

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 8042) granting a pension to Willis Vidito; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 8043) for the relief of Mrs. W. P. Miller; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 8044) granting a pension to Samuel L. Lilly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8045) for the relief of Charles T. Jackson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 8046) granting an increase of pension to William O. Bryan; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LONGWORTH: A bill (H. R. 8047) to correct the military record of John Coss; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McANDREWS: A bill (H. R. 8048) granting an increase of pension to Mathew A. Hogan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McKENZIE: A bill (H. R. 8049) granting an increase of pension to James T. Best; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8050) granting a pension to William Thomson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McPHERSON: A bill (H. R. 8051) granting a pension to William Samuel Steward; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 8052) granting an increase of pension to John D. Lewis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 8053) granting a pension to Buster Davis; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8054) granting an increase of pension to Ellie J. Hays; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ROMJUE: A bill (H. R. 8055) granting an increase of pension to Catherine Varner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8056) to correct the military record of Jacob F. Webb; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VAILE: A bill (H. R. 8057) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Coy Bell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WILSON of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 8058) granting an increase of pension to James D. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8059) granting a pension to Ellen Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition of St. Louis Post No. 4, American Legion, favoring the vocational education system; to the Committee on Education.

Also, petition of citizens assembled in the National League baseball grounds of Chicago, Ill., who believe in human liberty and the principle of self-determination, urging the Congress of the United States to recognize the Irish Republic as now established; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. COLE: Petition of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, urging the passage of the pending measure providing for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service of the United States; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. ESCH: Resolutions passed at a mass meeting held in the National League baseball grounds at Chicago, Ill., on Sunday afternoon, July 13, 1919, urging the Congress of the United States to recognize the Irish Republic as now established and to establish trade relations with Ireland for the benefit of American commerce and labor; also unalterably opposing the proposed league of nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolution adopted by members of the Chicago Live Stock Exchange, in meeting assembled July 23, 1919, opposing the Kenyon bill (S. 2202) and all similar bills; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GOULD: Communication from the governor of the State of New York, transmitting copy of letter written by the New York State superintendent of public works, opposing House bill 4378; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HERSEY: Petition of Frank P. Kenney and 28 others, of Lincoln, Me., urging the adoption of the telepost system; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. McDUFFIE: Petition of Mr. W. W. McPherson and others, of Beatrice, Ala., protesting against the proposed attempt to exploit the farming interests of America in order to further enrich a few potash producers who have already profi-

teered to such an extent that they require no further coddling or nursing from our Government; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MERRITT: Petition of the Polish Republican Club of Norwalk, Conn., in opposition to the passage of Senate bill 2099; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Petition of the National Association of Hosiery and Underwear Manufacturers, protesting against the licensing system for dyestuffs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, opposing Senate bill 810, to establish an interstate marketing system; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of the Chicago Live Stock Exchange, of Chicago, Ill., opposing the Senate bill 2202; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of citizens assembled in the National League baseball grounds of Chicago, Ill., urging the Congress of the United States to recognize the Irish Republic as now established; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of the Peter Cailler Kohler Swiss Chocolates Co. (Inc.), of New York City, against the repeal of the so-called daylight-saving law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of R. H. Alcorn, of Washington, D. C., favoring the Lehlbach bill, H. R. 3149; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. ROWAN: Petition of the Peter Cailler Kohler Swiss Chocolates Co. (Inc.), of New York City, against the repeal of the so-called daylight-saving law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Lamont, Corliss & Co., of New York City, opposing the repeal of the daylight-saving law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of the United National Association of Post Office Clerks, office of the president, Washington, D. C., urging the extension and amplification of the Madden resolution (H. J. Res. 151); to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition from John T. Kraham, member of the committee on legislation of the United States Customs Inspectors, Branch K, Federal Employees' Union No. 4, National Federation of Federal Employees, port of New York, urging the support of House bills 6577 and 6659; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution adopted by the Chicago Live Stock Exchange, Chicago, Ill., protesting against the enactment into law of Senate bill 2202, as well as the Lever and Anderson bills; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. VARE: Petition of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, opposing Senate bill 810, which would provide for an interstate marketing system; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WINSLOW: Resolution by the Chicago Live Stock Exchange, opposing Senate bill 2202, purporting to stimulate the production, sale, and distribution of live stock and live-stock products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, July 31, 1919.

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

Almighty God, we recognize Thy sovereign right to rule, and we bring to Thee the thought of our hearts to-day. We place ourselves before Thee that we may receive Thy commandments, and that we may be enabled to transcribe Thy laws into the laws of this land and set them forth as the charter of the rights and liberties and peace and glory of this people. We pray Thee to guide us by Thy Spirit to this end. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday last, when, on request of Mr. CURTIS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolution, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 5418. An act increasing the pay of printers and pressmen employed in the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes;

H. R. 6750. An act to deport certain undesirable aliens and to deny readmission to those deported;

H. R. 7930. An act to provide for the treatment in hospital of diseased alien seamen; and

H. J. Res. 163. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of Labor to lease the Charleston immigration station and dock connected therewith.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I have received a letter in the nature of a petition from Hon. J. W. Parkley, of Ipswich, S. Dak., praying for the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany, including the covenant of a league of nations. I move that the communication be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. NUGENT. I present resolutions adopted by U. S. Grant Post, No. 32, Grand Army of the Republic, of Sandpoint, Bonner County, Idaho, favoring the enactment of legislation increasing the pensions of old soldiers who have reached the age of 70 years to an amount equal to \$50 per month. I move that the resolutions be referred to the Committee on Pensions.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. KEYES presented petitions of sundry citizens of Andover, Bradford, East Kingston, Unity, and Milton, all in the State of New Hampshire, praying for the ratification of the proposed league of nations treaty, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. PHELAN presented petitions of Local Union No. 16, International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States of America, of San Francisco; of the Budlong Avenue School Parent Teachers' Association, of Los Angeles; of Santa Cruz Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Santa Cruz; of Local Lodge No. 307, Free and Accepted Masons, of Santa Monica; of the Building Trades Council of Kings County; of Painters' Union No. 594, of Hanford; of the Review of Maccabees, of Hanford; of Local Union No. 1043, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, of Hanford; of Eola Rebekah Lodge No. 256, of Igo; of Local Union No. 115, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, of San Francisco; of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Madera County; of Local Union No. 12, International Union of Timberworkers, of Eureka; of Welcome Lodge No. 209, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, of Igo; of Union Lodge No. 169, Knights of Pythias, of Sonora; of Lucerne Chapter No. 127, Order of the Eastern Star, of Hanford; of Rising Light Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, of Huntington; and of McPherson Woman's Relief Corps No. 97, of Hanford, all in the State of California, praying for the ratification of the proposed league of nations treaty, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a memorial of Roger Casement Branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, of Los Angeles, Calif., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed league of nations treaty, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. HALE presented a memorial of Pleasant Valley Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Rockland, Me., remonstrating against the proposed plan of the Secretary of the Interior to reclaim desert and swamp lands, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. NELSON presented a petition of Local Union No. 65, National Federation of Postal Employees, of St. Paul, Minn., praying for the granting of a bonus to postal employees pending action by the Joint Committee on Reclassification, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. PAGE presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Poulney, Vt., remonstrating against the ratification of the league of nations treaty, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. ELKINS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Ohio and Marshall Counties, in the State of West Virginia, praying for the repeal of the tax on ice cream, soda, soft drinks, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts presented memorials of employees of the Osgood Bradley Car Co., of Worcester; of the Worcester Stamped Metal Co.; of the Yale Knitting Co., of Malden; of the Standard Woven Fabric Co., of Walpole; of English & O'Brien (Inc.); of the Babcock & Wilcox Co.; of Edgar T. Ward Sons Co.; of the New England Drawn Steel Co., of Mansfield; of the Gamewell Fire Alarm Co.; of the Barlow Co., of Holyoke; of the J. & B. Manufacturing Co., of Pittsfield; of the Judd Paper Co., of Holyoke; of the Springfield Facing Co.; of the Wiley-Bickford-Sweet Co., of Worcester; of the Massachusetts Chocolate Co.; of the West Newton Savings Bank; of the Fred T. Field Co., of Brockton; of the United Manufacturing Co., of Springfield; of the William N. Jordan Co., of Gloucester; of the Wellman Co., of Medford; of

the M. S. Wright Co.; of the Fiberloid Corporation, of Indian Orchard; of the American Brake Shoe & Foundry Co., of Norwood; of the Davidson Rubber Co., of Somerville; of the Van Norman Machine Co., of Springfield; of the Coburn Trolley Track Manufacturing Co.; of the Hudson Belting Co., of Worcester; of the Shirreffs Worsted Co., of Fitchburg; and of the Wetherell & Dobbins Co., of Haverhill, all in the State of Massachusetts, remonstrating against the repeal of the so-called daylight-saving law, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. COLT presented a memorial of Local Grange No. 51, Patrons of Husbandry, of Anthony, R. I., and a memorial of sundry citizens of Newport, R. I., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed league of nations treaty, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS.

Mr. TRAMMELL, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 1546) for the relief of Katie Norvall, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 126) thereon.

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

A bill (S. 176) for the relief of John M. Francis (Rept. No. 127); and

A bill (S. 1456) for the relief of Rinald Bros., of Philadelphia, Pa. (Rept. No. 128).

FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

Mr. PHELAN. On June 2 I introduced the bill (S. 1313) for the relief of Francis Nicholson, and it was inadvertently referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. I ask that the Committee on Military Affairs be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims. It is the claim of a citizen and not a soldier.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I believe that change of reference should be made.

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

OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE.

Mr. SMOOT. From the Committee on Printing I report back favorably with an amendment Senate resolution 135 and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The Senate by unanimous consent proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendment was to add at the end of the resolution the following:

Provided, That the contract heretofore made with said Theodore F. Shuey and the late Edward V. Murphy be considered as terminated by the death of the latter on July 16, 1919, and that said Theodore F. Shuey and said James W. Murphy be paid for service rendered in reporting the debates and proceedings of the Senate at the rate allowable by law for such service from July 17, 1919, inclusive to the date upon which this resolution is agreed to by the Senate.

So as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That Theodore F. Shuey and James W. Murphy are hereby appointed official reporters for reporting the proceedings and debates of the Senate until further order of the Senate, subject to all the duties and obligations of the contract made with D. F. Murphy, deceased, late reporter of the Senate, and to the supervision and control of the Committee on Printing on behalf of the Senate in all respects therein provided, and to receive payment for such service according to law: *Provided*, That the contract heretofore made with said Theodore F. Shuey and the late Edward V. Murphy be considered as terminated by the death of the latter on July 16, 1919, and that said Theodore F. Shuey and said James W. Murphy be paid for service rendered in reporting the debates and proceedings of the Senate at the rate allowable by law for such service from July 17, 1919, inclusive to the date upon which this resolution is agreed to by the Senate.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

BRIDGE BILLS.

Mr. CALDER. I am directed by the Committee on Commerce to report back favorably sundry House bills authorizing the construction of bridges over navigable streams, and I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bills.

From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 6805) to authorize the county of Dougherty, State of Georgia, to construct a bridge across the Flint River, connecting Broad Street, in the city of Albany, said State and county, with the Isabella Road, said county and State, and I submit a report (No. 124) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the county of Dougherty, State of Georgia, be, and it is hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Flint River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, to connect Broad Street, in the

city of Albany, said county and State, with the Isabella Road, said county and State, and at or near the site of the present bridge, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 6438) authorizing the counties of Alken, S. C., and Richmond, Ga., to construct a bridge across the Savannah River at or near Augusta, Ga., and I submit a report (No. 122) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the counties of Alken, S. C., and Richmond, Ga., be, and are hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Savannah River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation at or near Augusta, Ga., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee on Commerce, I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 5648) for the construction of a bridge across the Rainy River between Spooner, Minn., and Rainy River, Province of Ontario, Canada, and I submit a report (No. 120) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby given for the construction, maintenance, and operation by the State of Minnesota and the Dominion of Canada, jointly, of a bridge to be erected across the Rainy River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, between Spooner, Minn., and Rainy River, Province of Ontario, Canada, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906: *Provided*, That the construction of said bridge shall not be commenced until the consent of the proper authorities of the Dominion of Canada for the erection of the structure shall have been obtained.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 5228) granting the consent of the Congress to the city of Minneapolis, a municipal corporation, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River, and I submit a report (No. 119) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of the Congress is hereby granted to the city of Minneapolis, a municipal corporation of the State of Minnesota, and its successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mississippi River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near the intersection of Franklin Avenue, in said city of Minneapolis, with the said Mississippi River, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 6342) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Pend Oreille River at the town of Usk, in the State of Washington, and I submit a report (No. 121) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Pend Oreille County, State of Washington, its successors and assigns, be, and it is hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Pend Oreille River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation at the town of Usk, in said county and State, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 6392) to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the White

River, at or near Forsyth, Mo., and I submit a report (No. 123) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge authorized by the act of Congress approved April 8, 1918, to be built by the Forsyth special road district of Taney County, Mo., across the White River at or near Forsyth, Mo., are hereby extended one year and three years, respectively, from the date of approval hereof.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AMENDMENT OF WAR RISK INSURANCE ACT.

Mr. PENROSE. From the Committee on Finance I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 6450) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department, approved September 2, 1914,' as amended," and I submit a report (No. 129) thereon. I call the attention of the Senator from Iowa to the bill.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. It will require but a moment of time, I am sure.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 12 of an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department,' approved September 2, 1914, as amended," be, and is hereby, amended as follows:

At the end of subdivision H, section 12, insert: "Except in case of loss of both hands and both eyes, or in case of loss of both feet and both eyes, or in case of loss of both hands and both feet, in which cases there shall be an allowance of \$100 per month for a nurse or attendant, the same in addition to the \$100 per month allowed in this act for the loss of both feet, or both hands, or both eyes."

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I do not know that any explanation of the bill is necessary. It is to fit one case and only one case in the Army of a boy who has lost both eyes and both hands. As the law now stands, he would receive, I think, \$150 or \$157 per month. This bill proposes to add \$100 to that amount. It is certainly a most meritorious matter.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RED RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. EDGE. From the Committee on Commerce, I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 6434) authorizing the construction of a bridge and approaches thereto across Red River about 2 miles above its confluence with the Washita River, near Preston, Grayson County, Tex., and I submit a report (No. 125) thereon. I ask for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Preston Bridge Co., a corporation, be, and it is hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across Red River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation on the south bank of said river immediately north of Preston, in Grayson County, Tex., to a point immediately north of said beginning and located in Marshall County, Okla., and such point being about 2 miles west of the confluence of Red River with the Washita River near Preston, Tex., in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

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

By Mr. CUMMINS:

A bill (S. 2684) granting a pension to John J. Toulouse (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NUGENT:

A bill (S. 2685) for the relief of Anna J. Porter; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 2686) to establish standard weights and measures in the District of Columbia, to define the duties of the Superintendent of Weights, Measures, and Markets of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. KING:

A bill (S. 2687) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Cook; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 2688) for the relief of James L. Val; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 2689) granting a pension to John J. Callanan (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 2690) authorizing the appointment of a minister to Finland; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 2691) to provide for universal military, naval, and vocational training, and for mobilization of the manhood of the Nation in a national emergency; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OVERMAN:

A bill (S. 2692) to amend section 24 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NEW:

A bill (S. 2693) to create a Department of Aeronautics, defining the powers and duties of the director thereof, providing for the organization, disposition, and administration of a United States air force, creating the United States Air Reserve Force, and providing for the development of civil and commercial aviation; and

A bill (S. 2694) for the relief of Paul Hubner (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WALSH of Montana:

A bill (S. 2695) granting a pension to Lucinda Harrington (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ELKINS:

A bill (S. 2696) granting an increase of pension to Harriet B. Hart; and

A bill (S. 2697) granting an increase of pension to James D. Compton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NEWBERRY:

A bill (S. 2698) for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Flint, Mich.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND:

A bill (S. 2699) granting an increase of pension to Vernon Beall; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 2700) granting the consent of Congress to the D. E. Hewit Lumber Co. to construct and maintain a bridge across Tug River, connecting Martin County, Ky., and Mingo County, W. Va.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. KENYON:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 80) to authorize the President to convene the first meeting of the International Labor Conference in Washington and to appoint delegates thereto; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I desire to state that the joint resolution has been introduced at the request of the Secretary of Labor.

ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION FOR SOLDIERS SERVING ABROAD.

Mr. TRAMMELL. I submit an amendment, in the nature of a substitute for the bill (S. 56), providing for additional compensation to persons serving in the military or naval forces of the United States during the war with the German Empire. I move that the amendment be printed and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Mr. PENROSE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 144), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Sixty-sixth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding \$1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate.

ROBERT A. MINOR.

Mr. KING. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution (S. Res. 145) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War report to the Senate whether or not Robert A. Minor, an American citizen, accredited as a war correspondent in the military zone in France, was arrested by military authorities of the American Expeditionary Forces for circulating seditious publications and propaganda among the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces, or for any other cause, and that if said Minor were arrested as aforesaid to report to the Senate the particular nature of the charges upon which he was arrested, and whether or not said Minor has been discharged from custody, and the reason therefor, if such action were taken.

BREWING, GERMAN, AND BOLSHIEVİK PROPAGANDA.

Mr. NELSON submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 6), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That there be printed 4,000 additional copies of Senate Document No. 62, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session, entitled "Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda," for the use of the Senate.

REPEAL OF DAYLIGHT-SAVING LAW.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I wish to give notice that immediately after the address of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANDELL], scheduled to take place this morning, I shall ask for the consideration of the bill repealing one section of the daylight-saving law. I give the notice so that Senators may be advised of my desire in this respect.

TREATY WITH GERMANY—LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I have a very brief letter, written by the officers of the Farmers' National Council. It is one, I think, of very great importance. I wish to say that it meets with my hearty approval, and I ask that it may be read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

FARMERS' NATIONAL COUNCIL,

Washington, D. C., July 30, 1919.

To Members of the United States Senate:

The discussion of the covenant of the league of nations and the peace treaty with Germany has deeply stirred the members of the farm organizations we have the honor to represent, and it is their judgment that the importance of the questions involved requires that the American people be given an opportunity to register their will on these documents, which involve their lives and their interests for years to come.

We therefore urge that Congress immediately enact the necessary legislation for an advisory referendum of every voter in the United States on the ratification by our country of both the covenant of the league of nations and the peace treaty with Germany. Such a referendum can not, without a constitutional amendment, be made binding upon your honorable body, but such an expression of public opinion will unquestionably have enormous weight and will reveal to you, to the President of the United States, and to all the world the desires of the people of this great country.

In our judgment, such a referendum should not be held earlier than the middle of October, so as to give full opportunity for the opponents and proponents of the covenant and the treaty to present their arguments for and against their adoption.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE P. HAMPTON,

Managing Director.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH,

Secretary.

GEN. PEYTON C. MARCH.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I have a letter from Maj. Gen. W. P. Duvall, retired, a very distinguished officer, on the subject of Gen. March. I desire to have it referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and I would be glad to have it printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOSTON, June 21, 1919.

TO UNITED STATES SENATOR HOKE SMITH,

Washington.

MY DEAR MR. SENATOR: Because sometime in the past 18 months you honored me by stating your confidence in my opinion on things military, and quite unsolicited gave me permission to address you on such subjects, I am going to take the liberty for the first time of offering you my professional opinion upon a matter in which I hope you will interest yourself for the good of the service, viz, the granting of suitable reward and honors to the Chief of Staff of our victorious Army.

Of Gen. Pershing's title to the recognition proposed by the President I need not speak to you, for the brilliant results accomplished by the commanding general in the field are plain to everybody, and can not be gainsaid by enemies or even ignored by the thoughtless, thus differing from the work of the Chief of Staff, which is little appreciated by laymen, and is only too likely to incur for him the enmity of those who feel a personal antagonism for the war-time rigors of military methods.

In this connection I can well understand that March's characteristic conciseness of diction and brevity of expression in both written and spoken intercourse might give offense to those who do not know the man, but this very failing, if you would call it so, is indicative of his power. He is habitually intensely concentrated, instinct with energy always unerringly

and sharply directed. He can do and does do more work in a given time than any other three of four men, working in tandem, that I have ever known. I have observed him ever since he was a second lieutenant—in the regiment, in the artillery school, in the United States Volunteers, in campaign in the Philippines, and in the General Staff, where, when it was first organized (in 1903), he was in a division of which I was the head and in which Capt. Pershing and Dickman were also serving.

Knowing well his qualifications, as compared with those of all other officers of general rank, I say unhesitatingly that not only in ability to accomplish valuable work but in the amount of such work actually accomplished in this war he stands pre-eminent.

We are already beginning to forget the relief and amazement felt in this country and throughout the allied world at the size of the American force assembled in France for the summer campaign. Who accomplished this miracle? March, who was thus the author of Pershing's magnificent success. I do not believe there is another man in the Army who could have done what March did, and I say this from the standpoint of an old officer who has taken unmeasured delight in seeing come to the top in the test of war so many of the younger men whom I in former years had picked out and recommended for various advancements. March, in my opinion, though junior to many, always stood at the head of them all.

From my long experience and seasoned knowledge of the tone and spirit of the Army I wish to say to you, Mr. Senator, that whether March is at the moment popular or not in political or military circles, there can be no doubt that to reduce his rank in the face of his tremendous achievement would be a most disheartening precedent for all those in the profession capable of the sort of mental grasp, fearless decision, and energetic action necessary to military safety; the Army could but know that even consummate military skill is not sure of reward.

Finally, dear Mr. Senator, let me beg of you, for the welfare of the Army, to exert your powerful influence against the threatened denial of the fair reward intended by the President in nominating to the grade of General this great Chief of Staff.

With high regard, I am, very sincerely yours,

WM. P. DUVAL,
Major General, retired.

TAXATION FOR FEDERAL PURPOSES.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I have here an article printed in the Central Law Journal by H. Halderson on the question of taxation for Federal purposes. It seems to me that it presents, and in a very few words, something that is worthy of careful consideration. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Finance.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAXATION FOR FEDERAL PURPOSES.

