commemorate the memory of my dear friend and colleague Edward J. King, of Illinois. I know that it is difficult to express one's innermost feelings on such an occasion as this, and so must be content only in saying that, however I am able to express myself, sorrow is deep in my heart.

Mr. King was known and loved by his people and by all his friends, both here and back in Illinois, and a man to do this is a man of sterling qualities. When one has such a man for friend he learns the true value of real friendship—and it is just such friendship that makes life worth while.

His even tenor, his steadfast purpose, his sound judgment was known and admired by all. His courage, too, was known; it was dauntless, and it was steady and strong as the mighty oak. He faced all obstacles with steady eye, and unflinchingly he went over the stones upon his path with ease. Such was the character of the man, the man as he was known.

Statesman, yet friend to truth; of soul sincere, In action faithful, and in honor clear; Who broke no promise, served no private end, Who gained no title, and who lost no friend; Ennobled by himself, by all approved; Praised, wept, and honored by those he loved.

How wonderfully eloquent those words are—and how fitting for this man, my friend!

Mr. WILLIAM E. HULL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me I extend resolutions adopted February 18, 4929, by the Illinois delegation on the death of Hon. Edward J. King.

On the 17th of February, 1929, Hon. Edward J. King, our beloved colleague, died at his home, Washington, D. C., in his sixty-first year.

Had he lived until the 4th of March he would have served in the Congress of the United States 14 full years. His record as a city attorney of the city of Galesburg, three terms in the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, and the remainder of his life in the Congress of the United States is a most enviable one as a legislator, a gentleman, and a devoted citizen. In his death we, the colleagues of his State, lost a friend and a conscientious comrade. His ability, his integrity, and his friendship appealed to the members of his delegation. The Congress of the United States has lost a valuable Member of the House of Representatives; always at his post whether in health or indisposed. We who knew him best saw him many times on the floor of the House conscientiously attending to his duties when we knew he should have been under a physician's care. And now our friend EDWARD J. KING has passed to the Great Beyond and those of us of the Illinois delegation in Congress who are left behind desire to extend to his wife, family, and friends our profound sympathy and tender solicitude in their bereavement

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Speaker, Illinois has suffered severe losses in the House of Representatives of the Seventieth Congress. First came the shock of the passing of the dean of the delegation, the Hon. Martin B. Madden, of the first district. Then followed the death of the Hon. Henry R. Rathbone, Representative at large, and shortly before adjournment came the sad news of the demise of one of our senior Members, the Hon. Edward J. King, of the fifteenth district. Thus 3 out of 27 Members have gone to their rewards during a single term of two years; in fact, within the space of a single year.

Congressman King was beloved by all his colleagues. genial, cheerful disposition, even in the midst of severe illness, endeared him to everyone. His high and noble character, his devotion to duty and responsibility, and his deep sympathy and kindiness in his relations with his friends were marked characteristics of a personality that grew constantly in the esteem of his associates as they learned to-know and appreciate his true worth. His heart went out to the great mass of the people; those who toil the hardest and get the smallest returns. He loved the memory of the great commoner of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln, the martyred President, who left such deep recollections among the people of Galesburg, the home city of our late colleague, in one of his famous debates in that locality with Stephen A. Douglas, Mr. King therefore fought strenuously for the restoration of one of the historic statues of President Lincoln in the National Capital. His earnestness and seriousness in this, as in other efforts of his legislative career, so impressed the House that a seemingly hopeless task was fully achieved. Independence of thought and action marked the congressional labors of our late colleague, while he responded faithfully to the real obligations of party solidarity. Highly important and successful service in the Illinois Legislature gave him valuable training for his work in Washington, and he employed his opportunities here to the best of his ability and for the highest welfare of his constituency, his State, and the Nation. In brief, he was "a good and faithful servant," who well merited the rewards of success and appreciation which came to him in ample

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, ladies, and gentlemen of the House, the other day our colleague and good friend Edward J. King, of Illinois, the ranking Republican member of the Banking and Currency Committee, slipped away to the other side. His ready smile and genial, kindly nature, which made friends for him wherever he encountered his fellow men, will be missed by us who knew him well. Although for the last few years Mr. King was fighting the odds, he was not willing to delegate his work, and made a brave effort to be on hand to do his part for his constituency and the country at large. The fact that he was a member of the House of Representatives of the Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, and Forty-eighth General Assemblies of Illinois, and was elected to the Sixty-fourth Congress and reelected to each succeeding Congress, including the Seventy-first, bears evidence of his faithfulness to duty and of his untiring efforts in behalf of his constituents. We shall miss him.

### AFTER THE RECESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to House Resolution 295, the Chair declares the House adjourned until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

# ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 24 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 21, 1929, at 12 o'clock noon.

### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Mr. TILSON submitted the following tentative list of committee hearings scheduled for Thursday, February 21, 1929, as reported to the floor leader by clerks of the several committees:

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

(10 a. m. and 2 p. m.)

Tariff hearings as follows: Free list, February 21, 22, Administrative and miscellaneous, February 25.