"Taxation for Federal purposes has touched the bank account of the average substantial citizen, and this has impelled him to think about the big subject of national finance. There is probably not a precinct in the United States where this question is not discussed by the average voter. The reverse was true five years ago.

"There seems to be a feeling that the present system is inadequate, and to remedy the defect this suggestion has been made: Amend the Constitution of the United States by repealing or changing the provisions therein prohibiting capitation and direct taxes.

"This change will permit a direct tax on real and personal taxable property for Federal purposes, to be levied and collected (in peace and war) in connection with State and municipal taxes.

"It is indeed a wonder and humiliation that this change was not brought about 50 years ago. If we strike out the capitation and direct tax clauses and authorize a general tax on property, Congress, having before it the assessed valuation and the amount necessary to be raised, could provide money for any emergency by making a levy. Such levy could be made, figuratively speaking, in five minutes. The proceeding would be just as simple and short as the proceedings of a school board or a board of county commissioners making a levy for the ensuing year. This Federal tax would go on to the tax books like county, school, and municipal taxes, and would be collected by the county treasurer in the same manner. The expense would be nominal instead of over \$10,000,000. Instead of an army of tax collectors, now consisting of about 9,000 men, a nominal force only would be required.

"This plan of Federal revenue would be fixed and permanent, ready to be put in operation at any time by congressional levy.

"Aside from the appealing simplicity and practicability of the plan, a convincing way to sustain this suggestion, coming from the average voter, is to state the facts as to the origin of the capitation and direct tax provisions. It has been historically and judicially determined that there were two reasons why they were adopted: First, to protect the slave and plantation owners from a tax that would destroy slavery; second, to avoid a possible unjust tax against States through taxation of land by the acre or according to value, many States having at that time within their practically unknown boundaries vast tracts of unsurveyed land of little or at least unknown value.

"Slavery was abolished over 50 years ago, and every foot of land, figuratively speaking, is now surveyed and on the assessment roll at a fixed value.

"Overstatement is a common offense, but it would be almost fair to say that since the removal of the reason for these direct-tax clauses they have served an evil and destructive purpose—have been to the Constitution as a rotten, absorbing tooth is to the human system. These clauses in the Constitution have been a bar against the establishment of a fixed and dependable system or plan of raising revenue for Federal purposes. Every exigency or change of internal conditions has called for a new 'revenue law.' And the same policy must continue unless the Constitution is changed in this respect.

"Here is a partial list of past revenue measures: Act of Congress, July 14, 1798; act of Congress, August 7, 1813; act of Congress, January 19, 1815; act of Congress, February, 1815; act of Congress, March 5, 1816; act of Congress, August 5, 1861; act of Congress, June 7, 1862; revenue law, 1888; revenue law, 1913; revenue law, 1916; revenue law, 1917; revenue law, 1918-19.

"The pendency of every revenue measure provokes unsettled and interrupted conditions in every line of business of incalculable harm to the general welfare; and the framing and passage of these laws each time requires from two to about seven months. The debates attending the consideration of these measures display the versatility of the human mind and are very interesting, but the expense is unnecessary.

"The excise feature of the 1918-19 revenue law, for instance, is wholly arbitrary. If a laborer, eating his lunch on a mortar box, is taxed on a thermos bottle containing his coffee, why should he not pay on the coffee pot that it was boiled in; if his wife is taxed on talc powder for the baby, why not on napkins for the baby (both equally essential)? If the footpad is taxed 100 per cent on a brass knuckle (1918-19 law), he ought to be prohibited by law from using a coupling pin or other thing not taxed for criminal purposes. If a tax on insurance policy, why not on meal tickets?

"Illustration might be carried on without end, but it is not necessary. The point is that no living statesman, or group of statesmen, can make such a law without being arbitrary and unjust. The inherent nature of the plan is such that it can not be based on equity. The law is there because Members of Congress had to raise the money in some way.

"The system is wasteful. Every time the Nation's pulse beats, a new law is necessary. And each time the situation is attended with business suspense and readjustment and reorganization as to the system and plan of collection.

"On December 1, 1917, W. G. McAdoo transmitted a letter to the House of Representatives stating the appropriation necessary for expenses in collecting revenue under the law up to June 30, 1919. The amount was \$10,224,627.68. The number of men employed to do this work was 6,709. Under the 1918-19 revenue law it will probably require \$15,000,000 and about 9,000 men.

"The burden on the business of the country, in the way of extra bookkeeping, accounting, returns, reports touching revenue on drugs, stocks, admission tickets, railroad tickets, documents, etc., is stupendous and unbearable. Hundred of millions of dollars not accruing to the Government are spent in this way—an extra and unnecessary expense.

"It is not argued that this direct-tax plan should be made the exclusive source of Federal revenue. Possibly certain excise taxes and income tax and tariff for revenue and economic purposes might be properly retained; but the main, steady, and permanent source should be the direct-tax plan.

"For 30 years the sheriff of Cherry County, Nebr., drove about 90 miles each year to personally notify a man to come to the county seat to serve as a juror in the district court. Six or eight years ago some one who could see the humor and travesty of the thing wrote to members of the legislature suggesting a law for notifying jurors by registered mail. This was promptly done. It is claimed that this tax proposition is just as simple, and the obvious and crying necessity of the change is hardly debatable.

"The history of the litigation touching the subject of direct taxes is full of interest and is fully discussed in the cases cited in the note hereto. (The leading cases are: *Hylton v. United States*, 3 Dallas, 171 (1796); *Pacific Insurance Co. v. Soule*, 7 Wall., 433 (1868); *Veazie Bank v. Fenne*, 8 Wall., 533 (1869); *Springer v. United States*, 23 Wall., 586 (1880); *Pollock v. Farmers, etc.*, 158 U. S., 601 (rehearing, 1895).)

"H. HALDERSON.

"NEWMAN GROVE, NEBR."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. SPENCER. Mr. President, I have a short article by Mr. Walter H. Nohl, of the St. Louis bar, looking at the league of nations from a new standpoint. If there is no objection, I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

HOW GROWTH OF POWER IN LEAGUE MIGHT BE THE UNDOING OF UNITED STATES—AN INTERESTING STUDY OF THE COVENANT BASED UPON A CONDITION DEVELOPED IN OUR OWN COUNTRY UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

(By Walter H. Nohl.)

"Serious consideration of the constitution of the league of nations involves its ambiguity. Running through the instrument from its preamble to its last article is found the necessity for construction and interpretation. Innumerable editorials, news paragraphs, and magazine articles indicate a multitude of different notions entertained by a vast number of individuals regarding the intent and meaning of the provisions of the covenant. President Wilson's address to the Senate on the league of nations did not lessen in the slightest degree the uncertainty and indefiniteness of its vague and ambiguous language.

"To many the language of the Constitution of the United States is fairly clear and certain. Keeping in mind the purposes and objects of the respective instruments, let it be suggested to the reader to compare the two documents to determine in a general way the degree or extent of the ambiguous language of each. We know the rules of construction have been applied steadily to the Constitution of the United States for over 100 years, and that within the last few years an astonishing degree of range and extent with reference to certain legislation has been attributed to its scope and power. The conclusion is therefore quite irresistible that the ambiguity of the league of nations covenant will require the maximum degree of construction and interpretation.

"The intention and the objects aimed at in the covenant, being the fundamental inquiry in the construction, will control the interpretation of the language of the covenant. Its language, capable of more than one meaning, is to be taken in that sense which will harmonize with such intention and objects to give effect to the purpose of the instrument. The language of the covenant is so very little free of ambiguity that resort is to be had to the principle that the spirit of the covenant controls the letter, and it will be so construed to advance the intention and objects contemplated by the peace conference, namely, to strengthen the power of the body charged with the duty of preserving the peace of the world. Undoubtedly every construction and interpretation will be calculated to render the covenant effectual and capable of powerful operation.

GENERAL TREND TO CENTRALIZED POWER.

"To give force and effect to its provisions the general trend of the constructions and interpretations must be toward centralized power. It is impossible to consider constructions and interpretations tending toward weakness and lack of strength without a contemplation of its utter disintegration and failure as a covenant.

"The magnitude of the purpose and object of the covenant is such that it must take over the necessary power to attain results for which it was created. And every bit of power it gains through each construction or interpretation is so much power vested in the covenant at the expense of and divested from the power now lodged in our Constitution of the United States. This, of course, also applies to the other nations constituting the league of nations. And in this manner the covenant will develop into a superconstitution, whose increase of power and authority will diminish the power, rights, and sovereignty of the United States Government.

"The development of the power of the Federal Government of the United States under our Constitution at the expense of the States constituting the Union is the best indication and guide at our service, at this time, to give us an understanding as to what the relation of the United States to the league of nations will eventually be. If the league of nations covenant will endure, it will be because of its strength and growth of power, just as our own Constitution developed. Should the covenant live as long as

our Constitution, 125 years and more, then the United States Government will stand in comparison to the supercovenant, in point of power and sovereignty, as Missouri now stands compared to the United States Government.

THE RAPID GROWTH OF FEDERAL JURISDICTION.

"This transfer of governmental power from the various States to our Federal Government has been going on, notwithstanding reservations that were deemed strong and sufficient. Where in the covenant does one find stronger reservations than contained in our National and State Constitutions? Reservations do not appear to be nearly as important as the application of the rules of construction and interpretation. The idea of this growth toward centralization in governmental power is expressed by a law-book publisher in a very late work. The editor says:

"Within the last few years the field of Federal legislation has broadened so greatly that a copy of the Statutes of the United States is as essential a part of a lawyer's equipment as the statutes of his own State. Moreover, every citizen is affected by congressional legislation.

"Another way of showing the relation of Federal and State laws to our everyday affairs is by the use of the words 'interstate' and 'intrastate.' All of us hear, read, and say 'interstate' perhaps a hundred times more than 'intrastate.' And if the lessons of our experience and growth as a Nation will apply to the covenant, then we may prepare ourselves to hear, read, and say the word 'international' instead of 'interstate.'

"As important as any other phase of construing and interpreting the covenant is the consideration regarding the nature, training, and understanding of the individuals whose minds will perform said functions for the respective Governments, and the place, atmosphere, time, environment, and conditions attending such constructions and interpretations. In the case of the United States the process of the Federal Government absorbing so much power at the expense of the various States aroused, as a rule, no unusual suspicion or question, perhaps other than academic, and as expressed at times in the various State political platforms.

WHY THE PEOPLE DIDN'T GRUMBLE.

"Undoubtedly, the explanation is that everybody felt and understood that, after all, duly qualified and elected American citizens would continue to legislate, govern, and construe as Americans for Americans, whether as individual States or as a union of States. The proposition was and remained one purely American. And when I say American I mean in the restricted sense, namely, citizens of the United States.

"But circumstances alter cases, and our lessons and theories derived from our own governmental experience will not fit the covenant of the league of nations constituted by kingdoms, constituted monarchies, limited monarchies, principalities, in part, and made up of all manner of peoples, languages, customs, laws, habits, and religions. And it would seem wise to so amend the proposed covenant that the operation or application of the rules of construction and interpretation can not diminish our national power and sovereignty in favor of an international covenant at the expense of the United States Government, particularly so since most of the other members of the league are hardly our equals in point of national intelligence, experience, ability, and unselfishness, even though they, or some of them, may be our superiors in crafty statesmanship."

TRANSFER OF SHANTUNG TO JAPAN.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I have a short telegram from a prominent merchant of my State, which I ask may be read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

EVANSTON, WYO., July 29, 1919.

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Meeting of Chinese residents in this city yesterday instructed me to wire you our protest against transfer of Shantung Province to Japan. We, who are American citizens, implore you to prevent this outrage so we may continue to retain our self-respect among the Chinese who look to America for protection of the oppressed.

L. K. WONG.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is not this in violation of the rule, it not being from a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WARREN. I will say that Mr. Wong is a citizen of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. A Chinese citizen?

Mr. WARREN. No; a citizen of the United States. He formerly came from China, of course. I ask that the telegram may be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be so referred.

RACE RIOT IN CHICAGO, ILL.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, lest we forget!

I desire to put into the RECORD the following excerpts taken from an account of the race riot in Chicago, Ill., published in the Washington Post on yesterday, July 30, 1919.

The first of these excerpts I read as follows:

BEATEN, STABBED, SHOT, AND BURNED.

A fatal affair also took place in the West Side Italian district, where a negro was knocked from a bicycle, beaten, stabbed, wounded with 16 revolver bullets, and, after death had relieved him, gasoline was poured on his body and set afire. The corpse probably will never be identified.

This negro was charged with no crime. This was in the State of Abraham Lincoln; this was in Chicago, the home of the Chicago Tribune. Comment is unnecessary.

I further quote:

Hundreds of negroes, many carrying personal possessions and some without baggage, joined in an exodus to-day. The majority of them, chiefly in family groups, bought railroad tickets for Memphis and Nashville.

Comment is again unnecessary.

CALIFORNIA OIL PRICES.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for permission to have printed in the RECORD a letter written to the Washington Post by Alfred Holman, editor of the San Francisco Argonaut, on the subject of California oil, the matter which is now before the Senate.

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

CALIFORNIA OIL PRICES—A PRESENTMENT OF FACTS BY EDITOR OF THE ARGONAUT.

"EDITOR OF THE WASHINGTON POST: I beg leave to present through your columns certain facts which should aid those who, in and out of Congress, are seriously desirous of knowing the truth about the oil situation in California, now under discussion in the Senate. Presentments made on Monday represent a view of conditions so biased and confused as to be misleading. It is made to appear that prices of oil on the Pacific coast have been doubled or quadrupled under the 'war demand,' and that the producers and operators in oil represent the profiteering vice in its most open and shameless form. As a Californian fairly familiar with the general facts of the situation, I know these views to be mistaken; and, with your permission, I will set forth certain facts in proof.

"When the United States entered the war, in April, 1917, the wholesale market price of fuel oil in San Francisco was \$1.30 per barrel. At a range of prices based upon this rate for fuel oil, petroleum products were in strong commercial demand, the supply not being greater than the consumption for ordinary uses. One railroad company, consuming annually a total of approximately 14,000,000 barrels of fuel oil (588,000,000 gallons), supplied its demands at these prices, and the same with other wholesale consumers. Prices were defined by the commercial balance of demand in relation to supply, and there was no criticism of them as extortionate or unreasonable.

"Upon our entrance into the war there came an increased demand for oil, largely upon industrial account, in part under direct governmental requirements, chiefly the former. Under increased demands the reserve or stored oil supply in California declined to such an extent that the Fuel Administration of the Government became apprehensive of an oil famine, or of some approach to it. With the purpose of promoting production, the Federal authorities asked the marketing oil companies in the various oil fields of the United States, including California, to advance the price to producers at the wells to the extent of 25 cents per barrel. Thus the price of fuel at the California wells (300 miles inland) was advanced from 98 cents per barrel to \$1.23 per barrel. The immediate effect was an advance in the commercial rate at seaboard to \$1.60 per barrel. At this rate since midsummer, 1918, 94 per cent of the oil produced in California has been sold in open market to ready buyers. Four per cent of the total California product has been taken by the Navy Department under special circumstances and at prices which have yet to be adjusted.

"These statements of fact, all easily subject of verification, disprove current assertions on the floor of the Senate and elsewhere of 'recent,' 'revolutionary,' and 'extortionate' movements in the California oil market. From the date of our entrance into the war until this time the advance in the wholesale market price of fuel oil at the California seaboard has been 30 cents per barrel; and for this increase the urgent recommendation of the Fuel Administration as above set forth accounts to the extent of five-sixths. To-day the marketing oil companies of California are paying \$1.23 per barrel at the wells for a product which they are selling at the California seaboard at \$1.60.

"There is obvious confusion in certain minds between oil prices on the Atlantic and on the Pacific coast. In truth, the two have no relation to each other, the conditions being fundamentally and essentially different. During the war prices for oil in the Atlantic market have been very much higher than in

California. In recent months or weeks Atlantic prices have fallen off greatly, under circumstances easily understandable. There has been no relative decline on the Pacific coast, because the conditions have neither imposed nor justified it. There the supply does not more than equal the consumptive demand. Whereas since the armistice the eastern market is glutted with cheap Mexican oils, there is no material change in conditions on the Pacific. Within recent months there has been a relatively slight increase in the reserve or stored oil supply in California tanks, but the reserve stock is still far below what it was in 1916 and barely above the line of safety as defined by current requirements for general industrial purposes.

"It is true that there are consumers on the Pacific coast who protest against current prices for oil precisely as there are those who protest current prices for potatoes and shoes. If oil prices were one-half of what they are, there would still be those to protest. But prices as they stand to-day on the Pacific coast simply reflect the regulating force of commercial supply and demand. The value of any article is what it will sell for in a free and open market, and the oil market on the Pacific coast is both free and open. At prices as established by the balance of supply and demand, 96 per cent of the oil product of California is sold to ready buyers.

"ALFRED HOLMAN.

"WASHINGTON, July 29, 1919."

TREATY WITH COLOMBIA.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Committee on Foreign Relations has reported to the Senate the treaty with Colombia, which I understand is to be taken up for consideration on Monday. For the convenience of the Senate it seems to me that the treaty ought to be printed, showing, as in the case of reported bills, the suggested amendments of the committee. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the treaty be printed as a document so as to show, in the usual way, the proposed amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator stated that the treaty would be taken up on Monday. I assume that it will not be voted upon on Monday.

Mr. NORRIS. Probably not.

Mr. ASHURST. I should like to have an understanding that it is not to be voted upon on Monday.

Mr. NORRIS. Of course, I am not able to give the Senator any guaranty. I am not in charge of the treaty, but I have no idea that it will be voted upon on Monday.

Mr. ASHURST. I shall have to be absent on Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection, the request of the Senator from Nebraska will be granted. The Chair hears none.

HOUSE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

H. R. 5418. An act increasing the pay of printers and persons employed in the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Printing.

The following bills and joint resolution were read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Immigration:

H. R. 6750. An act to deport certain undesirable aliens and to deny readmission to those deported;

H. R. 7930. An act to provide for the treatment in hospital of diseased alien seamen; and

H. J. Res. 163. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of Labor to lease the Charleston immigration station and dock connected therewith.

COMMERCIAL FEEDS FOR ANIMALS.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I desire to call up Senate resolution No. 140, submitted by me on the 29th instant, which went over on Tuesday last on the suggestion of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING]. I think that Senator has no further objection to the resolution, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Federal Trade Commission be, and it is hereby, instructed to make an investigation of the manufacture and sale of commercial feeds for animals; such investigation to include the gathering of statistics as to the supply of the various commodities which are used for animal feeds, together with the fluctuation in the prices of these commodities, the extent to which these commodities are converted into concentrated food by manufacturers; what combinations or understandings, if any, exist between the feed manufacturers and wholesale feed dealers and retail feed dealers; and what fraud, if any, is practiced by dealers in the way of misbranding or using inferior substitutes in mixed feeds.

Resolved further, That the Secretary of Agriculture be, and he is hereby, directed to cooperate with the Federal Trade Commission in this investigation.

CIRCULATION OF CURRENCY.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I ask that Senate resolution 142, coming over from the last legislative day, be laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution submitted by the Senator from Montana on the 29th instant, coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 142), as follows:

Whereas on the 22d day of July, 1919, the Secretary of the Treasury, in response to an inquiry of the Senate, sent to the Senate the following communication:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, July 22, 1919.

SIR: In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the United States of July 8, 1919, transmitted to me by the Secretary of the Senate under date of July 9, I submit the following:

Under the act approved May 30, 1908, commonly known as the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, as amended, additional or emergency currency was issued, beginning on August 4, 1914, in amount \$382,502,645. All of this additional circulation was retired before the close of the calendar year 1915. Authority for the issue of such additional or emergency currency expired by limitation on June 30, 1915.

No emergency currency has been issued by the Federal reserve banks. However, such banks have issued Federal reserve bank notes and Federal reserve notes in accordance with the provisions of law

and under the general supervision of the Federal Reserve Board. None was outstanding August 1, 1914. The amounts of such notes in circulation on July 1, 1919, were:

Federal reserve bank notes.....\$163,682,696
Federal reserve notes.....2,493,992,462

The Treasury Department has no intention, nor, indeed, the power, to retire or withdraw from circulation any thereof, nor, as I am advised, has the Federal Reserve Board. The Federal Reserve System was devised to create an elastic currency which would expand and contract automatically in accordance with the requirements of business. Any reductions in the amounts of Federal reserve notes outstanding will be in accordance therewith. Federal reserve bank notes, for the most part, have been issued to replace silver certificates canceled and retired in accordance with the provisions of the act of April 23, 1918.

I transmit herewith a copy of the Treasury Department circulation statement for August 1, 1914, and July 1, 1919, showing the amount of money of the United States in circulation on the respective dates. Data are not available in the department with respect to the amount of money in circulation in the Territories and possessions of the United States.

Respectfully,

CARTER GLASS,
Secretary of the Treasury.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

And whereas in connection with the said communication the Secretary of the Treasury did transmit to the Senate the following tables and statements, to wit:

Circulation statement, Aug. 1, 1914.

	General stock of money in the United States.		Held in Treasury as assets of the Government. ¹	
	July 1, 1914.	Aug. 1, 1914.	July 1, 1914.	Aug. 1, 1914.
Gold coin (including bullion in Treasury).....	\$1,890,678,304	\$1,887,270,664	\$195,381,761	\$230,891,204
Gold certificates ²			45,520,740	49,660,159
Standard silver dollars.....	565,834,263	565,840,263	4,670,087	8,701,521
Silver certificates ²			11,387,624	12,555,662
Subsidiary silver.....	182,315,863	182,447,433	22,052,188	22,318,627
Treasury notes of 1890.....	2,439,000	2,433,000	11,942	12,981
United States notes.....	346,681,016	346,681,016	7,841,373	9,677,117
National-bank notes.....	750,671,899	750,907,021	32,586,262	34,393,205
Total.....	3,738,620,345	3,735,579,397	319,451,977	368,210,467

Money in circulation.

	July 1, 1914.	Aug. 1, 1914.	Aug. 1, 1913.	Jan. 1, 1879.
	Gold coin (including bullion in Treasury).....	\$614,321,674	\$632,332,591	\$606,015,613
Gold certificates ²	1,035,454,129	974,386,719	1,000,560,414	21,189,280
Standard silver dollars.....	70,314,176	69,981,742	72,173,451	5,790,721
Silver certificates ²	479,462,376	474,001,338	470,578,117	413,360
Subsidiary silver.....	160,263,075	160,128,806	155,408,145	67,982,001
Treasury notes of 1890.....	2,427,058	2,420,019	2,640,639	
United States notes.....	338,839,643	337,003,890	338,623,763	\$ 310,288,511
National-bank notes.....	718,085,637	716,513,816	710,891,001	314,339,398
Total.....	3,419,168,368	3,367,368,930	3,356,891,123	816,266,721

¹ This statement of money held in the Treasury as assets of the Government does not include deposits of public money in national-bank depositaries to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, amounting to \$55,172,211.78. For a full statement of assets see public debt statement.

² For redemption of outstanding certificates an exact equivalent in amount of the appropriate kinds of money is held in the Treasury, and is not included in the account held as assets of the Government.

³ Includes \$33,190,000 currency certificates, act of June 8, 1872.

Population of continental United States Aug. 1, 1914, estimated at 99,168,000; circulation per capita, \$33.93.

Circulation statement, July 1, 1919.

Circulating medium.	I. General stock of money in the United States. ¹		II. Held in the Treasury as assets of the Government. ²		III. Held by Federal reserve banks and Federal reserve agents against issues of Federal reserve notes. ³	
	July 1, 1919.	July 1, 1918.	July 1, 1919.	July 1, 1918.	July 1, 1919.	July 1, 1918.
Gold coin (including bullion in Treasury).....	\$3,095,077,467	\$3,076,482,515	\$360,604,070	\$245,602,753	\$813,882,860	\$686,838,455
Gold certificates.....					205,417,280	208,278,320
Standard silver dollars.....	308,978,930	499,684,959	55,718,347	38,685,598		
Silver certificates.....						
Subsidiary silver.....	243,235,661	232,147,364	11,087,825	14,940,804		
Treasury notes of 1890.....						
United States notes.....	346,681,016	346,681,016	13,742,472	6,744,783		
Federal reserve notes.....	2,687,556,985	1,817,580,445	44,265,463	29,982,400	149,299,060	106,186,350
Federal reserve bank notes.....	187,666,980	15,444,000	23,984,284	100,025		
National bank notes.....	719,276,732	724,205,485	69,445,582	20,068,477		
Total.....	7,588,473,771	6,742,225,784	578,848,043	356,124,450	1,168,599,200	1,001,303,125

¹ Includes gold held in the Treasury for the redemption of outstanding gold certificates (\$747,637,008, and Federal reserve gold settlement fund, \$1,415,019,699.10 on July 1, 1919) and standard silver dollars held in the Treasury for the redemption of outstanding silver certificates and Treasury notes of 1890 (\$171,684,233 on July 1, 1919). Amounts of Federal reserve bank notes and national bank notes are amounts issued by Treasury to banks.

² Includes the gold reserve fund held against issues of United States notes and Treasury notes of 1890 (\$152,979,025.63 on July 1, 1919), and the gold or lawful money redemption funds held against issues of national bank notes, Federal reserve notes, and Federal reserve bank notes (\$227,079,873.65 on July 1, 1919). Does not include deposits of public money in Federal reserve banks, national banks, and special depositaries (\$1,090,069,711.15 on July 1, 1919), nor does it include funds held in trust in the Treasury for the redemption of outstanding gold and silver certificates and Treasury notes of 1890. (See Column I.) For a full statement of Treasury assets and liabilities see daily statement of the United States Treasury and monthly financial statement.

³ Includes the gold reserve held by banks against issues and gold or other funds deposited by banks with agents to retire Federal reserve notes in circulation and own Federal reserve notes held by Federal reserve banks.

⁴ Includes \$799,301,860 credited to Federal reserve agents in the gold settlement fund deposited with Treasurer of the United States.

⁵ Includes own Federal reserve notes held by Federal reserve banks.

Circulation statement, July 1, 1919—Continued.

Circulating medium.	IV. Money in circulation. ¹			
	July 1, 1919.	July 1, 1918.	June 1, 1919.	Jan. 1, 1879.
Gold coin (including bullion in Treasury).....	\$1,172,953,529	\$1,107,531,243	\$1,100,256,283	\$96,262,850
Gold certificates.....	542,219,728	828,231,744	580,784,981	21,189,280
Standard silver dollars.....	81,576,350	77,341,545	81,784,757	5,790,721
Silver certificates.....	169,939,003	381,806,776	179,641,852	413,360
Subsidiary silver.....	232,147,836	217,206,560	231,365,105	67,982,601
Treasury notes of 1890.....	1,745,230	1,851,130	1,757,932
United States notes.....	332,938,544	339,936,233	334,227,367	310,288,511
Federal reserve notes.....	2,493,992,462	1,711,411,695	2,506,177,517
Federal reserve bank notes.....	163,682,696	15,343,975	155,966,904
National bank notes.....	649,831,150	704,137,008	662,305,514	314,339,398
Total.....	5,841,026,528	5,384,797,909	5,834,268,212	816,266,721
Population of continental United States estimated at.....	107,600,000	105,869,000	107,455,000	48,231,000
Circulation per capita.....	\$54.28	\$50.86	\$54.29	\$16.92

¹ Amounts of various kinds of money in circulation determined by deducting from the appropriate item in the general stock of money (Column I) the amount held in the Treasury as assets of the Government (Column II) and the amount held by Federal reserve banks or Federal reserve agents against issues of Federal reserve notes (Column III). Gold and silver certificates and Treasury notes of 1890 in circulation are represented in the general stock of money by equal amounts of gold coin or bullion and standard silver dollars held in Treasury for their redemption. (See Column I.) Amounts of Federal reserve bank notes and national bank notes are amounts of issues by Treasury to banks less amounts held in Treasury as assets of the Government.

² Includes \$615,717,839.10 credited to Federal reserve banks in the gold settlement fund deposited with Treasurer of the United States.

And whereas it appears therefrom that the amount of money in circulation in the United States is nearly twice what it was, in volume and per capita, five years ago: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the aforesaid communication of the Secretary of the Treasury and the accompanying tables and statements be, and are, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and that that committee is hereby directed to consider the same and all thereof and to report to the Senate whether or not it is advisable for Congress to enact any legislation to provide for a gradual reduction of the amount of money in circulation; and if so, to report what legislation it deems necessary, expedient, or advisable to bring about some gradual reduction of the amount of money in circulation and to what extent and how rapidly such reduction should be had and what may be the views of the committee in general in the premises.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, this communication from the Secretary of the Treasury discloses that there is now in circulation in this country nearly twice the amount of money, in volume and per capita, that there was five years ago. Official statistics also show that the cost of living now is nearly twice what it was five years ago. The increase of money in circulation was originally occasioned, of course, by the outbreak of the European war, and was greatly accelerated by our entrance into the war. Undoubtedly it was necessary during the war. It is one of the workings of our admirable banking and currency law which serves an excellent purpose. It was intended that the law should work an expansion of our currency when needed and in time of war it was needed; but whether or not this state of affairs should be allowed to continue permanently in time of peace is a problem. If it should not be allowed to continue in time of peace, and if it be proper to retire some of the emergency currency, how soon and to what extent and by what method that should be brought about are puzzling questions. The communication of the Secretary of the Treasury does not indicate that there is to be any diminution in the amount of money in circulation in the near future and does not suggest any method by which that result may be brought about.

I think the volume of money in circulation is intimately connected with the cost of living, and I think the high cost of living in this country is having a ruinous effect in a number of ways. It has just about ruined the street railway systems of the country. Nearly every street railway in this country is either in bankruptcy or on the verge of bankruptcy; nearly all are being operated at a loss; and apparently they can get no relief. Owing to the rising cost of living, every once in a while the employees of the street railway companies demand an increase of wages; instantly there is a popular and universal clamor that the increase must be granted, and the street railway companies are faced with the alternative of granting the increase or having on their hands a ruinous strike. As a result they generally grant the increase. The increase, however, is no sooner granted, as a rule, than those who sell goods to street railway employees increase the prices of their goods. Then in a little while there must be another increase of wages, followed by another increase in price of the necessities of life. Thus an endless chain is put in operation. It works automatically.

Meantime cost of material has gone up; the price of everything the street railways have to use has increased greatly, and yet when the street railway companies ask city councils or State utility commissions or boards for the privilege of increasing their fares somewhat there is a popular clamor against it and the request is generally denied. As a consequence the street railway companies of the country are facing ruin, and some of them are already ruined.

A similar situation is apparent also in the case of the steam railways of the country. The wages of railway employees have been greatly increased of late years, and for the increase the people have to pay; passenger and freight rates are increased correspondingly to cover the increase in wages. I have seen a statement in the newspapers lately, coming from officials of some of the brotherhoods of railway employees, that if the cost of living continues to increase the employees will soon have to have another increase in wages. If they demand it they will probably get it under those circumstances, and then freight and passenger rates will have to be increased in order to meet the increase of wages. So there is another endless chain, and the people have to pay it all in the end.

Very recently the mining companies in Butte, Mont., have granted an increase of wages to their employees, an increase of \$1 a day to all alike. That increase was only granted five or six days ago; in fact, it has not yet been accepted by all the unions; and yet I read in Montana newspapers that the bakers in Butte, Mont., have already served notice that they will immediately increase the price of bread 25 per cent, and it is reported that nearly everything else in the way of the necessities of life in that city is being increased correspondingly, and there is a great deal of dissatisfaction about it. So there is another endless chain. It is impossible to see where this process will end. We know that an inflated currency inflates prices; but if this process keeps on going the way it is now operating prices in their inflation are going to outstrip even the abnormal inflation of the currency.

I am not a financial expert, but we have in this body those who are—those who have long served on the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, who framed our present excellent banking and currency law, who have long been students of the subject; and I think we should have their views on the financial conditions which confront the country. Various committees of both branches of Congress are at work now investigating the high cost of living. The Federal Trade Commission has been engaged in investigating it. Numerous civic associations and associations of citizens are investigating the high cost of living. I think the cause of the high cost of living is found right here in this communication of the Secretary of the Treasury, who reports that there is nearly twice the amount of money in circulation in this country that there was five years ago, and gives no indication of an early diminution of it. I think attention should be called to it, for here, I think, is the prime cause of the high cost of living. There is no use of looking further.

This resolution does not initiate any legislation. It does not commit the Senate to anything. It simply refers the communication of the Secretary of the Treasury and the whole question to the Committee on Banking and Currency and asks that committee to report back to this body its views, and if it may make a report its report will be only advisory. It will not be binding on the Senate.

I, for one, think we should have all the advice on this subject we can get, and I want the views of the Committee on Banking and Currency on this all-absorbing question. The present condition of the cost of living is doing a great deal of harm. The other day I received a letter from a prominent merchant in Billings, Mont., who predicted that one year from now the cost of many of the necessities of life would be twice what they now cost. As he well said, the ever-rising cost of living is pro-

ductive of Bolshevism and anarchy. It gives the Bolshevistic, anarchistic agitator a chance to go amongst the laboring men and embitter them against the tremendously high cost of living, as well as against their Government, and to tell them that they are suffering from it more than anybody else, and that they are not getting their share of the money and prosperity of the country. This is being done by the enemies of our country to-day, and the subject is such an important one that I think we ought to have the views of the Committee on Banking and Currency on it. I think there should be no opposition to it. Hence, I submit the resolution.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Montana if he knows or has observed that one of the causes of continued high prices, which constitute what is called the high cost of living, is the enormous appropriations of money by Congress to go into the market and purchase large supplies of food, necessities of life, and ship them out of the country to foreign countries? There was one item of \$100,000,000 for this purpose. It would be impossible to secure an appropriation of \$1,000,000 to buy food for American citizens, but there is no difficulty at all about getting an appropriation of \$100,000,000 to buy food for foreign people in various unknown parts of the world. I should like to ask the Senator, further, if he is aware that when this appropriation was asked for and rushed through Congress, it was openly urged in support of it that it ought to be made for the purpose of keeping up the prices of foodstuffs in the United States? I received and put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD here, as the Senate was about to vote, telegrams from responsible people urging that I should vote for the appropriation of \$100,000,000 in order to keep the prices of meats and other necessary foods from going down. That was urged as one of the reasons for it; and yet Congress is called upon to investigate the cause of the high cost of living!

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I will say in answer to the Senator from Washington that I think the matter he has referred to has had considerable to do with the high cost of living. I think undoubtedly it is one of the interrelated causes. I voted, as did the Senator from Washington, against the measure to which he has referred. I did not think it wise. I apprehended then that one of the results would be just what he has stated; but I think the principal cause of the high cost of living is found right here in this communication of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The cost of living to-day is substantially twice what it was five years ago. The amount of money in circulation is substantially twice what it was five years ago. It works just like a thermometer. As the volume of money increases the effect is registered in increased cost of living. The two go hand in hand. It is one of the laws of finance that as you increase the volume of money the prices of products and the cost of living are bound to increase. I think that was absolutely necessary during the war, but whether it should be kept up as a permanent thing in time of peace is a very grave problem. I do not think it should be. I think there is now in circulation more money than is necessary or wholesome. However, I want the views of the Committee on Banking and Currency on it. It will do no harm to have the views of that able and distinguished committee. I tell you this question of the ever-rising cost of living, still rising, with the summit evidently not yet reached and no end in sight, is full of trouble and is fraught with danger. We should have on it all the light obtainable. I think I have designated the cause. I want to know what our Banking and Currency Committee may think.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANDELL] has given notice of his intention to address the Senate to-day, and I do not want to interfere with his opportunity to do so, but before this resolution is disposed of I should like to address myself to it for a few moments. I hope, therefore, that it will not be pressed at this time.

Mr. MYERS. I am quite content to let the resolution go over until to-morrow, without prejudice. I should be glad to have the views of the able Senator from Colorado. I ask unanimous consent that that be done.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, before the request of the Senator from Montana is acted on I want to take a moment to refer to a letter which I received this morning. The letter is not addressed to me, but is addressed to one of my constituents. It is as follows:

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE,
New York, July 15, 1919.

DEAR SIR: Whatever may have been your response to our previous correspondence urging your cooperation in connection with our campaign to crystallize rural opinion behind the league of nations covenant, it is of extremely urgent importance that all friends of the league of nations proposition give immediate attention to the following suggestions:

Write immediately to your two Washington Senators at Washington, Senator W. L. JONES and Senator M. POINDEXTER, definitely urging their support of the peace treaty, including the league of nations covenant, passing on to them such evidence as you may have of prevailing sentiment in your community. Kindly urge similar action upon as many other outstanding leaders of public opinion as possible. The importance of this matter ought to preclude any possibility of delay in your response. Any delay now may be fatal to the cause.

Anticipating your prompt response to this suggestion, I am,
Very cordially, yours,

W. J. CAMPBELL,
Rural Extension Secretary.

Rural extension secretary, Mr. President, of the League to Enforce Peace, the name of which appears on the head of the letter.

I read this letter in order to call attention to the kind of agitation that is being created in this artificial way, by the use of vast sums of money, to form an apparent public opinion in favor of the establishment of what they denominate in the very head of their letter as a League to Enforce Peace—in other words, a central world organization not to bring about peace by creating good will among men but to bring it about by force. Of course, they can not enforce peace unless they have force and use force. If they are going to enforce peace throughout the world they will have to have force that is sufficient to coerce the world; and that is the object, the announced and proclaimed purpose, of this great organization.

The extent to which they are organized is indicated by the fact that they have a rural extension secretary. They have a secretary or an official for pretty nearly every imaginable element of the population. He is only one of a number of officers who are devoting their entire time, with unlimited resources, to creating in this country a false and spurious opinion, a superficial and artificial public demand, in favor of setting up a world power to coerce the United States and every other country in accordance with the particular views that some set of self-sufficient and irresponsible councilmen might have at some particular time as to what the world ought to do or ought not to do.

Among the other officials of this organization are Mr. W. R. Boyd, jr., national campaign manager; Mr. I. T. Jones, assistant national campaign manager; Allen P. Ames, information secretary; Tom Jones Meek, extension secretary and speakers' bureau. I may say in that connection that they have issued a textbook and circulated it in large numbers throughout the country for the purpose of educating their speakers in favor of the league of nations, telling them how to speak, how to approach the public, how to deal with the psychology of the situation. It is the most stupendous organization and propaganda in its various branches and affiliations, public and private, that the world has ever seen. Helen Varick Boswell, extension secretary, women's organizations; Walter J. Campbell, rural extension secretary; John H. Walker, labor extension secretary; Irwin Smith, assistant secretary.

Mr. President, it is perfectly evident that this letter is being sent out generally as part of a series of letters. Not long ago I called attention in the Senate to a circular which this same League to Enforce Peace was sending out, instructing its recipients in the several States how to proceed in the most skillful way to induce the people of the States to contribute money to the campaign fund of the League to Enforce Peace, going into details, telling them how to hold lunches, what to eat at the lunches, how much money to charge for them, and to make sure that the collections were made, because if the people paid a little they would then feel that they had a vested interest in this big movement.

I introduce this, Mr. President, simply as an incident, a reminder, of one, at least, of the many causes of this tremendous agitation with which we are confronted, this organized campaign to abandon the ideals and traditions of the fathers of the Republic, and to "make the supreme sacrifice" of establishing this "new order" in the world.

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish to state to the Senator from Washington that my own State is flooded with the same documents from which he read, frenzied solicitations for funds in order to create a spontaneous sentiment.

Mr. MYERS subsequently said: Mr. President, may it be understood that Senate resolution 142 goes over until the morning hour to-morrow without prejudice? I made the request a while ago, but I have not heard any ruling on it as yet.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STERLING in the chair). Without objection, the request of the Senator from Montana will be granted, and Senate resolution 142 will go over without prejudice.

TREATY WITH COLOMBIA.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I wish to announce that on Monday next, after the close of the routine morning business, I shall submit a few remarks on the Colombian treaty.

Mr. FLETCHER subsequently said: Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] gave notice of an address next Monday at the close of the routine morning business. I was going to ask him if he would not give that notice to follow the consideration of the calendar? We have been omitting the consideration of the calendar one Monday after another and doing nothing with it. There are a number of bills which can be acted upon in a very short while, and I was going to suggest that the address of the Senator from Minnesota follow the consideration of the calendar on Monday. The Senator, however, is not in the Chamber at this moment.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I simply desire to give notice that at the close of the morning business on Monday next, with the permission of the Senate, I shall address the Senate on the covenant of the league of nations.

RELATIONS OF ITALY TO FIUME.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I wish to give notice likewise that upon the termination of the addresses of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING], if time permits, I will address the Senate with reference to the relations of Italy to Fiume.

AMERICAN PRINTING HOUSE FOR THE BLIND.

Mr. STANLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of H. R. 2847, providing additional aid for the American Printing House for the Blind, favorably reported by the Committee on Education and Labor. I will say that the bill was reported by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON], and there is no objection to it from any source.

Mr. SMOOT. There is no objection to it, and there have been hearings held upon it. I understand it proposes to increase by some thirty or forty thousand dollars the appropriation for the printing establishment for the blind. There is a permanent appropriation for that purpose, and this bill, as I understand it, is to increase that permanent appropriation.

Mr. KENYON. It is merely an authorization.

Mr. SMOOT. The Committee on Appropriations felt that it ought to go to that committee before they put it in the last appropriation bill, being a permanent appropriation. I have no objection, but after it is disposed of I will object to any further consideration of bills on the calendar until the regular morning business is concluded.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That for the purpose of enabling the American Printing House for the Blind more adequately to provide books and apparatus for the education of the blind there is hereby authorized to be appropriated annually to it in addition to the permanent appropriation of \$10,000 made in the act entitled "An act to promote the education of the blind," approved March 3, 1879, as amended, the sum of \$40,000, which sum shall be expended in accordance with the requirements of said act to promote the education of the blind.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TRANSFER OF SHANTUNG TO JAPAN.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, in accordance with the prevailing custom, I desire to give notice that on Tuesday next I shall address the Senate on that portion of the peace treaty which has reference to Shantung.

REPORT ON PACKING INDUSTRY.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a report from the Federal Trade Commission in response to Senate resolution 114.

Mr. KENYON. It is the report of the Federal Trade Commission in answer to the resolution of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN]?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is.

Mr. KENYON. I ask to have the report part read. Of course, we do not want to have it all read; but the report proper.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

Mr. SMOOT. Why not print the whole of it in the RECORD?

Mr. KENYON. That ought to be done, too. If it is too long to read, I will withdraw my request; but I do not believe the report itself is very long.

Mr. POMERENE. I did not understand the request of the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Illinois is not present, and I simply suggested that if we are going to have any part of the report read, it would be best to have the whole report printed in the RECORD.

Mr. POMERENE. I do not object to that.

Mr. CUMMINS. I move that the report be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be referred, but the junior Senator from Iowa has a right to have it read.

Mr. CUMMINS. I assume that the report will be read; but I move that it be referred after it is read.

Mr. KENYON. I should like to have it read to a point where it appears to be too long to read further, and then I will withdraw the request.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. If the report is the document which the Secretary holds in his hands, it is evidently not a long one. It is a very important subject, and I think the report ought to be read. The papers that accompany it, of course, are not included in the report proper.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary proceeded to read the report, and was interrupted by

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the report be dispensed with, and that it be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I object to that, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STERLING in the chair). Objection is made.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I have no objection to dispensing with the further reading of the report submitted in response to my resolution. I presume Senators will have abundant opportunity for reading it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made by the Senator from Wisconsin, and, of course, the reading of the report must be proceeded with.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the report, and was interrupted by

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I will not object to suspending the further reading of the report at this time if unanimous consent can be given to resume the reading of the report after the delivery of the speeches of which notice has been given by the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANDELL] and also by the junior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN]. So I will make the request that the further reading of the report be suspended until after the delivery of those speeches of which notice has been given, and that then the reading be resumed and finished and the report be printed entire, consecutively in the order in which it was presented.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, may I suggest also at the same time that there is pending a motion, which was made by the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], who is chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, that this report be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reading of the report will be suspended until after the addresses of which notice has been given shall have been concluded.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. RANDELL obtained the floor.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Louisiana yield to me?