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. HOCH: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 17060. A bill to readjust the commissioned personnel of the Coast Guard, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 2622). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. DENISON: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 17185. A bill to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Ohio River at or near Cairo, Ill.; without amendment (Rept. No. 2623). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. PARKER: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 5350. An act to amend the air commerce act of 1926 with reference to the examination and rating of schools giving instruction in flying; with amendment (Rept. No. 2624). Referred to the House Calendar.

### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, public bills and resolutions

were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. McLEOD: A bill (H. R. 17204) to amend title 5 of the United States Code by adding thereto, immediately after chapter 15, a new chapter, creating the department of aeronautics; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 17205) to amend sections 1 and 2, chapter 1, title 5, of the United States Code, by adding at the end thereof the words "Eleventh. The department of aeronautics"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ALLEN: A bill (H. R. 17206) that the Rock Island Arsenal be given opportunity to bid on parts in the construction of the eight cruisers; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 17207) to

authorize the expenditure of \$60,000 for the construction of a dormitory and equipment at the Fort Sill Indian School, located at the Fort Sill School Reservation, in Comanche County, Okla.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HOWARD of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 17208) to extend the times of commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Niobrara, Nebr.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LETTS: A bill (H. R. 17209) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Tenth Street, in Bettendorf, State of Iowa; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

Memorial of the State Legislature, concerning a system of inland waterways, including the Wabash River, and urging Congress to enact appropriate legislation to secure the establishment of such a system; to the Committee on Rivers and

Memorial from the State of Montana, memoralizing Congress for the passage of necessary legislation providing for an increase of the tariff on manganese and related ores; to the Committee on Ways and Means,

By Mr. MAAS: Memorial from the House of Representatives and Senate of the State of Minnesota, memorializing Congress to amend section 5219, Revised Statutes of the United States, so as to permit the taxation of shares of national banks upon a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a concurrent resolution by the Senate and House of the State of Minnesota, memorializing the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States that it is the sense of the members of the Minnesota Legislature that we favor the retention of the principle of the flexible tariff law (H. F. No. 13, Res. 8); to the Committee on Ways and Means,

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. McSWEENEY: A bill (H. R. 17210) for the relief of

Emma Pepper; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WELLER: A bill (H. R. 17211) granting a pension to Hannah Green; to the Committee on Pensions.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid

on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows: 12332. By Mr. MAGRADY: Petition of the Sunday school of the Forksville Methodist Episcopal Church, Forksville, Pa., urging the enactment of legislation to protect the people of the Nation's Capital in their enjoyment of Sunday as a day of rest in seven, as provided in the Lankford bill (H. R. 78) or similar measures; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

12333. Also, petition of 42 citizens of Danville, Pa., urging the enactment of legislation to protect the people of the Nation's Capital in their enjoyment of Sunday as a day of rest in seven, as provided in the Lankford bill (H. R. 78) or similar measures;

to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

12334. By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of the Charles Hess Co., New York City, opposing an increase in the tariff on Cuban sugar; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

12335. Also, petition of Edgar F. Luckenback, of New York City, opposing certain conditions contained in Senate bill 1781; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.
12336. By Mr. TEMPLE: Resolution protesting against the

proposal to place a duty on Canadian timber, lumber, lath, and shingles by the Pittsburgh Wholesale Lumber Dealers Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., and Retail Lumber Dealers Association of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.; to the Committee on

Ways and Means.

12337. By Mr. WHITE of Colorado: Petition of the Legislature of the State of Colorado, urging that Congress take appropriate action to relieve, as far as possible, territory devastated as a direct result of an embargo imposed, by providing an outlet from the San Luis Lakes to the Rio Grande, etc.; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation

## SENATE

# Thursday, February 21, 1929

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Eternal God, who countest the nations as the dust of the balance and takest up the isles as a very little thing, who hast put down the mighty from their seat and exalted them of low degree, bless, we beseech Thee, our land with all manner of good, and write the law of justice on the hearts of its rulers and people. Heal the divisions in the household of Thy sons and daughters, and make all their mutual strivings to cease.

Stay the injustice that binds heavy burdens upon the weak, and relieve those who suffer under the wrongs and cruelties of their fellow men. Let Thy fatherly pity and protection rest upon the poor, the sick, and the sorrowful; and may the whole world be filled with the light of Thy truth and the glory of Thy kingdom. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. 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.

### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Mr. VANDENBERG presented the following resolution adopted by the State Senate of Michigan, which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

## Senate Resolution 30

Whereas the Department of Michigan, the American Legion, is to-day informed from Washington that Congress is making no provision at this session for adding the 300 beds needed by the United States Veterans' Hospital No. 100, at Camp Custer, Battle Creek, Mich., while giving 500 more beds to Chicago; and

Whereas United States Veterans' Hospital, No. 100, is the only Govrnment hospital for World War veterans in Michigan planned for only 450 beds, this hospital has to-day over 670 patients, while over 100 more eligible veterans are on the waiting list, helping to crowd Michigan's private and State institutions, and new cases are developing every month: Therefore be it