Mr. RANDELL. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

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

Ashurst	Gay	McKellar	Sheppard
Ball	Gronna	Myers	Simmons
Brandegge	Hale	New	Smith, Ga.
Calder	Harding	Newberry	Smith, Md.
Capper	Harris	Norris	Smith, S. C.
Colt	Harrison	Nugent	Smoot
Cummins	Henderson	Overman	Spencer
Curtis	Johnson, S. Dak.	Page	Sterling
Dial	Kellogg	Penrose	Sutherland
Dillingham	Kenyon	Phelan	Swanson
Edge	Keyes	Poindexter	Trammell
Elkins	King	Pomerene	Wadsworth
Fletcher	La Follette	Ransdell	Walsh, Mass.
Frelinghuysen	Lenroot	Robinson	Watson

Mr. SHEPPARD. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK] is necessarily detained from the Senate.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I desire to announce that my colleague, the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS], is detained on important business.

I wish also to announce that the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIBBY], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY], and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM] are necessarily detained on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-six Senators having answered to their names, there is a quorum present.

The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. RANSELL. Mr. President, in submitting some observations on the proposed league of nations and what I believe to be its efficacy in preventing future wars, I desire to preface my remarks by saying that I do not intend to discuss all the details of the covenant, its particular phraseology, or the various powers of the administrative bodies through which it is destined to function, nor to visualize the interpretation which may be placed on certain of its provisions. What I am principally concerned in, Mr. President, is the great overpowering principle it seeks to perpetuate—peace throughout the world.

The various articles of the league have been discussed and rediscussed in the Senate and the press of the land, as well as by innumerable public speakers, until its general provisions are very familiar to the American people. Its benevolent purpose is succinctly set forth in the preamble. Its object is to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security. The signatory nations bind themselves not to resort to war, to pursue open, just, and honorable relations between each other, to establish firmly the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct, and to maintain justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in their dealings with each other.

The league functions through an assembly, a council, and a permanent secretariat. The powers of the assembly are not very substantial, except in a striking particular pointed out later, and consist of admitting new States into the league by a two-thirds vote, upon proper guaranties being assured; of amending the covenant by majority vote, if concurred in unanimously by the council; of selecting the four additional members of the council; of considering disputes with the same powers as the council, if the council or a disputant requests it, and advising in regard to dangerous international conditions and treaties that need revision.

The council is the executive body of the league, and is made up of representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, and four other members selected by the assembly. Until appointment in aforesaid manner, the four members are Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece. The council elects a secretary-general with approval of a majority of the assembly; makes plans for a reduction of armaments; advises how to control private manufacture of munitions; how to secure protection of territorial integrity and independence of members against external aggression; acts as a council of conciliation in disputes not referred to arbitration and makes recommendations; directs publication of statements by all parties; if its recommendation is unanimous, considers how to enforce it if necessary; if not unanimous, the majority and minority reports shall be published; considers how to carry out award of arbitration, if necessary; establishes a permanent court of international justice; recommends economic boycott measures against recalcitrant members, as well as means for cessation of intercourse and blockade; and recommends what military contribution each member shall make in punishing a nation which refuses to carry out the covenant.

The league contains many very practical provisions which, if they do not absolutely prevent war, will certainly lessen the probability of a resort to arms. The requirement by the members of full and frank information on the scale of their armaments and military programs is a salutary one, and will prevent the development of any huge war machine. The general provisions to defend each other's territorial integrity and independence against external aggression; to regard any threat of war as the business of the league; the prevention of intercourse with, and the financial and commercial boycott against, any covenant-breaking State; the obligation to join in resisting a member who refuses to be bound by the covenant, and to take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory of the forces of any members which are cooperating to protect the covenant of the league; and the agreement not to make war in any case until three months after awards or recommendations are announced, are surely wise measures in the interest of universal peace.

Every word in the covenant has been subjected to the most critical analysis, and I am not vain enough to suppose that I can throw any more light on the subject. I wish, however, to call attention briefly to some harsh criticisms against the provision which gives in the assembly one vote to each country, whether great or small, and six votes to the British Empire, while the United States has only one. We have been told that it is outrageous for small, weak nations like Haiti, Panama, Liberia, Honduras, Hedjaz, and others to have an equal representation in the assembly with our mighty Republic of more than one hundred million souls.

The assembly is a parliamentary body which may well be called a parliament of man, composed of not more than three delegates from each nation in the league, who can cast only one vote. It is in reality a talk fest, where all disputes and troubles among nations are aired and talked over, thereby bringing to bear on them the powerful force of public opinion. The assembly may deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world, and any member of the league may bring to the attention of the assembly or the council any matter which threatens peace.

At meetings of both the assembly and the council unanimous vote of all present at the meeting is required, except where otherwise expressly provided in the covenant.

Disputes not referred to arbitration shall be submitted to the council, which, if the trouble is not adjusted satisfactorily, shall, by a unanimous or a majority vote, publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute, with proper recommendations. The council may refer the dispute to the assembly, and on the request of either party, made within 14 days after submission of the dispute to the council, it shall be referred to the assembly. In such case the assembly shall proceed under the same rules as govern the council; hence in this case a majority vote would suffice for the assembly to publish a statement of facts and recommendations in regard to an international dispute likely to lead to a rupture. This is surely not a power that would permit Liberia or Haiti or Hedjaz or Honduras, or a combination of a dozen such small nations, to inflict any injury on the United States. All such a combination could do against us, provided it could muster a majority of all votes at the meeting of the assembly, would be to publish to the world its finding of facts in some dispute to which the United States was a party, with its recommendations thereon. And it requires a vivid imagination to foresee how we could possibly be affected injuriously unless we were so clearly wrong that we richly deserved to be held up to the scorn of other countries.

Moreover, the assembly may from time to time advise consideration of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world. Therefore it has general authority to consider and advise by unanimous vote of all present at the meeting upon all subjects, treaties, and international conditions affecting the peace of the world, and on such disputes as are referred to it by the council it can, by a majority vote, publish a statement of facts coupled with recommendations.

All that the assembly can do is to "advise" or "recommend" to the membership of the league, or to nations not members of the league, what it believes to be best for the welfare of mankind. No possible harm can come from the consideration by accredited delegates of nearly every nation on earth of important national questions, and if all these delegates arrive at a unanimous decision it is practically certain to be correct. Nothing which this body could do could possibly injure the United States as long as we are doing right, while it might help us very much, and would surely assist in preventing many international troubles between other countries.

It is very important for nations, as for individuals, to talk over their difficulties. Nine-tenths of the trouble between citizens is due to misunderstandings which could readily be adjusted if they would meet face to face and explain their differences before resorting to violence or to litigation unfortunate to both. This is true, to a great extent, of nations, for what are they but an aggregation of citizens influenced by the same ideas and passions that control individuals. If national disputes could be presented to a great tribunal such as the assembly, with three delegates from every nation on earth, the best and brainiest men on the globe, and all the facts be thrashed out before these impartial judges, while the world looks on and listens, beyond question most troubles would be settled without resort to war. If we add the mighty force of world public opinion, resulting from the findings of this great conciliatory tribunal, to the disarmament and lack of preparation of the individual nations, provided by the league, and the international boycott against any country which goes to war in disregard of the league's covenants, and the fact that every member of the league would, of necessity, engage its military forces in order to enforce peace, a power too great to be resisted is created, and any would-be belligerent is compelled to accept a peaceful settlement.

If such a league as now proposed had been in existence 20 years prior to the recent war, how could it have occurred? The vast preparation for war in food, arms, munitions, soldiers, and submarines by Germany could not have been made; the armies of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, and France would have been in the aggregate only a few hundred thousand instead of many millions, hence too small for serious warfare; the Balkan troubles, which have been a running sore on the body

politic of Europe for years, would have been adjusted in some way long before 1914; Germany would have realized through discussions in the council and assembly that she could not conquer France and Belgium without inviting attack on her by the United States and Great Britain; indeed, it is inconceivable that there would have been a war if a league of nations composed of the principal countries on earth had existed prior to its outbreak. And if a league would have prevented this last awful war, why not other wars in the future?

Any man who in the spring of 1914 had forecast the terrible era of sorrow and devastation from which the world has just emerged would have been scorned like the soothsayer who admonished Cæsar to "beware the ides of March." Civilization had almost reached its pinnacle, we were told, and the genius and energy of man were to be devoted to the arts and sciences, to education and culture, to the pursuit of happiness, and to everything that makes life worth living. The fallacy of this belief has been proved by the unerring verdict of the history of the past five years. Man had relied too much upon the good faith and virtue of his fellow man. People trusted their governments to keep within the path of peace, to arbitrate and weigh and balance, and to make every honorable sacrifice in its interest, but all to no avail. Nations entered upon their separate international engagements with the firm resolve to avoid clash, and innumerable treaties and alliances were formed, but, unfortunately, these did not provide the cure. They were more or less local in character, based on purely selfish reasons, confined to two, or, at best, four or five, nations on the Continent of Europe, and were naturally all too narrow in scope to be of world-wide benefit. On the other hand, the concept of the league of nations includes every country on earth, and if it is to become a success it is necessary for substantially all the countries of the world to be members.

The recent conflict has conclusively demonstrated the absolute dependence of nations on each other. The time has passed when a war against an individual nation is merely an attack on that country. Unless the attempt is frustrated in the embryo, as provided by this league, every people of the world will finally become embroiled. President Wilson stated as early as March 27, 1916, in an address before the League to Enforce Peace:

The longer the war lasts the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind. We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and Asia.

All the arts and sciences have progressed with the greatest rapidity during the last 50 years, especially the art of destroying life. The awful toll in human life and property in the recent world catastrophe is alarming. The official figures of the "battle losses" of all belligerents show 7,450,200, as per estimate of Col. Leonard P. Ayres, chief statistician, General Staff, in his book, *The War with Germany*. (See Appendix A.) This does not include deaths by disease, accidents, or other causes, but merely the men killed in action or who died of wounds received in battle. Compare this figure with the losses in the Crimean War (1854-1856), with England, France, Sardinia and Turkey, Austria, and Russia as belligerents, wherein 609,797 was the loss of life, which includes deaths by disease as well as in battle. In our own Civil War (1861-1865), the deaths in battle and from wounds were about 200,000; in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), 81,000; in the Spanish-American War (1898), about 2,800; and in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), 129,700.

The direct monetary cost of this war is approximately one hundred and eighty-six billions, of which the United States and its Allies expended one hundred and twenty-three billions, while the Central Powers expended sixty-three billions. (See Appendix B.) It is impossible at this time to even accurately estimate the total loss in life and treasure the world has suffered. The combined military and civilian deaths are estimated at from seventeen to twenty millions, and the cost at two hundred to two hundred and fifty billions. A correspondent of the *London Daily Telegraph*, February 4, 1919, page 6 (see Appendix C), states the figure at two hundred and forty-four billion six hundred and sixty million dollars, made up as follows: Two hundred billions for direct cost; fifteen billions for material damage; six billion two hundred and sixty millions for loss of production; and twenty-three billions four hundred millions as the economic value of the lost and disabled lives.

The sums expended in previous wars as compared with the direct cost of this mighty conflict seem paltry indeed. The Crimean War cost something like two billions; the American

Civil War, five billions; the Franco-Prussian, two billion five hundred and thirty-four million; the Spanish-American, about one billion; and the Russo-Japanese War, two billions five hundred million. (See Appendix D.)

Mr. President, our only safe criterion for the future is the past, and just as the present war far exceeded in blood and treasure the great wars of the past, so will future wars exceed this one. If the art and means of killing progress in the same ratio as they have in the past, only divine interference can prevent the world from destroying itself. And we have every reason to believe that the next 25 to 50 years will see greater efficiency in the agencies of destruction. Capt. Thomas G. Chamberlain, United States Army, in his very interesting book, *Why we Fought*, page 40, says:

I was in Paris when "Big Bertha," the German long-range gun, opened fire on the city. At regular 15-minute intervals the bursts occurred, and each burst spelled destruction and death. There were only 2 guns—why should there not be 200, with bursts occurring at intervals of a few seconds or continuously? I have seen a tank come up out of a shell hole, the sides of which were so steep that a man could not climb up. Tanks as large as locomotives—why not movable forts, with heavy guns?

Recently an American flew over the city of London in a Handley-Page with 40 passengers. Within the last few months we have come to classify bombs by tons rather than by pounds, as previously. We know that an American scientist discovered a gas so deadly that a few bombs containing it would have destroyed every vestige of life in Berlin. Both sides so feared the resultant horrors that they hesitated at dropping gas bombs on cities. To consider the possibilities of the developed engines of war—the developed aeroplane, tank, long-range gun, gas bomb, gas shell, submarine, under the system of competitive armaments—is to arrive at the inevitable conclusion that civilization must here and now end war or be ended by it.

A typical concrete example of the wonderful advance in science is helium, a nonflammable gas peculiarly suited to dirigibles. It weighs only about twice as much as hydrogen, and is exceedingly light in comparison with air. As it does not combine with oxygen or any other substance, it can not explode or burn. It has, therefore, proved the ideal gas for dirigible balloons. The value of this gas before the war was about \$1,700 a cubic foot. Our helium, on the other hand, can be produced in quantity at less than 10 cents a cubic foot, and if a new process of the Bureau of Mines fulfills expectations this figure will be still further reduced.

It is entirely feasible with the use of helium to construct and operate a dirigible with a steel casing carrying 1,500 men which can fly across the Atlantic in three days, and if one such dirigible, why not a thousand capable of carrying across the ocean in a few days an army of 1,500,000 men? This may seem a flight of the imagination, but it is no more improbable nor any harder to believe than was the feat of carrying over the ocean more than 2,000,000 men in one year without the loss of a single man. On the 1st of January, 1918, it was thought impossible to accomplish this task, and yet we know it was done, and that if the war had not closed early in November fully half a million additional soldiers would have crossed the sea before the end of the year.

Mr. President, the estimated prewar wealth of the United States was \$220,000,000,000, while that of the United Kingdom was \$85,000,000,000, of France \$67,000,000,000, and Germany \$73,000,000,000, equal to \$230,000,000,000; or, the combined wealth of these three great countries, unquestionably the most powerful on earth, except our own, was only \$10,000,000,000 more in the beginning of 1914 than that of the United States. All three of these countries have lost very heavily by the war, and their present wealth is nothing like as great as it was, while that of the United States is very much more. Beyond question the United States is now more wealthy than Great Britain, France, and Germany, with Italy, which was valued at \$16,000,000,000 before the war, added to them. This statement is not made in a boastful spirit, but for the purpose which will appear as I proceed. Very much of our Nation's wealth is due to her commerce, which extends all over the world and reaches into every country on the globe. Our flag is now being carried into every sea by American vessels loaded with American manufactures and the products of our fields and mines. Our commercial relations are intimate, close, and important with all countries and reach colossal figures. Banks and financial connections have been established in the principal cities of all the important countries. Our consular and commercial representatives encircle the globe, carrying our business everywhere, placing us in direct contact with every nation and tribe under the sun, and as the years go on, with the marvelous impetus given to American industry, inventive genius, financial enterprise, and manufacturing ability, our business with other lands is bound to increase with wonderful rapidity. This is especially true because of the great merchant marine we are now building, which already gives us second place as an ocean carrier and will in the near future give us rank very little behind the mighty marine of Great Britain. Suppose a world war should happen

between any two important countries, no matter which, would it not interfere greatly with our commerce, would it not step hard on the toes of many of our manufacturers and bankers and agriculturists and shippers? How could we avoid being drawn, sooner or later, into the war to protect our own interests? It is possible, though not probable, that we could avoid it, but what if another general war in Europe should take place, or a general war in Asia; does anyone conceive that the United States could keep out of it? Surely not. If for no other reason, business interest would compel us to participate. We could not remain neutral; we would be obliged to take sides and would be in the war before we knew it.

It was all right to have the United States beware of entangling alliances when we were a Nation of three to four million pioneers scattered over the vast expanse of our great country and separated from the Old World by 3,000 miles of ocean, traversed by small sailing boats. Isolation was practical and wise then; it is not now. Fast steamships connect us quickly with Europe. Aeroplanes fly over in a few hours and dirigible balloons in two or three days. The principal ports of the North Atlantic are infinitely closer in time and accessibility to Europe than was Boston to Philadelphia in Washington's time, when the stagecoach was the quickest means of transportation by land and sailing ships by water. What was good for the United States then is no longer a safe criterion for us to follow. If Washington and Jefferson were alive to-day they would not advise their beloved country to remain in its shell and avoid political alliances with the rest of the world, but would tell us to accept our manifest destiny as the leader among nations and the champion of human rights everywhere.

There is no nation in Europe that suspects the motives of the United States. Every one trusts her implicitly, and she alone can give breath to the league. She does not seek aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise, and she can look upon the merits and demerits of the league with unprejudiced mind, free from the rivalries of most of our European associates.

Mr. President, it is logical to expect that a great spiritual regeneration will soon sweep over the world. It is inevitable. Prior to the war people were slowly becoming indifferent to God, regardless of others' rights, negligent of the higher and nobler things of life, and so addicted to luxury and selfishness that a continued era of ease and effeminacy would have brought complete moral degeneration. False philosophy, pagan in its precepts, was being preached even in this country, and Germanized methods of education imitated in our schools. The world has been sorely chastened and emerges from this great war a better world than it was on August 1, 1914. While many horrible crimes were committed by the Central Powers in their lust of pride and strength, and some sins are doubtless chargeable to the soldiers and citizens of our country and its allies, who were far from perfection—all of us, enemies, friends, and ourselves, have poured out a big holocaust of blood and treasure in expiation. Our sins have been washed away in the blood of 20,000,000 human beings who died as soldiers in battle or from disease and wounds or as civilians from starvation, exposure, and sickness directly induced by the war.

The awful loss of human life, the frightful increase of human suffering, and the waste of human energy has sobered the world. I believe it is sometimes necessary for the Supreme Being himself to use dire catastrophe to temper men's souls and make them see light. Christianity would seem to be a farce and a pretense if 2,000 years after the Redeemer civilization should refuse to seize upon every possible instrumentality such as the world league to lessen war. Humanity must destroy war or war will destroy humanity.

In President Roosevelt's great speech on international peace before the Nobel prize committee, in Norway, May 5, 1910, he said:

Finally, it would be a master stroke if those great powers, honestly bent on peace, would form a league of peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves but to prevent by force, if necessary, its being broken by others. The supreme difficulty in connection with developing the peace work of The Hague arises from the lack of any executive power, of any police power, to enforce the decrees of the court. In any community of any size the authority of the courts rests upon actual or potential force; on the existence of a police, or on the knowledge that the able-bodied men of the country are both ready and willing to see that the decrees of judicial and legislative bodies are put into effect. In new and wild communities where there is violence an honest man must protect himself; and until other means of securing his safety are devised, it is both foolish and wicked to persuade him to surrender his arms while the men who are dangerous to the community retain theirs. He should not renounce the right to protect himself by his own efforts until the community is so organized that it can effectively relieve the individual of the duty of putting down violence. So it is with nations. Each nation must keep well prepared to defend itself until the establishment of some form of international police power competent and willing to prevent violence as between nations. As things are now, such power to command peace throughout the world could best be assured by some combination between those great nations which sincerely desire peace and have no thought

themselves of committing aggressions. The combination might at first be only to secure peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions; but the ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind.

Mr. President, this place and this title has been richly earned by Woodrow Wilson, and I venture the safe prediction that it will be accorded him in the years to come by the general opinion of the world. Indeed, sir, it will be a matter of common wonder 50 years hence that there should have been any opposition to the league of nations. By that time it will have proven such a beneficent institution that the world will cling to it with iron grip. The record of the discussion now in progress on the treaty will be reviewed many times in the future, and I can foresee the approval accorded to those of us who are putting this measure through despite the formidable character of the opposition. I am proud, sir, that my humble place in the record will show that I see clearly in this league one of the greatest boons which ever has come to mankind.

The same spirit of indulgence in the shortcomings of our fellow men, of brotherly love, of sympathetic assistance and support, which holds a nation together should be emulated by the nations themselves in their dealings among themselves. In times of war a citizen is renegade to duty who will not yield his personal interests to the national necessities. He must give his life, if need be, for his country's sake. This runs all through our national and municipal polity. Why should not nations be guided by these principles in dealing with each other? I believe international difficulties can be attributed as much to lack of confidence in the good faith of one another and doubt in the sincerity of each other's intentions as to any one cause. It is usually the fear of some commercial or military advantage that makes nations reluctant to fraternize rather than any actual animosity.

Mr. President, as a Louisianian I can not refrain from speaking of France and the trials through which she has passed. France is very close to the heart of Louisiana. As a young colony, my native State, then part of the big expanse of the original Louisiana Purchase, was composed almost entirely of people of French blood, and a large part of her present population traces its ancestry to La Belle France.

The United States, and especially Louisiana, looked with mingled feelings of pity and admiration on France in the awful days when, as the veritable bulwark of civilization, she was holding back the German hordes in their first mad rush on Paris. And had it not been for the wonderful gallantry and splendid prowess of French soldiers led by Joffre at the Marne, which stopped and drove back the hitherto victorious Germans, the war might have had a very different ending, with autocracy in the saddle and democracy set back for centuries. Free government on earth owes to France a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid, and, if for no other reason than to protect France from future German aggression, the league should be adopted.

Since the days of Lafayette, immortal in the hearts of Americans, we have loved France and her achievements, and this brotherhood has been indissolubly cemented by a bloody sacrifice on the altar of freedom under the leadership of Ferdinand Foch, generalissimo of all the allied forces, and by common consent the greatest military genius of the war. The French people will need international protection for years to come. They are entitled not only to the guarantee of Britain and the United States from any self-seeking, aggressive power, but the protection of every force on the earth which places the right of an independent people before the offensive, tyrannical power of an unscrupulous foe, and such a force will be furnished by this league.

Mr. President, after reading many discussions on the proposed league of nations and making a close study of its provisions, I have reached the following conclusions:

1. That the formation of a league of nations is a problem that can not be evaded, and the experiment can never be tried under more favorable conditions than now.
2. That the present system for maintaining peace by international alliances has failed, and a strong league of nations is the only means for preserving the peace of the world.
3. The possession of a powerful international police force, as contemplated under the league, would serve as an effective preventive of war. The success of the Monroe doctrine for 93 years without the need of armed intervention in a single instance fully illustrates the effect of a threat of force upon the conduct of the world without the necessity of its exercise.
4. A league of nations would mean the end of secret diplomacy and secret alliances based upon dynastic ambitions, and it would tend to create a strong feeling of international comity and good will.

5. It would secure material limitation of armaments by guaranteeing the different nations against sudden aggressive warfare, thereby excluding the main motive for military preparedness.

6. It would bring to bear upon international disputes and difficulties the organized public opinion of the world—the strongest force on earth.

7. It would bring about a beneficial understanding and in many cases a common agreement as to tariffs, spheres of influence, shipping rates, insurance, harbor dues, loans, and so forth.

8. It would lessen international trade rivalries and tend to the removal of economic barriers.

9. It would insure equal transportation charges on international rivers, canals, straits, and railroads for citizens of every State in the league.

10. It would effectually stop the pernicious activities against peace of vested interests, such as Krupps, and so forth.

11. It presents the only solution of the Far Eastern question. Shall China be exploited by Japan or assisted in development by a league of friendly powers?

12. It would render secret armaments impossible by means of an international bureau of inspection.

13. It would put an end to the maelstrom of world-power politics and create a new structure of international confidence and fair dealing.

14. It would insure important changes in international law under which the rights of neutrals would be amplified and more carefully safeguarded.

15. It would guarantee to the Jews in certain countries, for example, Russia and Roumania, freedom from oppression.

16. It would place under international control all investments and concessions in backward countries.

17. A league of nations, in contradistinction to an alliance of great powers, would mean the prevention of a policy designed to enable the victors to profit from the impotence of the vanquished; it would prevent the United States from reverting to an isolation which under present circumstances would be dangerously profitable, and thereby obviate any danger of a spirit of Prussianism on this continent.

18. It would prevent the United States from adopting a purely selfish economic policy, which would redound to the exclusive benefit of American capitalistic enterprise and condemn Europe to an imperialistic policy guaranteed by a preponderance of power.

19. It would render inestimable service to civilization by substituting compulsory arbitration for war. And the impartiality shown by international arbitral boards in the past leads to the conviction that a permanent arbitral board, or court of justice, would be a safe and unbiased judge of future international disagreements.

20. It would stimulate democratic ideas and institutions now taking shape in Europe and the Old World.

21. It would create a spirit of brotherhood and kindly feeling among all nations as a result of the better understandings and more thorough knowledge which would necessarily follow the annual meetings of the assembly.

22. It would compel obedience to its decrees by means of an international boycott.

23. And while a league of nations may not entirely prevent an occasional war, there is not the slightest doubt that it will prevent most wars and have a vastly beneficial effect on the affairs of mankind.

Mr. President, the idea of a world league is not a novel one. For more than six centuries the great leaders of every civilized nation have preached the organization of an international union. It has been an ideal for years, and now the time is ripe to carry the beautiful theory into practice.

There have been many plans suggested for such a league. Notable among them is that of Pierre Dubois (1306 A. D.), a Frenchman living in Normandy. This plan was the first, and created a general council of princes and prelates, which would choose, in each case that might arise, a council of nine arbitrators to give judgment. Eméric Cruce, also a Frenchman, published a plan in Paris in 1623. His league of kings was to establish a permanent court of arbitration by keeping special representation at Venice for the purpose of settling differences. If any king were dissatisfied with the court's decree and refused to be bound by it, then "he would receive the disgrace of all other princes, who would find means to bring him to reason."

The plan of Hugo Grotius, the Dutch publicist and statesman, published in 1625, was a powerful contribution to the cause of peace. Grotius stressed the need of congresses of Christian powers before which the controversies which might arise among some of them would be decided by others who were

not interested, and in which measures would be taken to compel the parties to accept peace on equitable terms. The great design of Sully (1638), minister of finance to Henry the Fourth of France, provided for a union of Christian princes, but was really aimed at the reduction of the influence of the house of Austria and contemplated the leadership by France of united Europe.

William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, in 1693 published his essay toward the present and future peace of Europe, providing for a general European parliament wherein representation was to be based on wealth.

The idea of Abbe de St. Pierre was published anonymously at Cologne in 1712. It outlined a plan for a union of all Christian sovereigns, with a permanent congress composed of the personal representatives of all the sovereigns within the league. The congress was to consist of 24 deputies, before whom all disputes were to be laid. The controversy could receive a provisional settlement by a mere majority of votes, but a definitive adjustment required a three-fourths vote of the members.

The plan of the Englishman, Jeremy Bentham, was promulgated in 1839. All disputes arising between members should be referred to a general congress of the powers for settlement, and if necessary the decisions of this body were to be enforceable by arms. Bentham prognosticated, however, that the provision for enforcing the decrees of his "congress" by arms would be quite unnecessary, "for a free press could be counted upon to create an organized public opinion that would be amply sufficient as an instrument of coercion." Emphasis was laid on the need of limited armaments.

The German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, in 1795, published his plan, which was based on a voluntary union of free States, no State being compelled to remain within the confederation against its wishes. He was firmly convinced that the human mind would ultimately devise a scheme for perpetual peace "to take the place of those mere suspensions of hostility called treaties of peace."

Czar Alexander I of Russia proclaimed on September 26, 1815, what he considered the permanent basis of future European cooperation, showing the urgent necessity of a brotherhood of monarchs founded upon "the sublime truths of the religion of God, our Savior."

In connection with the present organization of the league, the plan of William Ladd, a New England farmer, published in 1846, will prove interesting. Under the title of "An Essay on a Congress of Nations," he advanced a scheme consisting of two parts: First, a congress of ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to send them for the purpose, among others, of devising and promoting plans for the preservation of peace and ameliorating the condition of man, each nation to be limited to one vote, no matter how numerous were the ambassadors; and, second, for a court of nations, composed of the most able men in the world, to judge such cases as should be brought before it by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations. The former has many attributes quite similar to the assembly of the present covenant, and the court of nations is much like the council.

Unlike previous plans, which required merely a majority or three-fourths of the members of the congress, Ladd's plan provided that no law "should be established unless it had the unanimous consent of all the nations represented at the congress," to be subsequently ratified by the respective governments represented. His idea, however, lacked the power of compulsion, which the present league affords.

Mr. President, the peace treaty of which the league is a part represents the untiring effort of 32 nations, the largest number ever assembled at one council table. It is remarkable that after seven months the Senate should have submitted to it for ratification a treaty of such magnitude, and incorporated in it the provisions for which the lovers of world peace have so long yearned. With the vast territorial and racial problems to be settled, and troublesome questions out of all proportion to historical precedents to be adjusted, it is truly wonderful that President Wilson can bring back to the Senate such a treaty signed by nearly every acceptable major country of the world.

The league of nations is the product of the best minds of the world. Its authors labored persistently at their task of producing it for many months, aided and assisted by suggestions and criticisms from the publicists, thinkers, and statesmen of all great nations, with the exception of Germany. The United States was represented in this mighty convocation by President Wilson and four of our ablest men, assisted by several hundred experienced historians, students, and men of affairs, some of whom were thoroughly familiar with every subject presented for consideration. France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan, who, together with the United States, constituted the big five at the council table, were headed by the best intellect of their

countries, under the leadership of Clemenceau, Lloyd-George, Sonnino, and Saionji—statesmen who have been making world history for many years—and each of the other 27 nations who sat at the council was represented by its strongest men—conspicuous among whom was the Greek Venizelos—all of them actuated in creating the league by motives of patriotism and humanity. A better equipped body of men from 32 nations never assembled on earth, nor one more impressed with the magnitude of the task imposed upon them—to devise ways and means for effecting the peace of the world. The completed work is before us. It is not perfect, but as nearly so as anything human can be, considering the conflicting interests of the various parties to the covenant and the wide divergence of views natural to honest men from so many lands, and the necessity of compromise in order to arrive at a final decision.

I have studied the league closely, have given to its provisions the best thought of which I am capable, and my firm conviction is that it meets the end desired—universal peace—as closely as any human agency can. Of one thing I am certain. The old order has failed. The world has suffered from repeated warfare since the beginning to the present day. The people of the world are war sick.

The pride, jealousies, and selfishness of nations, together with their failure to submit to some arbitrable body with constituted authority to settle their aggravated disputes, have led to the mutual misunderstanding and distrust which eventuated in war. Confidence can no longer be placed in the old international order; there must be something new. Men demand an effective guaranty against the wholesale slaughter of their children and the ruthless destruction of their property. The war from which we have just emerged has left its eternal imprint upon the hearts of both actors and audience; the world has suffered too great a holocaust to ever become indifferent. It yearns for some practical instrumentality devised by the common concert of all nations and armed to enforce its decrees.

It is incomprehensible to me that after the suffering and sacrifice of this war we should not organize a world league. Europe has borne the brunt of the fighting; her young men were killed, her industry destroyed, her civic ability crippled, and it would be a catastrophe, indeed, for America to sign the peace treaty with Germany and leave our allies to their fate. We gave freedom, prosperity, and happiness to Cuba, and with our aid it rose from its ashes to become a thriving republic. We have ruled the Philippines with kindly wisdom most helpful to their people and have given them a large measure of self-government preparatory to full independence. Why not extend the same guiding hand and friendly assistance to the nations of Europe, which suffered so cruelly from the war? In the process of reconstruction among the new States that grow out of the old empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Russia there will be many discordant elements hard to fuse into the pure metal of real democracy. America *must* take her part in their upbuilding.

Everyone demands that something should be done in order to save mankind from the horrors of war. There is very general opinion that a league of some kind to enforce international peace must be adopted. The covenant before us presents a concrete, definite plan which, to the ordinary man, seems feasible and workable. It has been subjected to very harsh criticism on the floor of the Senate and elsewhere, but no one has suggested a satisfactory substitute. Its enemies submit all sorts of objections to this particular league, but propose nothing in its place. They are agitators of destruction, not statesmen of construction. Do we wish a repetition of war every few years with all its horrors and sufferings and loss of life and property; war which Gen. Sherman described as hell; war which is the worst enemy of the human race; war which forces our nearest and dearest, the strongest and best young men in the country to give their bodies as cannon fodder; to pour out their blood like cattle in the shambles; to die under burning suns with no water to moisten their parched lips, sobbing and moaning as life ebbs away; to die amid the snows of winter in the trenches waist deep in icy water, high in the air amidst the fierce aeroplane battles, from torpedoes and other terrors of the sea, from countless diseases brought on by exposure, far away from home, wife, and mother, in scenes too horrible to contemplate and impossible to describe? No pen can paint the horrors of war suffered by the soldiers nor attempt a description, for instance, of the agony endured by the civilian population of Armenia during the recent war, when millions were starved and tortured to death amidst inconceivable misery; of Russia, whose people were murdered like flies by the cruel Huns; of Belgium and northern France, where no mercy was shown to young or old, to little children, to spotless virgins, to ministers of God—words fail completely to paint such

horrors. A vivid word picture which gives a faint idea of war's terrors is drawn in a letter by a wounded soldier printed in *Why We Fought* (p. 92), which I quote:

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

To those who oppose the proposed league of nations, either because they are not in favor of the policies of our President (which would be very narrow minded of them), or because of some other reason, and who were unable to be in a battle, I address the following:

You who have never seen the horrors of war, who have never seen a man disappear, literally blown to atoms, on being struck by a shell, who have never heard the shrieks of wounded human beings, who have never heard the hysterical laughter of a man as he gazes at the stump where his hand was a moment ago, who have never heard the cries, the groans, the swearing, the praying of men with festering wounds, lying in a first-aid station, waiting too long and in vain for ambulances, who have never witnessed the terror of those men when the station is gassed and there are no gas masks, who have never seen convalescents totally blind and with both hands amputated above the wrists, can you say that we should stop at anything in order to prevent this frightfulness, this savagery, this horror from occurring again? Is there any other way than by a league of nations and combination of power? Will a simple treaty among the greater nations prevent a recurrence of such an attempt as Germany has made? Is not the league of nations, as proposed, elastic enough and broad enough, whatever its defects, to insure world peace? Is it not a step, and the only possible step, in the right direction? I firmly believe so. If there is another way, speak it out. If not, for God's sake stop opposing this one remedy.

WYMAN RICHARDSON.
(Wounded in action.)

BOSTON, March 18, 1919.

In this same very interesting little book, page 55, I find a bit of verse written by a "buck" private in a letter to his mother, depicting the awful situation, and pleading to make this war the last:

Why is this strife and turmoil
Loose in the world to-day?
Why are the armies gathered?
Why is this warlike display?
Each night the flare of the cannon
Paints the northern skies all red,
Each eve are hundreds of missing—
Missing, wounded, or dead.

Farmers are gone from the harvest,
Husbands are gone from their wives,
The earth is plunged in sorrow,
Mourning a million lives.
Children cry for their fathers,
And women grieve for their men,
Mothers, half doubting, are praying
Their sons shall return again.

Towns and cities are ruined,
Thousands of fields lie bare;
War holds earth in her clutches,
The sea and the land and the air.
What can the old war offer
As a recompense for this?
Can the things we shall gain ever banish
The forms and the faces we miss?
What of the wife now a widow,
And the mother whose sons are gone?
Will peace bring back our missing,
And happiness go on?

Cheer up, O grieving mothers,
And all of you who mourn;
Our dead are dead victorious,
For the larger world unborn.
To them fell the task of the ages
And, oh, how gloriously
Have they fought and died and suffered
To free humanity.

Free from the bands and the shackles
That bound us to the past;
Free from the strife and struggle,
And to make this war the last.
Free, and each man is kindred
To a hundred million others,
And earth again an Eden
Where men may dwell as brothers.

And yet, Mr. President, as terrible as this war was, if the league of nations be not adopted and no concert of powers be entered into to preserve peace, we have every reason to believe that within a few years—10 to 20 years at the most—another war far greater than this will take place. If no league be formed to insist upon disarmament, to reduce the size of armies, to prevent preparation for another war by limiting ammunition, ordnance, war material of every kind; if science be permitted to continue the production of destructive agencies, such as gases far worse than those now known, which can destroy a whole city, long-range guns, like Big Bertha, throwing sufficient deadly poisons and bombs to wipe out Paris in a few hours; devices to gather electricity from the air and hurl its bolts in such size and numbers as to destroy armies; submarines incomparably more effective than those which did such terrible work in this war; aeroplanes and dirigibles completely mastering the air and bringing opponents within a few hours of each other, though separated by thousands of miles—in fact, everything imaginable, and far more than I can dream of, to kill men, to destroy property, and reduce the world to sav-

agery—then Heaven help us. Something must be done, and that quickly, to prevent the coming of such a day. This picture is not overdrawn. It does not paint half the truth.

Never was there such a war as the one just closed. Never were so many men engaged in battle; never were so many troops mobilized. Fully 60,000,000 were enlisted in the various nations. Upward of 7,500,000 were killed directly in the fighting or died from wounds in battle, while the deaths from disease among the soldiers and the civilian population directly due to the war was at least 10,000,000, or a total loss in human life from battle and disease of 17,500,000 human beings. The cost in money directly expended on the war was about \$186,000,000,000, only \$34,000,000,000 less than the total estimated wealth of the United States and all its possessions when the war broke out, and the indirect losses were \$50,000,000,000 more, a total of \$236,000,000,000.

These are big figures and hard to comprehend. We know things by comparison, however, and to give something like an idea of the loss in blood and treasure in this war I will compare it with the world wars from 1793 to 1914, a period of 121 years. During this period occurred the great Napoleonic wars, when all of Europe was fighting, with slight intermissions, for 22 years; the Crimean War, involving five of the greatest nations of Europe; the Civil War in our own country, which rent our Union asunder for 4 cruel years; the Franco-Prussian, the Russo-Turkish, the Russo-Japanese, the Balkan wars, and others—a total of 21 great wars. In these mighty conflicts, extending through a century and a quarter, the loss of life from battle and disease was only 5,098,097, and the armies in the field numbered only 16,822,200 men, while the total cost of all those wars was estimated at about twenty-four billions. (See Appendix D.) It thus appears that in the late World War 50 per cent more men—7,450,200—were actually killed and died from wounds than the total number of those who were killed and died from wounds and also from disease in the wars of the previous 121 years; and that the cost of this war—one hundred and eighty-six billions—was eight times as great as the total cost of all the wars of all the world for the previous 121 years.

These figures speak in thunder tones, and yet, in my honest opinion, the cost of this war in blood and treasure will be just as far below the cost of the next world war in money and human life as this war exceeds in these units the combined world wars of the past century and a quarter. Our only safe criterion for the future is the past, and just as the late war far exceeded all the great wars of the past, so will the future wars exceed it.

Mr. President, do we desire an increase of the already exorbitant war taxes which burden us to the limit of endurance and are to remain with us for a great many years? Yet our lot in this respect, though burdensome, is light in comparison with that of our allies—Belgium, France, Italy, and Great Britain. It therefore behooves everyone who wishes to get rid of this heavy load to favor the adoption of the league, thereby assuring peace, for another war will certainly double or treble the amount of our taxes.

Can anyone contemplate such a possibility as this and yet have patience with the men who oppose the league of nations? We must have a league of some kind or the world will relapse into savagery. Without a league, without an effective organization to prevent war and enforce peace, civilization will cease to exist. When one considers the mighty stake in this great race does it not seem the height of folly to quibble and complain about each and every detail of the covenant, about paragraph this and article that, about a possible construction which may be placed on article 10 or article 15? Does it not seem incredible that men should fuss so much about details, about whether this "i" should be dotted or that "t" should be crossed, when the fate of humanity hangs in the balance?

In this most trying hour the United States is the sole hope of mankind. If our mighty Republic fails to ratify the league the league will fail, and if the league fails the various nations of the world will continue the same mad effort for physical superiority, for commercial supremacy, for self-aggrandizement, which Germany pursued so intelligently and heartlessly for the last 40 years.

Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, aye, and the United States, too, will not be caught napping again, as they were caught by Germany on August 1, 1914. If the dance of death, the war of hell, is to go on, then we must prepare, and the other nations of the world must prepare, and prepare they will to the utmost of their ability. The world will breathe spasmodically for a few brief years, and then the great nations will spring at each others' throats far more actively, with far more power, with far more destructiveness than they evinced in the last great struggle. At the close of the next general war darkness will settle upon the

world; men will move back more than 20 centuries; there will be a long reign of absolute force; and Christian civilization, with all the good things it has done for humanity, will cease to exist.

One can not contemplate such an awful possibility in this year of our Lord 1919. Nearly 2,000 years since the Prince of Peace made his advent on earth, 2,000 years in which the world has gotten to be a much better place than it was when Christ was born. Then war was the principal business of mankind and all prisoners of war were enslaved. Athens, the center of ancient civilization, art, and science, had only 20,000 freemen and 400,000 slaves. At that time women possessed no rights that men were bound to respect, and divorce was almost universal. Hospitals and asylums for the relief of human suffering were unknown on earth. There were no homes for destitute babes and old people who had no one to care for them. It was a cold, sad world in which men were but little removed from savages, owing to the constant warfare in which they were engaged, when the Babe of Bethlehem took human form. For the past several centuries wars have been the exception instead of the rule. As I have shown above, during the last 121 years we have had only 21 wars, about one every five years. This compares very favorably with the record during the first 600 years of the Roman Republic, during which the Temple of Janus, open in time of war and closed in time of peace, was closed but for four brief periods. Slavery has been practically abolished. Women are entitled to most of the rights enjoyed by men, even the right to vote being granted them in many enlightened countries. The number of divorces has greatly decreased, though unhappily it still exists. Asylums, homes, hospitals flourish on every side and loving care is given to every human being from the helpless foundling to the unfortunate Magdalen, the aged destitute, and the prisoners in our jails and penitentiaries. Many men believe that they are their brothers' keepers and practice the beautiful philosophy of brotherly love. With such a state of affairs, with humanity so improved, so forward looking, so anxious to do the better things of life, how can we hold back from this magnificent league for peace, this movement inaugurated 2,000 years ago by the Saviour of mankind, at whose coming the angels sang peace on earth?

Mr. President, I ask permission to insert in the RECORD, as addenda to my remarks, without reading, some tables which explain a little more fully several matters to which I have referred.

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

The tables referred to are as follows:

APPENDIX A.

THE WAR WITH GERMANY—A STATISTICAL SUMMARY.

[By Leonard P. Ayres, colonel, General Staff, Chief Statistics Branch.]
Battle deaths in armies engaged in present war, 1914-1918 (p. 119, Table 9).

Russia	1,700,000
Germany	1,600,000
France	1,385,300
Great Britain	900,000
Austria	800,000
Italy	330,000
Turkey	250,000
Serbia and Montenegro	125,000
Belgium	102,000
Roumania	100,000
Bulgaria	100,000
United States	48,900
Greece	7,000
Portugal	2,000
Total	7,450,200

APPENDIX B.

THE WAR WITH GERMANY—A STATISTICAL SUMMARY.

[By Leonard P. Ayres, colonel, General Staff, Chief Statistics Branch.]
Estimated total war expenditures of principal nations to Apr. 30, 1919 (p. 135, Table 13).

[All figures in billions of dollars and excluding normal expenses and loans to Allies.]

Country:	
Great Britain and dominions	38
France	26
United States	22
Russia	18
Italy	13
Belgium, Roumania, Portugal, Jugo-Slavia	5
Japan and Greece	1
Total, Allies and United States	123
Germany	39
Austria-Hungary	21
Turkey and Bulgaria	3
Total, Teutonic allies	63
Grand total	186

APPENDIX C.

COST OF THE WAR.

[The Daily Telegraph, London, Feb. 4, 1919, p. 6, from a correspondent.]

The writer accepts the sum of \$200,000,000 given by the Federal Reserve Board as correctly representing the direct cost of the war.

The subject of indirect cost is purely conjectural. What we do know, however, of the havoc wrought in France and Belgium warrants conjecture on the big scale. Other countries—Poland, Lithuania, eastern Prussia, the Bukovina, Galicia, Serbia, Roumania, Macedonia, the Trentino, and our own east coast—have also suffered severely. M. Augustin Hamon put this devastation down at \$10,000,000,000, but that was before the last great drive of Marshal Foch, in the course of which the enemy burnt or blew up every town and village through which he retreated. Fifty per cent might perhaps be now added to M. Hamon's figure without exposing it to the charge of exaggeration. Then there is the incalculable loss caused by the removal of productive plant, the forced suspension of industry, the interference with the world's overseas commerce, the disorganization of the world's industry and finance, and the unproductiveness, for the time being, of the 50,000,000 men engaged in military and other duties connected with the war or held in readiness for warfare.

CLASSIFICATION OF COST.

Take the last of these items, and let it be supposed that only half the number were taken from industrial occupations. Let it be further supposed, in the interests of moderation, that their average productive power over and above the costs of material, labor, etc., was not more than \$125 a year, also that their average period of purely military duties was limited to two years. This would give us a loss of \$250 per man, or \$6,250,000,000 in all. Then there is the capital value of the killed and permanently disabled. Without counting Belgium, Serbia, Japan, and Portugal, the losses in killed were over 5,500,000, and the number of wounded incapable of returning to any occupation from two to three million. Altogether it seems fair to reckon that not fewer than 9,000,000 men between the ages of 18 and 48 have been sacrificed. If we put their average earnings down at no more than \$5 a week and their average probability of life at only 10 years, we get an economic loss of \$23,400,000,000. This is to value each man, taking one with another, at \$2,600, whereas some economists put it as high as \$5,000. There is the further consideration that the great majority of these victims, if not all of them, were potential taxpayers and that their removal puts a heavier burden on those who are left. We may now sum up these classifications of cost. We have \$200,000,000,000 for direct costs; \$15,000,000,000 for material damage; \$6,250,000,000 for loss of production; and \$23,400,000,000 as the economic value of the lost and disabled lives, making \$244,650,000,000—nearly \$250,000,000,000. As a set-off against the possibility of some overlapping we may put the indirect costs of diminished trade and financial disturbance.

Edgar Crammond, an Englishman, in an address on "The economic outlook," delivered before the Institute of Bankers March 25, 1919, which was summarized in the Journal of Commerce April 10, 1919, pages 3 and 8, and in the Washington Post March 27, 1919, page 2, estimated the direct cost of the war to the Allies at \$141,800,000,000 and to the Central Powers at \$68,375,000,000. He estimates the total cost of the war, including indirect losses, at \$260,000,000,000.

APPENDIX D.

[From Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living. H. R. No. 1750. Boston, May, 1910, pp. 201-207.]

The following figures, covering the period from 1793 to date, 117 years, incomplete as they are, make an impressive exhibit of the waste of life and treasure that militarism has brought to civilization:

Dates.	Countries engaged.	Cost.	Loss of life.	Armies in the field.
1793-1815.	England and France.	\$6,250,000,000	1,900,000	3,000,000
1812-1815.	France and Russia.	450,000,000	1,500,000	
1828.	Russia and Turkey.	100,000,000	120,000	
1830-1840.	Spain and Portugal (civil war).	250,000,000	160,000	300,000
1830-1847.	France and Algeria.	100,000,000	110,000	150,000
1848.	Revolts in Europe.	50,000,000	60,000	
1845.	United States and Mexico.		10,000	30,100
	England.	371,000,000		
	France.	332,000,000		
1854-1856.	Sardinia and Turkey.	128,000,000	609,797	1,460,500
	Austria.	68,000,000		
	Russia.	800,000,000		
	France.	75,000,000	24,000	128,000
	Austria.	127,000,000		200,000
	Italy.	51,000,000		50,000
1861-1865.	The rebellion.	5,000,000,000	294,400	2,041,600
			200,000	750,000
1864.	Denmark, Prussia, and Austria.	35,000,000		
1866.	Prussia and Austria.	330,000,000	57,000	639,000
1864-1870.	Brazil, Argentine, and Paraguay.	240,000,000	330,000	
1865-66.	France and Mexico.	65,000,000	65,000	100,000
1870-71.	France.	1,680,000,000		
	Germany.	954,400,000	311,000	1,713,000
	Russia.	805,847,489		
1876-77.	Turkey.	403,273,745	180,000	1,300,000
1898.	Spain and the United States.	1,165,000,000	20,000	300,000
1900-1901.	Transvaal Republic and England.	1,000,100,000	91,000	400,000
1904-5.	Russia and Japan.	2,500,000,000	555,900	2,800,000
Expense of wars, 1793-1860.			\$9,243,225,000	
Expense of wars, 1861-1910.			\$14,080,321,240	
Total.			\$23,323,546,240	
Loss of life, military service.			5,098,097	
Armies in the field.			16,822,200	

The figures are estimates, but estimates by trained scholars and statisticians, and they can, after all, represent only a small part of the loss of life and treasure.

The cost of the Napoleonic invasion of Russia in 1812 and the subsequent wars, which ended in the overthrow of the Emperor of the French, are from figures given by Jean S. Bloch, and cover only the

actual loans, issues of paper "assignats" to meet military expenses, and the English subsidies paid to Russia. The destruction of Moscow and the enormous waste in other directions are not calculated.

The waste and the loss which the Napoleonic era, including the French revolutionary, directory, and consular wars, inflicted on Italy, The Netherlands, the German kingdoms and principalities, Spain, Portugal, and Egypt, have not been estimated; but, economically, financially, and humanly, they must have been enormous. Leroy Beaulieu states that the age of the revolution and the empire cost France \$4,200,000,000, and up to the year 1799 her loss of men amounted to 1,500,000.

APPENDIX E.

[Business Digest and Investment Weekly, May 13, 1919, p. 637.]

[Compiled from official records of United States Shipping Board, Bureau of Commerce and Navigation, British Admiralty, Lloyds Register of Shipping, and other specially prepared data.]

Measured in money, the world's loss from enemy destruction of ships has been nearly \$8,000,000,000.

	Gross tons.
United States.....	911,854
United Kingdom.....	9,043,744
Other allies and neutrals.....	5,112,263
World total.....	15,067,861

	United States.	United Kingdom.	Allies and neutrals.	World total.
In valuelineslost (valuation \$200 a ton)....	\$182,370,800	\$1,808,748,800	\$1,022,452,600	\$3,013,572,200
Cargo values (valuation \$100 a ton)....	91,185,400	904,374,400	511,226,300	1,506,786,100
Property, money, and lives insured (valuation \$10 a ton)....	9,118,540	90,437,440	51,122,630	150,678,610
Earnings power (\$7.65 a ton per month)....	134,033,122	1,340,331,217	750,521,023	2,233,885,362
Total.....	416,707,862	4,143,891,857	2,344,322,553	6,904,922,272
Ships damaged:				
Repairs.....	45,592,700	452,187,200	255,613,150	753,393,050
Earnings.....	6,975,683	69,184,641	39,108,812	115,269,136
Total.....	52,568,383	521,371,841	294,721,962	868,662,185
Grand total sea losses during war.....	469,276,245	4,665,263,698	2,639,044,515	7,773,584,458

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. OWEN obtained the floor.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. OWEN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. FALL. I wish to give notice that to-morrow morning, immediately after the close of the routine morning business, I shall address the Senate on the league of nations.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the Senate of the United States is facing its greatest responsibility in the history of the Republic. We are face to face with the acceptance or the rejection of a treaty of peace with Germany, and the acceptance or rejection of a covenant establishing a league of nations and a new world order of liberty, justice, and humanity.

In a great enterprise of this character we must not permit ourselves to deal with the shadows; we should deal only with the substance.

The treaty with Germany establishes the disarmament of Germany as a great vital fact, absolutely breaks its military and naval power, its dynastic ambition and militarism, and compels reparation for the damage done by the German people. It compels the German and Austrian Governments to recognize the rights of subject peoples heretofore dominated by Germany and her allies. They are compelled to recognize the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, and to recognize the new boundaries of these peoples and their right to self-government, their right of self-determination, and equitable treatment to their commerce and industry. The reduction of the military power of Germany is an event of the first magnitude. It is the reduction of the only great power which in modern times has entertained the ambition of world dominion; it is the reduction of the only great power deliberately building up a military force for aggrandizement, for annexation, for indemnity, and for profit. The reduction of German war power and lust for dominion by this war and by this treaty is one great fact that must color everything which follows. Above all, there is established by a world agreement the covenant of the league of nations with a force of sufficient financial, commercial, military, and naval power to command the peace of the world for all time.

I have studied the covenant of the league of nations with care. I have read many speeches hostile to this covenant, and have weighed the arguments against the covenant. I have found them very hypercritical, partisan, and without convincing force.

I am profoundly convinced that it is my duty as a Senator of the United States, representing the people of the United States, to give this covenant my support without amendment or reservation. I regard it as my duty to the world to support this covenant.

Mr. President, the peace of the world might have been secured by the conventions at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 if it had not been for the military autocracies governing Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, whose representatives refused to agree to arbitration or to disarmament and who, when ready, violated all The Hague conventions and their solemn treaties with other nations in their violent attempt in 1914 to establish world dominion.

The great obstacle to world peace of 1899 and 1907 is happily removed.

These autocratic military governments are now disarmed. They will be compelled to accept the principles of international morality, and it may well be believed that with the overthrow of the military autocracies which governed these peoples, which dominated and drove them into battle, the people themselves will soon realize their deliverance and will appreciate and support with heartfelt loyalty the new world order.

Mr. President, the great conflict between military autocracy and the growing democracies of the world was almost unavoidable. The Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Bourbons, by the Secret Treaty of Verona, had sworn, in 1822, to destroy the democracies of the world. That treaty, articles 1 and 2, provided:

ARTICLE 1. THE HIGH CONTRACTING POWERS BEING CONVINCED THAT THE SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IS EQUALLY AS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE MONARCHIAL PRINCIPLES AS THE MAXIM OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE WITH THE DIVINE RIGHT, ENGAGE MUTUALLY, IN THE MOST SOLEMN MANNER, TO USE ALL THEIR EFFORTS TO PUT AN END TO THE SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENTS IN WHATEVER COUNTRY IT MAY EXIST IN EUROPE AND TO PREVENT ITS BEING INTRODUCED IN THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE IT IS NOT YET KNOWN.

ART. 2. AS IT CAN NOT BE DOUBTED THAT THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IS THE MOST POWERFUL MEANS USED BY THE PRETENDED SUPPORTERS OF THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS TO THE DETRIMENT OF THOSE OF PRINCES, THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES PROMISE RECIPROCALLY TO ADOPT ALL PROPER MEASURES TO SUPPRESS IT, NOT ONLY IN THEIR OWN STATES BUT ALSO IN THE REST OF EUROPE.

They immediately overthrew the limited monarchy in Spain and established an absolute monarchy under the same prince. They did the same thing in Italy with a view to establishing absolute monarchies throughout the world and keeping the people of the world as subjects, as political slaves, and as industrial slaves subject to the mastery of the ruling powers.

The Monroe doctrine was declared for the express purpose of checking this monarchical movement and preventing its extension to the Western Hemisphere. The Hohenzollerns were the leaders of this conspiracy from 1822 down to 1914, and down to the day when William II fled to Holland before the victorious powers of the democracies of the world.

This great war was fought by America on the principle that the peoples of the world had the right to govern themselves, and the allied Governments confirmed the American theory on November 5, 1918, as the basis of the armistice. The present dictated treaty of peace is the result and is before us.

This war was a war to establish right against might, justice and humanity against injustice and inhumanity; to establish the rule of conscience throughout the world against the rule of brute force, the right of men everywhere to govern themselves.

The principles of righteousness were successful, and in the final months of battle the great powers of the United States were marshaled and thrown upon the battle field, giving vitality to the flagging forces of Great Britain, of France, of Italy, and of Belgium, and brought an imperishable glory to the American Republic as the world apostle of liberty and righteousness.

LEAGUE OF VICTORIOUS NATIONS.

Mr. President, on the battle field a league of victorious nations was established, led by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan, and including 20 others. It may be fairly said that the sympathy of all of the nations of the world, of all the people of the world was finally aroused against the wicked lust for dominion exhibited by the rulers of Germany, and that finally on the inside of Austria and on the inside of Germany disintegration commenced because of the discontent of the Austrian and German people with the false leadership they had been compelled to follow. It was a pathetic scene when we saw the Czecho-Slovaks, who had deserted Austria and fought for the Allies, having passed around the world, reached Washington and marched before the White House as a tribute to the United States and as an evidence of their own devotion to the cause of justice and righteousness.

Mr. President, the still small voice coming from the Divine Spirit moves the hearts of all men and ultimately makes truth triumphant and justice victorious.

We have now, Mr. President, a league of nations in actual operation—a league of victorious nations, with their representatives in Paris completing the task imposed upon the world by William II.

A league of victorious nations, through their representatives, has presented to us a treaty of peace with Germany, with a covenant of a world league of nations approved by the representatives of 32 nations: United States, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, the British Empire (including Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India), China, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay.

Mr. President, 13 other great States—Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela—in effect Republics more or less advanced, are ready and have been invited to join the covenant of the league of nations.

Mr. President, I can not but believe that within a short period of probation Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria will be admitted to the league of nations, and that Russia—a united Russia, a great Republic of Russia, or perhaps several republics composed of Russian people—will gladly join the league when they shall have established orderly, democratic government.

All of these nations stand for peace and justice and sympathetic cooperation, and the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs—the governments based on militarism and lust for world dominion—are dead beyond the possibility of resurrection.

We are entering a new world order. The representatives of 32 nations have been conferring together since the 11th day of November, 1918, and have finally worked out with infinite pains a treaty of peace with Germany which is now before us (S. Doc. No. 49, 66th Cong., 1st sess.). It comprises 440 articles—a volume of 194 pages. It is the most important treaty the world has ever seen. It deals not only with Germany but in effect it deals with the new nations that are brought into life by this peace treaty.

I shall support the treaty of peace as the best settlement found possible by the representatives of the great nations fighting together for liberty and justice.

We have a league of nations now, born of necessity, created by war, by the exigencies of life and death, and they are transacting business without any other charter than the charter of necessity. This treaty has not been carelessly drawn. The United States alone had a large number of expert men engaged in an advisory capacity to gather together the information for our peace commissioners, and it is quite a wonderful tribute to the excellence of this treaty and to its thoroughness and to its accuracy that the opponents have found in 440 articles so few of which they can complain. I shall refer to some of these objections later.

But, Mr. President, what I now wish to emphasize is that we have a league of nations working without a charter, establishing by military force the peace of Europe, a peace which is essential and necessary to the peace of the American people; that the league of victorious nations in arms through its representatives has finally reached an agreement. Germany has ratified the terms; Great Britain has ratified it; France in a few days will have ratified it, and so will Japan. Are these great voices of no persuasive force? It is a dictated peace, as I had the honor to advise the honorable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] it would be, when he denounced the armistice and President Wilson's question to the German people which preceded the armistice. It is as much a dictated peace as if the Allies had gone to Berlin after having devastated hundreds of cities and villages and marched over the bodies of hundreds of thousands of the slain.

Never was a greater assemblage of scholars, technical experts, historians, and trained statesmen assembled. Their work should command the respect of all thoughtful men who respect authority and are moved by competent argument.

Mr. President, the nations composing the league of victorious nations discovered that while they were bound together by the exigencies of war in framing the future relations of the nations of Europe with Germany and her allies, and compelling compliance to the decrees of the great Allies, it was essential to establish a league of nations that should embrace all the nations of the world, 32 of whom were already at the peace table joining in the making of peace with Germany, and it was well known that all the other nations in the world, except Germany and her allies and disordered Russia, were ready to adjust themselves to a world-wide league of nations for the preservation of the future peace of the world and for the very vital purpose of making effective the settlement with Germany and her allies, making a certainty that militarism should not again raise its martial head, and that Germany and Austria should respect the penal-

ties imposed upon them and make reparations for the damage they had done.

Throughout the treaty of peace with Germany the proposed league of nations is charged with many responsibilities to see that this treaty is carried out; that the boundaries fixed shall be respected. This treaty establishes new relations between Germany and all other nations in the most important particulars—with the new States, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Schleswig, with Russia and the Russian States, with the German colonies, with China, with Siam, Liberia, Morocco, with Egypt, Turkey, Bulgaria, and in respect to Shantung.

This treaty is of gigantic importance in disarming Germany, demobilizing her forces, limiting her army and navy, her armaments, her munitions, her materials of war, abolishing absolutely compulsory military service in Germany, preventing short enlistments in the army to train citizens as soldiers, limiting her fortifications, depriving her of the right to have military aeroplanes or submarines, authorizing interallied commissions of control, making sweeping provisions for reparation, and proposing proper penalties upon the criminal leaders who committed the hideous crime of the war of 1914.

This treaty of necessity deals with commercial relations, with property rights, contracts, judgments, ports, waterways, railways, navigation, and so forth.

Mr. President, the covenant of the league of nations substitutes law and order in place of anarchy between nations. We have had no such thing as international law. We have had merely international precedents, international ethics and agreements. No rule of human conduct not prescribed by competent authority and capable of enforcement deserves to be called a law.

The covenant of the league of nations is the beginning of international order and international law to govern relations of the citizens of one nation with the citizens of another nation. The covenant is drawn up with avowed purpose—to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security.

The most intense partisan bigotry will not challenge the nobility of this purpose. The means by which this noble end shall be accomplished is specifically laid down—

- First. By the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war.
- Second. By the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations.
- Third. By the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments.
- Fourth. By the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another.

These four proposals are the proposals of the first paragraph of the covenant of the league of nations, and whatever follows must be interpreted in the light of the purpose and the plan proposed to carry out the purpose of achieving international peace and security.

The 26 articles then lay out a plan for achieving international peace and security.

First it pledges every member (art. 10) not to invade the territorial integrity or existing political independence of any other member nation, and not only to respect this principle but to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. Abundant means for safeguarding the future peace of the world is provided as follows:

- a. By recognizing the importance of reducing armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and international obligations;
- b. By limiting the private manufacture of munitions and implements of war and providing a means for abating this menace to peace;
- c. By giving full information with regard to the manufacture of armaments and military, naval, and air programs;
- d. By establishing a commission to deal with the question of military and naval programs;
- e. By providing for an immediate call of the council in case of war or a threat of war (art. 10);
- f. By providing that members of the league shall submit disputes to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and that they will not resort to war until at least three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report of the council (art. 12);
- g. By recognizing as suitable for arbitration—

First. All disputes relating to the interpretation of treaties.

Second. Any question of international law.

Third. The existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation.

Fourth. Or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach.

h. Provision is made that the members of the league will carry out in good faith any award that may be rendered, and

that they will not resort to war against a member which complies with the award (art. 13).

i. A permanent court of international justice is contemplated to be submitted to the members of the league for consideration (art. 14).

k. A further provision is made to settle disputes by providing that questions not submitted to arbitration shall be submitted to the council for full investigation and consideration.

l. Provision is made for an appeal to be made from the council to the assembly (art. 15).

m. If any member resorts to war in disregard of its covenants to arbitrate or adjust its differences with other nations under articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall, ipso facto, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league, which undertake immediately to subject the offending nation—

First, to the severance of all trade or financial relations.

Second, the prohibition of all intercourse between other nationals and the nationals of the offending State.

Third, the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the league or not.

These penalties are sufficient to deter any nation on earth from attacking another nation in violation of the covenanted agreements (art. 16).

n. Moreover, it is provided that it shall be the duty of the council in the case of an outlaw nation to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air forces the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league (art. 16).

This provision is similar to the provision in article 10 that where any nation is exposed to an exterior aggression of its territorial integrity or existing political independence by another nation, the council shall advise as to the means by which the obligation to preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of nations shall be fulfilled.

o. Article 16 makes further provision that in the case of an outlaw nation the members of the league shall cooperate in financial and economic ways to minimize the harm done by a blockade and boycott of the offending nation.

p. Article 17 provides for the settlement of disputes between nations not members of the league, and provides for the coercion of any nonmember which assails a member nation contrary to the principles of the league.

q. Publicity of treaties is provided for as a safeguard against secret treaties (art. 18).

r. The assembly is authorized to advise the reconsideration of existing treaties that may involve or endanger the peace of the world (art. 19).

s. The members of the league are to cancel and set aside obligations or understandings among themselves which are inconsistent with the principles of the proposed league, and they agree not to hereafter enter into engagements inconsistent with the principles of the league (art. 20).

t. The league is intrusted with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest (art. 23).

u. The very great and important principle is laid down in the proposed covenant that the people in German colonies and territories where the people are not yet able to stand by themselves shall have their right of development placed under the authority of the league of nations as a sacred trust of civilization, and that mandatories shall be established comprising nations trained in the art of government which shall exercise the responsibility, under a charter issued by the council in behalf of the league, determining the degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory, and providing for annual reports, and recognizing the principles of justice and the right of the people who are governed to primary consideration.

v. Some very important principles are laid down in section 23, pledging the member nations—

(a) To endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose to establish and maintain the necessary international organizations—

(b) Pledging the members to undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control.

(c) That they will intrust the league with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.

(e) That they will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the league.

(f) That they will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

That they will encourage and promote voluntary Red Cross organizations (art. 25).

Mr. President, this covenant provides for the settlement of every international dispute that can honestly arise. It provides for the disarmament of nations to the limit of safety. It provides a gigantic penalty of international boycott and blockade of any nation which, contrary to the principles of the league, invades the territorial integrity or political independence of another nation. It lays down the principles of justice and humanity. It pledges the nations of the world to the great principles of peace and international justice and international understanding. And above all the old enemies of peace and justice are powerless and made incapable of future mischief.

Those who have been opposing the league have not been able to point out in a single instance where they could improve upon the precautions taken by this great covenant to prevent war in future.

We are face to face with either accepting the covenant or rejecting it. If I should take part in rejecting it, Mr. President, my conscience would never cease to distress me as having failed in a great crisis of the world's history to do what I could to establish peace on earth, good will toward men.

Mr. President, the covenant of the league of nations is the consummation of a century of the aspirations of the good men of the world. It is the work of many hands. The doctrine of disarmament and of arbitration would have been adopted at The Hague in 1907 except for Germany and her allies.

It is absolutely inconceivable that any existing democracy on earth would disregard the principles laid down in this league. They would have no motive, in the first place. They would not dare, in the second place.

PRESIDENT WILSON.

The political enemies of President Wilson should not throw themselves in blind fury against the covenant of the league of nations on the theory that it is his child, conceived by him and brought forth by him, and therefore deserving a merited slaughter. The principles of the league are those of The Hague conventions brought down to date. It represents the best opinions of the whole civilized world. As far as the covenant of the league of nations is concerned it is full of wisdom and virtue. It is a child conceived by all the lovers of men.

I was one of those, and I assume the responsibility, who urged President Wilson to go to Paris and to use his prestige as President of the United States to bring about this covenant. I think he is entitled to very great credit for having succeeded in bringing back a covenant fundamentally sound, which will accomplish the purpose of world peace, world order, and world prosperity. History will give him a credit which his political opponents would now deny.

OPPOSITION TO THE COVENANT.

Mr. President, one of the first principles which I learned as a Member of the Senate, in its capacity to pass upon foreign treaties, was this—

That in the Senate of the United States party lines should cease at tidewater.

I have been profoundly disappointed to find the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, the present chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. Lodge], ignoring this sound principle with his round robin, marshaling all the Republican Senators whom he could influence to protest against the covenant establishing the league of nations, making hostile speeches against it, and leading other Senators to do the same thing.

The opponents of the league have proven too much.

The distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. Sherman] undertook to demonstrate that the league would be controlled by the Catholic Church by controlling a majority of the votes of the assembly and that the Catholic Church would thus rule the world.

Another Senator undertook to prove in the same way that the colored races would control the league of nations, and therefore control the world.

Other Senators to their own satisfaction have shown that Great Britain would in like manner control the league and therefore control the world.

These Senators might do well to reconcile their own differences before they ask the people of the United States to follow a leadership that leads in all directions at once.

But, Mr. President, they are completely put to confusion by a fair interpretation of the covenant itself. The action of the league (art. 2) must be effected through the instrumentality

of an assembly and of a council. It is expressly provided in article 5 that—

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant or by the terms of the present treaty, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the league represented at the meeting.

In other words no decision except by unanimous vote.

The only exceptions provided for by the covenant are in respect to matters of procedure, the appointment of committees (these arrangements may be decided by a majority) (art. 5), and in the case of an appeal to the assembly of a pending dispute it is provided that a decision may be arrived at if concurred in—

by the representatives of those members of the league represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the league, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute.

In other words, the decisions of the assembly or of the council in relation to international affairs must be unanimous. Where is the possibility of the dominance of any nation over other nations represented on the council or in the assembly? Where is the danger of dominance by England, the Catholic Church, or the colored races when no action can be taken except by unanimous consent?

Great stress has been laid upon the number of votes given to Great Britain, as in the cases of Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Canada, and India, while only one is given to the United States.

The answer to this is that since a unanimous decision is required it is not of the slightest importance; and, second, that in so far as mere votes are concerned, the United States has a number of small nations whose support could be relied upon, as Cuba, Haiti, San Salvador, Panama, Liberia, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala, whose population is negligible but whose dependence upon the United States is of such a character that their cooperation with the United States can be as much relied upon as the cooperation of Canada with Great Britain.

But there is nothing in the argument one way or the other. The argument is specious, it is fallacious, it is misleading, and unworthy of being presented to the American Senate. A few votes are of no importance where all must agree.

ENTANGLING ALLIANCES.

The opponents of the covenant establishing the league declare with suspicious zeal that we are violating the advice of our revered Washington and ignoring his warning against entangling alliances.

The entangling alliances to which Washington referred were agreements, common in his day, making offensive and defensive alliances between one autocracy and another, between rival groups of monarchies. He was very wise to advise the United States to keep out of such difficulties where nations were controlled by military and dynastic ambitions and selfish intrigue.

Our revered Washington had not the faintest conception of the present covenant establishing a world order by the democracies of the world as a result of the complete overthrow of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanoffs. So far is membership in the league of nations under the present covenant from being an entangling alliance, it is an association which will make impossible any entangling alliances such as those contemplated by Washington.

The present covenant precludes the possibility of military dynastic alliances. The present covenant establishes peace on earth, establishes a just and fair relationship between all nations, with all the nations of the earth pledged to maintain the political integrity and the existing political independence of every single member nation. I agree with Senator Lodge's speech of June 9, 1915, at Union College, that "there is no escape from the proposition that nations must unite to prevent war," and disagree with his present attitude. Is it not strange he has made no constructive proposals?

MONROE DOCTRINE.

Without a gleam of humor there are opponents of the league who have the hardihood to confront the intelligence of mankind with the astonishing proposal that the present covenant would abolish the Monroe doctrine. These unhappy statesmen think the Monroe doctrine is a charter establishing suzerainty over the Central and South American Republics and that it is a species of overlordship by which the United States has a right to manage and control the policies of the other Republics on the Western Hemisphere. This un-American conception has been highly mischievous just to the extent that it has had the temerity by mysterious innuendoes to formulate itself. It has caused the Republics of South America and of Central America to look upon the United States as the Colossus of the North, ready to invade their territory and their existing political in-

dependence whenever a pretext arises for the purposes of profit—commercial, financial, or political.

This is the doctrine which the Germans have used in the Argentine, and Chile, and Brazil, and Colombia, and throughout the South American Republics and the Central American Republics, for the purpose of discrediting the United States and breaking down our just influence with these neighboring Republics whose faithful friend we always have been and whose faithful friend we always shall remain.

The Monroe doctrine is this: That the United States will regard it as an unfriendly act for any foreign nation to attempt to establish on the Western Hemisphere its system of government or to interfere with the political independence or policies of the Republics on the Western Hemisphere.

This doctrine has been somewhat expanded to mean that the United States would not be indifferent to an attempt on the part of a foreign Government to acquire additional lands on the Western Hemisphere.

The Monroe doctrine does not give the United States any rights of suzerainty. The rights of the United States have been somewhat expanded by the necessities of the case, as in Haiti, under the same principle which is recognized in article 22 of the pending covenant, establishing mandatorys over communities showing themselves incapable of orderly self-government. But this is an entirely different principle from the Monroe doctrine, and the Monroe doctrine may fairly be construed to preclude a foreign nation from exercising the rights of a mandatory on the Western Hemisphere.

Article 10 pledges all the members of the league to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of the member nations, and this is a powerful confirmation of the underlying principle of the Monroe doctrine, forbidding foreign nations and all other nations to invade the territorial integrity or to interfere with the political independence of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere.

But the covenant goes further. It actually recognizes, in terms, the Monroe doctrine (art. 21), which is all any reasonable man ought to desire; and this great covenant of the league of nations, instead of weakening the Monroe doctrine, would strengthen it, confirm it, and cause it to be acknowledged by all the world.

THE LEAGUE HAS NOT STOPPED WAR.

The opponents of the proposed covenant say that it has not stopped war; that there are a dozen wars pending now.

Nearly all of the so-called wars pending are civil wars, and not really international wars. A few are over disputed boundaries or disputed authority.

The league of nations has not yet been established. The United States has not yet approved the covenant. But the league of victorious nations, which is giving birth to the league of all nations, has stopped the greatest war in history, the war in Belgium, in France, in Italy, in Greece, in Serbia, and in Germany, in Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and demobilized their armed forces.

The gigantic armies of the Teutonic allies are demobilized. The great warring armies are rapidly returning to civilized pursuits, and the smaller civil disputes which remain will rapidly adjust themselves when the great nations of the world act.

RESERVATIONS.

The opponents of the league having observed that article 1 provides that the members of the league are those who shall accede without reservation to the covenant now insist upon reservations which would exclude, by the conditions of article 1, the United States from membership in the league of nations.

Reservations are not necessary to the covenant as drawn and are objectionable because by the terms of the covenant itself any reservation to article 1 would exclude the United States from membership in the league of nations and possibly defeat the covenant itself by leading to other reservations and withdrawals.

Instead of making reservations which would temporarily exclude the United States from membership in the league it would be much better to ratify the treaty of peace with Germany and let Senators who have doubts remaining pass resolutions at the same time stating what the interpretation of the Senate or of Senators may be. This would be ratification with an explanatory interpretation of the meaning coincident to it by those who think this necessary. But no reservations should be attached to the ratification of the treaty itself, for the reason that it would exclude the United States from membership in the league if this were done, or bring the covenant into great confusion by inviting 50 nations to make reservations and amendments, to be in turn submitted to other nations and invite new amendments or reservations.

Mr. President, I think it should be remembered by the Senate that the sovereignty of the United States is vested in the people

of the United States; that the Senate and House of Representatives merely occupy a position of temporary authority. No Congress can bind a succeeding Congress. Any Congress can, by act of Congress, repeal any treaty which is made. That is the law of the United States, as repeatedly construed by the United States Supreme Court. The effect of a treaty in the way of a promise to another nation only carries with it as valid and binding a moral obligation. A moral obligation, of course, is sufficient to bind the representatives of the people of the United States, but if, when they ratify this treaty with Germany, they should on the same day and in a separate instrument pass a resolution stating what, in the opinion of the Senate, is the limitation upon the power of the Senate, what is the interpretation of the Senate in agreeing to the covenant, it would completely meet every possible objection at any future time that the United States was not living up to its moral obligation, if any nation in the future should put upon the covenant a meaning which the Senate of the United States now believes they would have no right to put upon that covenant. In other words, we can meet the moral aspect by an independent resolution passed on the same day, without interfering with the ratification of this agreement, free from amendment or reservation.

I am in favor of ratifying it without amendment and without reservation, and I do not think it is even necessary to have a resolution such as I have described, although for those who are timid and fearful of a moral responsibility to nations in the future they can reconcile themselves to themselves and to the world by taking that course.

The league of nations—

First. Will prevent future war.

Second. Will establish world peace.

Third. Will promote international law and international understanding and international morality.

Fourth. Will promote international industry, commerce, and finance.

Fifth. Will promote higher conceptions of liberty and justice and humanity.

Sixth. Will save the enormous expenditures and waste in life and property of preparation for war and of war.

Seventh. The economic penalties of the present covenant are sufficient to prevent war without the use of international police; the international police being in existence does not imply and probably would not require its employment, except on very rare occasions.

Eighth. It will promote democracy throughout the world, the rule of the people, and make the Government responsible to the need, the welfare, the health, the happiness, the prosperity of the people.

Ninth. It will make international agreements relative to finance, commerce, and industry easier of accomplishment.

Tenth. It will give a new dignity to human life and exalt it above the conception of mere property, so that property would be considered as secondary to human life.

Eleventh. It will mean the freedom of the seas and freedom of international waterways, and a new birth of freedom throughout the whole world.

Twelfth. It will promote genuine democracy and end Bolshevism.

Thirteenth. It will stop civil wars that are now raging in certain demoralized portions of the world.

Fourteenth. It will promote the better interests of those who labor throughout the world, of those who create values, and give them a larger part of the values which they create.

Fifteenth. It will put an end to dynastic ambition and to military atrocity forever.

Sixteenth. It will end the rule of the few over the many and establish the rule of the majority for the happiness of the majority and of the minority as well.

Seventeenth. It will not impair the internal sovereignty of any nation.

Eighteenth. It will abate racial and class prejudices.

The future success of the league is forecast by the success of the British Empire, by the success of the Government of the United States with its 48 sovereignties, living in peace and in the most abounding prosperity the world has ever known, for the very reason that they have complete cooperation instead of selfish conflict one with another.

The rules of international law are simple and few and impersonal, and can be adopted by unanimous agreement of the representatives of the nations.

SHANTUNG.

A tremendous outcry has been made over Shantung by the opponents of the treaty of peace with Germany.

The treaty, in articles 156 to 158, turns over to Japan the rights which Germany had under the treaty of March 6, 1898.

By this treaty with Germany China retained sovereignty over the Shantung Peninsula, giving Germany, however, certain railroad and mining rights therein, and leased for 99 years to Germany a special tract which only involved 208 square miles of land and 200 square miles of water at Kiaochow, the total being less than 1 per cent of the Shantung Peninsula, which has 55,984 square miles. The population of the leased area where Germany was permitted to exercise sovereignty involved about 200,000 people.

When the war of 1914 arose, Germany, with the port facilities on the Chinese coast, was in a position to destroy the transports bringing troops from New Zealand and Australia.

Japan, on the invitation of the Allies, having entered the war in 1914, took the German concession by military force, broke up the port which the German ships had, and cleared the Pacific Ocean of German ships, giving a free right of way to the British transports.

On May 25, 1915, at Peking, Japan made a treaty with China by which the Chinese Government agreed to recognize any adjustment made between the Japanese Government and the German Government as to Kiaochow, but with the understanding, reduced to writing, at the same time and place, to wit:

PEKING, May 25, 1915.

That the land and concessions and rights of sovereignty leased or ceded to Germany should be returned by Japan to China upon the conclusion of the present war upon the condition of opening the Kiaochow as a commercial port, permitting a Japanese settlement there and an international settlement, and that suitable arrangements should be made for the disposal of the German public establishments and properties.

This was excellently well set forth by Senator ROBINSON in July 24, 1919, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 3086. Various Japanese authorities have recently referred to this obligation of Japan, which will undoubtedly be carried out in perfectly good faith.

Viscount Uchida, minister of foreign affairs of Japan, in his address of January 21, 1919, confirmed this understanding, as did Baron Goto, former minister of foreign affairs of Japan, in a statement made in New York on May 6, 1919. The Associated Press report from Paris of April 30, 1919, is of like effect. Baron Makino confirmed this pledge on April 30, 1919.

Japan is a wonderful nation. It is a great nation, and is entitled to the respect of all the world, especially of the great Allies with whom Japan joined forces for the defense of civilization and righteousness.

It has not been possible for Japan to carry out the arrangement with China up to this date for the obvious reason that the treaty concluding the war between Germany and Japan has not yet been presented to Japan.

It is to be profoundly regretted that Senators occupying such high responsibility on such an occasion, where the welfare of the whole world is in the balance, should speak words reflecting upon a great and friendly nation, whose fidelity has been so serviceable and whose right to our confidence and trust has been abundantly established in the history of recent years.

I have every respect and confidence in Japan and have not the slightest doubt that Japan will carry out in good faith her agreement with China, and it is the orderly way to settle the Shantung matter by providing that Germany shall make a formal relinquishment to Japan, which conquered it, in order that Japan may herself, having cleared the title of German claims, transfer these lands and sovereignty back to China, as Japan agreed to do.

INVADING OUR SOVEREIGNTY.

Some of the hostile critics of the covenant insist that our sovereignty would be invaded by the provisions of the covenant; that the assembly or the council would pass laws authorizing the Japanese or Chinese to immigrate into the United States. This whimsical conceit has nothing to justify it. The league of nations does not contemplate dealing with anything except international questions, and does not contemplate dealing with intranational questions. None of the member nations contemplate giving up their sovereignty. None of them had such a conception. The only way a decision could be arrived at under the covenant, even on such questions, is by unanimous vote (art. 5). It is grossly unreasonable to argue that 45 nations would unanimously vote a precedent to invade their own sovereignty, and no reasonable man believes it or can believe it if he is capable of logical, consecutive thought.

Moreover, Mr. President, the sovereignty of the people of the United States as vested in the people of the United States, is inalienable, indestructible, and incapable of invasion. The Congress of the United States can not invade the sovereignty of the people of the United States. It might commit political suicide and be kicked out of office. But one Congress can not bind a succeeding Congress, for the very reason that the sovereignty is vested in the people, and they change their servants at will, and they can, by an act of Congress, repeal any treaty the Senate

can pass if the Senate should pass a treaty that was unacceptable to the American people.

I shall not criticize the rhetoric or the verbiage of the covenant. This covenant is wise. It is thoughtfully drawn. In its substance it is splendid. In its purpose it is glorious.

A perfect contract between scoundrels is worthless. An imperfect contract between trustworthy friends, who have fought and bled together in a common love of justice and liberty, is of very great value.

Are we justified in trusting the British people to faithfully and justly interpret this covenant? Did not that first wonderfully heroic army of British die almost to the last man in Flanders defending liberty and justice against the armed Hun? Did not the British sailors and men of war and destroyers ride through the misty darkness of the North Sea for five years, day and night, in storming seas defending the world against Teutonic aggression? Have they not shown themselves for a century our faithful friends?

It was Canning, the prime minister of England, in 1822, who served notice on the Holy Alliance that the British Government would not stand for the invasion of the liberties of the struggling Republics on the Western Hemisphere. It was through Canning and the influence of the British Government that Monroe was informed and encouraged to send his great message to Congress establishing the Monroe doctrine.

Shall we be afraid of France and refuse to trust France? Did they not, when this Republic was struggling for its liberties in the beginning, come with all the force they had and all that we required to establish our liberties upon this continent? Did they not cede to us a mighty continent in the Louisiana Purchase? And have they not been faithful to the uttermost in defending civilization against the Teutonic allies?

Shall we doubt Italy? The Italian people have shown themselves to be glorious in war and magnificent in peace. When Paris was about to be struck down by the advancing field-gray troops of Germany, coming like swarms of locusts down upon the Marne, it was Italy that told the French statesman, "You need not guard the borders between France and Italy. Italy will not stand by Germany in a war of aggression." Italy made a treaty with Germany and Austria, a defensive alliance, against aggression on Germany and Austria, but not by Germany and Austria on undefended borders of others or any unprovoked assault upon their neighbors. Shall we question Italy when the Italians by tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands died for a common cause with us?

An agreement between scoundrels is worthless, no matter how well drawn. An agreement between these great nations who have common ideals and common purposes is worth while. It is a great step forward, no matter how awkwardly, how immaturely, how poorly drawn. The language and the rhetoric might be finer, perhaps, but the purpose is there, the substance is there, and the covenant deserves the support of the American people.

Some of the critics of the league of nations complain it is not strong enough. I deny it. It is as strong as need be.

THE LEAGUE PROVIDES ABUNDANT FORCE.

The league provides a world-wide boycott, a world-wide blockade—commercial and financial—by land and by sea, and cuts off the citizens of any outlaw nation from communication with any other part of the world. This is the most gigantic penalty ever proposed in history.

The effect of the war with Germany was to destroy the value of the bonds issued by her and her allies, and reduce such bonds to the level of waste paper. This will serve to be a sound warning to the citizens of any future proposed aggressor nation that they can not afford to finance a war against the world with an overwhelming prospect of complete loss of every dollar invested in such a nefarious enterprise.

While it is impossible to think of a force much greater than a world-wide blockade and boycott against an outlaw nation, still the league goes further and provides that armed forces of all the nations of the world can be summoned, in addition to world-wide blockade and boycott, to reduce the outlaw nation to subjugation, to peace, and to recognition of international duties and international justice.

Moreover, it is to be assumed that since democracy had its modern birth with the printing press and the French Revolution, and has grown like the green bay tree in the last 100 years until it has assumed to establish this covenant of a world-wide league for the purpose of protecting itself, there is no possibility of any nation in the world having the temerity to assail a democratic world and to put itself in the attitude of an outlaw nation.

There is not the slightest danger of Japan doing so, and if she did the powers visible at her very doors could be used to

restrain Japan from any unlawful aggression against the peace of the world or of any of the other nations of the league.

The force is sufficient to safeguard the peace of the world, and farseeing men will realize the gigantic character of the force which can be summoned through this league for the protection of mankind.

The league will safeguard the peace of the world as well as our own. It will end war. It will not interfere with our sovereignty. It is the blessing of God descended on earth.

Mr. President, we are entering upon a thousand years of peace; into an era of great world prosperity; into an era where the productive capacity of man is being multiplied in a very wonderful way, so that within the generation the time will come when every man, every industrious man, will be able to supply himself and his family with shelter, with clothing, with abundant good food, and be afforded an opportunity for education and for leisure to enjoy the providence of nature. Let us be devoutly thankful for the opportunity to bind the world together in bonds of amity and peace.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I have noted to-day for the first time a statement in the New York Times of Wednesday, July 30, to the following effect:

Among the reservations to the Versailles treaty to be offered on the floor of the Senate, it has developed, will be one by Senator SHEPPARD, of Texas, author of the constitutional prohibition amendment, expressing the sense of the Senate in favor of international prohibition.

Mr. President, this is an error. I have never at any time had any intention of offering any amendment to the covenant of the league of nations. I regard it as the sublimest document in history since the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution, and I regard the opposition to it as one of the most unfortunate and depressing episodes in American or world annals. I am for the covenant without amendment or reservation.

REPORT ON PACKING INDUSTRY.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the order of business requires the continuation of the reading of the report submitted by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON].

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). The pending order of business is the continuation of the reading of the document referred to by the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. EDGE. I will reserve my motion until the conclusion of the reading of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will resume the reading of the report.

The Secretary resumed the reading of the report and was interrupted by

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I think the Senators present are not paying much attention to the reading of the report. A good deal of it has been read. I ask unanimous consent that the further reading be dispensed with from this point on, and that the document be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa asks unanimous consent that the further reading of the report be dispensed with, and that it be printed in the RECORD. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The report entire is as follows:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION LETTER TO UNITED STATES SENATE, JULY 31, 1919, IN RESPONSE TO SENATE RESOLUTION 114.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN,
Washington, July 31, 1919.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith reply of the Federal Trade Commission in response to Senate resolution 114 [Mr. SHERMAN].

Respectfully,

VICTOR MURDOCK,
Acting Chairman.

To the honorable the PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN,
Washington, July 31, 1919.

To the Senate of the United States:

In response to Senate resolution 114, requiring certain information from the Federal Trade Commission and its members, officers, agents, or employees, and by direction of the commission, I have caused diligent search of the files and correspondence, public and private, belonging to the commission or any of its members, officers, agents, or employees to be made. The members of the commission have been asked to give an spondence, public and private, belonging to the commission or their part or actions relating to export trade, especially with the ministry of reconstruction of Great Britain, or the members thereof, and especially with the Hon. Charles A. McCurdy,

M. P., of the ministry of foods of Great Britain, or any other matters touching upon the Senate inquiry.

The originals of all letters and communications are included herein in full, but with respect to "copies of all documents, correspondence, or other papers in its possession relating to its efforts or action in promotion or concerning the export trade in meats" (except to correspondence), it was found that the files of the commission contain such a volume of "documents" and "other papers," the inclusion of which herein would involve the copying of a very great many printed documents and intricate tabulations of figures, as well as voluminous papers, that the secretary of the commission was directed to communicate with the Secretary of the Senate for advice as to a procedure which would make it possible to answer fully the Senate's inquiry but with greater expedition.

This inquiry was made on July 19, and the secretary of the commission is advised by the Secretary of the Senate on July 21 that he is directed to say that the Senate will desire the filing of original documents in every case; that such documents as the Senate wishes to retain in its files will be copied by the Senate and that all original correspondence, documents, and other papers will be returned to the files of the commission.

This report, then, will include the originals of all correspondence, the reports as to individual conduct of members, officers, agents, and employees of the commission, and a schedule generally indicating the character of other material identified as exhibits and from which a selection may be made for the purpose of copying.

PERSONAL REPORTS OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION.

Speaking for myself, I have had no communication within the scope of the inquiry. This is to the best of my knowledge.

Following are the reports made by each of the other members of the Federal Trade Commission:

SPRING LAKE, N. J., July 19, 1919.

Commissioner MURDOCK,
Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MURDOCK: I have your letter inclosing copy of the Sherman resolution, copy of the Report of the Export Division of the Federal Trade Commission, for my amendment or approval, and your request that I make individual reply to the matters covered by the Senate resolution.

In the allotment among the commissioners of the work in the commission, the export division, prior to my illness in April, 1919, was directly under my supervision, and the report of Dr. Notz for the division seems to be a complete summary of its activities in relation to export trade in packing-house products.

I have had no correspondence with any British official on the subject of import or export trade or on the meat business of American packers. I have had no communication even remotely connected with that.

The only incident that I recall having to do with the American packers' export trade was at the time that the Federal Trade Commission called for a report as to the operations of the foreign business of the packers. At this time Mr. Levy Mayer, representing Armour & Co., said to me that the real reason that the returns should not be made was that it might involve very heavy additional payment of income tax to the United States Government on the part of his client, and likewise might lead to taxation in Argentina and other foreign countries.

Mr. Mayer exhibited a list of a number of companies doing business in Argentina. As you remember, I was very much outraged at the suggestion that I could or would be party to the defrauding of this Government, or being a Government official, would be party to a deception on a friendly foreign Government. As you remember, I reported the circumstances immediately to my colleagues, and further discussion of the matter of the returns of the foreign branches of the packing companies was terminated, and I am informed the desired information was demanded and secured without any further delay.

This, I think, covers all my recollections of anything touching on foreign trade of the packers, or the other things covered by Senator SHERMAN'S resolution.

With best regards to you and your brethren, I am,
Very truly, yours,

JOHN FRANKLIN FORT,
Chairman.

WASHINGTON, July, 1919.

Commissioner MURDOCK,
Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MURDOCK: Herewith is individual reply in compliance with S. Res. 114:

Since becoming a member of the Federal Trade Commission I have had no communication of any sort with any officer of the British Government. I have never had any communication with any officer of the British Government on the subjects covered by the resolution in question.

In Gov. Fort's absence I have taken direct charge of the Export Division of the Federal Trade Commission. I have read the report of that division and that report covers my work in relation to export trade.

Very truly, yours,

HUSTON THOMPSON.

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. MURDOCK: Herewith my statement re Senate resolution 114:

I did not travel at public expense abroad.
I did not make speeches, violent or otherwise, in England.
I did not give out interviews in London.
I did not inspire nor have anything to do with newspaper articles in London.

I did not see British Government officials when I was in London. I have not carried on any correspondence with anybody, even remotely, of the sort defined in the resolution.

The Librarian of Congress says there never was a copy of the London Star of April 14, 1919, in the Library of Congress. However, I have just secured from Swift & Co. a purported photostat of page 4 of that issue. It contains no interview nor anything that purports to be an interview with me. I had no talk in London with anybody which would furnish material for this article. The photostat of the supposed page of the London Star is handed you herewith.

During my term as chairman, by direction of the commission I signed one letter addressed to the Secretary of State asking him to transmit a cable message to the ministry of food of Great Britain. The originals have been furnished you for inclusion in your report. They are as follows:

The letter:

"The SECRETARY OF STATE,
"Washington.

"11 SEPTEMBER, 1918.

"SIR: The Federal Trade Commission is in urgent need of certain official information as to Government meat control in Great Britain.

"The commission would appreciate your courtesy in transmitting the inclosed cable to the British ministry of food, forwarding the bill for same to this commission, as has been done by the State Department on former occasions.

"I have the honor to be,

"Yours, very truly,

CHAIRMAN."

Incl.

The cable message:

"MINISTRY OF FOOD,

"Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S. W. 1, London, England.

"Federal Trade Commission desires following official information by return mail direct to commission:

"Make-up and disbursements of live-stock fund to date, organization of costings branch, and combined income and expenditure account of finance division.

"Constitution and rules of London and Liverpool Meat Supply Associations, London Meat Importers' Association, Smithfield Control Board, and agreements with meat traders, including branches of foreign packers.

"Agreements with Argentine, Australian, and American packers on meat prices.

"Agreements and rules governing operation of Government and private cold-storage plants, refrigerated steamers, insulated cars, and slaughter-houses.

"Regulations and instructions for live-stock commissioners, valuers, and auctioneers.

"Constitution, rules, balance, and profit and loss statement of Model National Kitchen and of National Meat Products Co.

"Model rules of local food committees and advisory committees."

Further correspondence with reference to these two documents have been furnished in original to you for inclusion in your report, and are as follows:

Reply to letter:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"Washington, October 29, 1918.

"In reply please refer to Di 103.92/23.

"The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the honorable the Secretary of the Treasury, and has the honor to inclose, for the information of the Federal Trade Commission, a copy of a dispatch from the American Embassy at London, in which it reports that the British ministry of food appears to be loth to furnish the greater part of the information, which is held to be of a national confidential nature concerning the British food situation, as sought in the questionnaire of the Federal Trade Commission, forwarded to the Department of State by that commission's letter of September 11, 1918."

"1 inclosure: From Great Britain, No. 10004, October 4, 1918. Di."

Inclosed telegram:

"LONDON, October 4, 1918.

"Triplicate. No. 10004.

"The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,
"Washington.

"SIR: Referring to your telegram, No. 1764, of October 3, 1918, I have the honor to inform you that upon receipt of your telegraphic instruction No. 1344, of September 13, application was at once made both by this embassy, to the foreign office, and by Mr. Hoover's representative in London, to the ministry of food for answers to the questionnaire of the Federal Trade Commission. A follow-up request is being made to-day, but the impression is conveyed by the British ministry of food that they are loth to supply the majority of the information in question, which they consider of a national confidential nature.

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"F. M. GUNTHER.

"(For the chargé d'affaires.)

"Subject: Food situation in England—Questionnaire of Federal Trade Commission.

"FMG/MIJ 102.92.1 and 4."

The file indicates that on October 25, 1918, another letter was addressed to the Secretary of State asking for reply to the letter of September 11. We find no copy of the letter of October 25, 1918, but it can be found in the State Department under the filing direction "Di-103.92/24," which communication may have been signed by me, but more likely was signed by the Secretary.

The reply to the letter of October 25, 1918, the original of which has been furnished you for inclusion in your report is as follows:

"In reply please refer to Di-103.92/24.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"Washington, November 1, 1918.

"The FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
"Washington, D. C.

"GENTLEMEN: The department has received your letter of October 25, 1918, in further relation to your desire to obtain from the British ministry of food certain documents bearing on Government control over distribution of meat in Great Britain.

"In reply I beg to say that, under date of October 29, 1918, this department forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury, for transmission to you, a copy of a dispatch from the American Embassy in London reporting that that ministry appears to be loth to furnish the greater part of this information, which is held to be of a national and confidential nature.

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"FRANK L. POLK, Counselor.

"(For the Secretary of State.)

"Di."

Meantime or about this time copies of certain of the documents mentioned in the cable message had been secured from other sources. The originals are included in Dr. Ohsol's report to you. So far as I can find these are my only official communications.

From time to time messengers from the British Embassy in Washington have called at my office either to ask for copies of public documents relating to the meat business, or in some instances to inquire when further publications might be expected.

Aside from these I have had no communications, official or otherwise, with any officer of the British or other foreign Governments concerning the exports from the United States, nor with the ministry of reconstruction or any member thereof appointed in 1918 except the Hon. Charles A. McCurdy. The facts surrounding communication of Mr. McCurdy are as follows:

When I went abroad Commissioner Huston Thompson, of the Federal Trade Commission, asked me to obtain any documents or information bearing upon the proposal to create in Great Britain a government body similar to the Federal Trade Commission of the United States.

I reached London on or about April 8, 1919, and left on the evening of April 12, 1919.

I called upon the United States ambassador, Mr. Davis, and among other things asked him for advice in securing the material which Commissioner Thompson desired; similarly, when I called to pay my respects upon Consul General Robert P. Skinner at the American consulate in London, I asked if he could help me obtain these documents. From one or the other of these gentlemen I got the name of the Hon. Charles A. McCurdy, M. P., as being the best man to approach for this material.

I had not followed the legislation and knew relatively nothing about the subject.

The day before I left London I called Mr. McCurdy's office on the telephone. A woman's voice informed me that Mr. McCurdy was not in his office. I then gave my name, identified myself, and asked if anything in the nature of the desired documents could be sent me at the Savoy Hotel before I left the next night. I was told that my request would be brought to Mr. McCurdy's attention.

As I remember, it was the next morning that Mr. McCurdy called me at the Savoy Hotel on the telephone, and said that he would be glad to meet me. I explained that I was leaving that evening and had practically no spare time. It was finally agreed that he would call at the Savoy Hotel at 4.30 p. m. At about 4.30 Mr. McCurdy's office called me and said that he was in attendance either upon the House of Parliament or a committee meeting, and would be unable to keep his engagement. I expressed my regret.

Shortly after that, on or about April 20, I wrote to Mr. McCurdy from Paris a note expressing my regret at not having had the pleasure of seeing him and renewed my request that any documents which he might have relating to the proposed creation of a body similar to the Federal Trade Commission be sent me at Paris, to the office of Mr. Ed. L. Keen, formerly of Washington, and for many years a personal friend of mine. This note was written long hand. I kept no copy. I have stated its substance.

Mr. McCurdy acknowledged this note in the following letter, the original of which has been furnished you:

"MINISTRY OF FOOD,
"PALACE CHAMBERS, BRIDGE STREET,
"London, S. W. 1, 28th April, 1919.

"To WM. B. COLVER, Esq.,

"Care of ED. L. KEEN, The United Press, Paris.

"DEAR MR. COLVER: It certainly was most unfortunate that we could not have a chat before your journey to Paris. I overlooked an earlier engagement, which kept me longer than I anticipated, and prevented me from getting to the Savoy in time.

"A committee, of which I was chairman, was appointed by the minister of reconstruction in February, 1918, the terms of reference being:

"In view of the probable extension of trade organizations and combinations, to consider and report what action, if any, may be necessary to safeguard the public interest."

"The committee has not completed its report, and I will have a copy sent to you as soon as I can arrange it. In the meantime, I think the following summary of the committee's conclusions and recommendations, which I send you in confidence, may be of interest to you:

"Conclusions: Machinery should be established in the United Kingdom for the investigation of the operations of monopolies, trusts, and combinations, similar to the commissions and other tribunals created for that purpose in the United States of America and certain British colonies.

"Recommendations: The Government department which exercises surveillance over trade and commerce shall be charged with the duty of collecting all information as to the nature, extent, and development of trusts, etc., and of presenting an annual report to Parliament.

"The department shall also investigate complaints against the existence or activities of such organizations and make recommendations as to State action for the remedying of any grievances which may be established.

"In the event of the department coming to the conclusion that there is prima facie evidence that the public interest is adversely affected by the operations of a particular organization, they may refer the case for thorough investigation and report to the tribunal, which shall have all powers necessary to elicit the facts.

"If acts injurious to the public are proved to have been committed, the tribunal shall immediately publish the facts relevant to the particular offense.

"King [kind] regards,
"Yours, very truly,

(Signed) CHARLES A. MCCURDY."

I acknowledged this in a brief longhand note and said that if I returned via London I would call on him. I kept no copy of this note, but have stated its substance. Later, after my return to the United States, he addressed a second letter to me at Paris, which was forwarded to Washington. The original has been furnished you. It is as follows:

[SEAL] "PALACE CHAMBERS, Westminster, S. W. 1.

"To WM. B. COLVER, Esq.,

"Care of ED. L. KEEN, The United Press, Paris.

"DEAR MR. COLVER: With reference to my letter of the 28th April, I am glad to be able to inclose herewith a copy of the report of the committee appointed by the British ministry of reconstruction to consider the question of trusts, etc., which has now been published.

"If you are passing through this country on your return to the States I should very much like to have an opportunity of a chat with you, par-

ticularly on the subject of the machinery which has been established by the United States Government for dealing with trusts.

"Kind regards.

"Yours, very truly,

"(Signed) CHARLES A. McCURDY."

Inclosed with this letter was a document entitled "Ministry of reconstruction—Report of committee on trusts." This document has been supplied you attached to the original of the above letter. I was surprised to find that I had not acknowledged this courtesy, and that fact was discovered when my files were searched pursuant to your request. I have replied as follows:

"19 JULY, 1919.

"HON. CHARLES A. McCURDY,

"Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S. W. 1.

"MY DEAR MR. McCURDY: Thank you for your letter of April 28, which after some delay in Paris was forwarded to me here in Washington. Thank you also for the document inclosed, being the report of committee on trusts.

"I am sorry that I did not return via London, and so have not been able to see you. Better luck next time.

"With personal regards,

"Yours, very truly,

I was interested in this document, and especially in the statement on page 28, which is as follows:

"Imports controlled by combinations abroad: In the case of many commodities which are wholly or mainly imported into this country from abroad the price and supply is controlled by combinations in the country of origin. Imported meat is an outstanding example. In the year before the war nearly 60 per cent of the imported beef supply of the United Kingdom was controlled at its places of origin by the American Meat Trust, which further had a considerable hold on the meat-distributing trade in this country, having 144 wholesale branches in 64 towns and about 1,000 retail shops. True, the beef controlled by this foreign combination was not more than one-fifth of the total amount marketed in this country, and the competition of home-produced beef and of beef imported from sources not controlled by the American group was an effective safeguard in normal times against gross manipulations of the general level of prices, but the intervention of a group so powerful between the British consumer and the foreign producer of meat made it unlikely that the British consumer would get the benefit of cheap meat production abroad. The American trust, having acquired a virtual monopoly in the Argentine, was in a position to underpay the Argentine farmer, overcharge the British consumer, and pocket the difference, and the experiences of the war period have shown how far that power can be exercised in a time of scarcity. No legislative measures taken here can curb the power of combinations operating in this way in foreign countries. Import duties might serve to relieve the combination of some of its gains, but discriminatory import duties are difficult to work and precarious in effect. Diplomatic representations can be made, but the method not likely in normal times to be either desirable or efficacious. The question of the control of international trade by private interests is eminently one for international action."

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD dated June 27, 1919, at page 1872, the following statement is made:

"MR. SHERMAN, Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Ohio a question. Does he know who the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission is now?"

"MR. POMERENE, I think Mr. Colver is the chairman now.

"MR. SHERMAN, Does the Senator know where he is at this time?"

"MR. POMERENE, I do not; I am not my brother's keeper in that respect.

"MR. SHERMAN, I am not his keeper, either; but I believe I have some accurate information about where he is. Unless he has returned recently, he is in England. When the Senator speaks of the fostering care of the Federal Trade Commission on our export trade, I will say that I believe I will have adequate proof to present here that, instead of promoting our export trade, he is destroying it in England by unfriendly comments, by violent speeches reported in English newspapers denouncing certain of our export lines. I think he is paying his traveling expenses across the ocean out of such appropriations as this."

And in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 15, 1919, at page 2578, occurs the following:

"MR. KENYON, What, then, was the Senator reading?"

"MR. SHERMAN, I am reading, so far, the heading of the interview, and then follows what purports to be this interview.

"MR. KENYON, From what paper is it?"

"MR. SHERMAN, It is from the London Star of April 14, 1919. It is not, I will say, a quotation-mark interview. It states that the reporter of the London Star had an interview with W. B. Colver, and then follow a number of statements about how the firm of Sulzberger & Sons disappeared from the packing business.

"I wish to say that, taking the whole of it, this statement is grossly vicious, unfair, and some of it is false.

"MR. KENYON, Does the Senator know that it is an authentic interview with Mr. Colver?"

"MR. SHERMAN, I have clipped it from the London Star.

"MR. KENYON, Where does the Senator get the paper?"

"MR. SHERMAN, You can get it in the Congressional Library. You will find the original on file there."

On the same page Senator SHERMAN is quoted as follows:

"I believe that Mr. Colver, if not others of the Federal Trade Commission, have communicated very unfriendly information to the British authorities, those who are capable of injuring our export trade."

On the same page Senator SHERMAN is further quoted as saying:

"So far as I said he had used violent speeches I am not correct; that is an inaccuracy, and I am ready now to make, so far as my present information goes, the correction."

I sought to secure a copy of the London Star at the Congressional Library and was told that the London Star was not usually received there, that no copy for the month of April, 1919, had been received there, and that there never had been a copy of the London Star of April 14, 1919, in the Congressional Library. Efforts were made to secure copies elsewhere but without success until as a result of correspondence with Mr. O. C. E. Matthies, of Swift & Co., I obtained from Swift & Co. what purports to be a photostat copy of page 4 of the London Star of April 14, 1919, with the article in the second column marked.

This is not an interview with me. It does not even purport to be an interview. The matters in it were not the subject of any discussion between myself and the reporter or anybody else in London.

A young man came to my room in London, represented himself to be from a London newspaper—I have no doubt from the Star—and asked a number of questions. He explained that his editor, whose name I

have forgotten, was much interested in the Federal Trade Commission's report on the packers, referring to the "Summary" and "Part 2," and inquired whether or not any other reports had been published. I replied in the negative. He asked when further reports would be published. I said I did not know. He asked if his editor could have copies. I told him he could by addressing the Secretary of the Federal Trade Commission and that doubtless his name would be put on the mailing list for these documents.

He asked what, if any, legislation had been enacted by Congress.

I said none.

He asked if any legislation had been proposed. I recalled that a number of bills had been introduced, considerable hearings had been had, both the Senate and House committees, but none of the bills had come to vote when the Sixty-fifth Congress expired on the 4th day of March, 1919.

He asked me whether I thought legislation would be enacted, and I said I did not know. He asked me if the Federal Trade Commission would make further investigation, and I replied that it had finished its investigation, that it would lay its report before Congress, and that its part of the work was finished, the matter was now in the hands of Congress.

There was some general discussion about parliamentary procedure as compared with congressional procedure, and the visit came to an end. I never knew whether the young man wrote anything or not.

The greater part of the 15 or 20 minutes during which we were together was devoted to the recitation on his part of a trust investigation which was going on and which I then heard about for the first time to the best of my knowledge. I took occasion to ask him if he knew anything about the legislation for a body similar to the Federal Trade Commission, and he said that he did not and I said that I proposed to ask Mr. McCurdy for any information he might have on that subject.

To the best of my memory nothing was said about the Sulzbergers or Wilson & Co. by either of us.

One of my traveling companions, Mr. R. W. Howard, was called upon at our hotel by the American editor of the Daily Mail. I was introduced to him. We talked generally. I spoke of my quest for Mr. Thompson's document and said I had been referred to Mr. McCurdy. We talked about the trust investigation, about which the other newspaper man told me, and it was the subject of some discussion. It is my best opinion that this man wrote nothing. These are the only instances of talking to London newspaper men which might even remotely be contemplated by the Senate resolution.

I saw no newspaper reference to myself nor any quotation attributed to me in any paper. There may have been things printed, but I never saw them.

I attended no public meeting and no social gathering, and neither heard nor made any speeches, violent or otherwise, and I had no communication with any British authority other than my telephone conversation with Mr. McCurdy and my necessary passport visits to the police authorities.

No part of my expense was paid out of public funds.

Except as set forth above, I have not communicated any information of any sort to any British official or authority.

On July 16 a long prepared statement was given out by Edward Morris, president of Morris & Co., charging that United States authorities have been engaged in sub rosa activities, saying, "This committee (the English committee on trusts) had been in correspondence for months with Chairman Colver, of the Federal Trade Commission * * *." This is an unqualified statement and is unqualifiedly false.

In the matter of the reports of the five large packing concerns in Chicago with respect to their foreign business, I remember that very great opposition was made to making those returns. Officers, attorneys, and agents of these companies visited the commission and visited various commissioners. I think Mr. Henry Veeder addressed the commission on the subject, but I was not present at the time. I was present on one occasion when Mr. Levi Mayer discussed the matter in Gov. Fort's office, and it is my recollection that Col. George A. Sanderson, who then represented one of the packing firms here in Washington, discussed this matter with me.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM B. COLVER.

HON. VICTOR MURDOCK,
Federal Trade Commission.

As to the London Star, the following correspondence passed between me and the Librarian of Congress:

JULY 17, 1919.

LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Will you be so good as to inform the Federal Trade Commission if the London Star is among the publications regularly received by the Library of Congress, and if the London Star of the issue of April 14, 1919, was received by the Library of Congress and is available for reference by us.

May I ask that your reply be made at your earliest convenience, as the matter is somewhat pressing?

Respectfully,

(Signed) VICTOR MURDOCK,
Acting Chairman.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN,
Washington, July 18, 1919.

HON. VICTOR MURDOCK,
Acting Chairman Federal Trade Commission,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: In reply to your inquiry of July 17 to the Librarian, according to a report from Mr. Slade, the chief of our Periodical Division, the Library of Congress does not receive the London Star. We are therefore unable, to our regret, to be of service in this instance.

Very respectfully,

J. L. FARNUM, Secretary.

The purported photostat copy of the London Star subsequently secured from Mr. Matthies, of Swift & Co., and the correspondence related thereto are attached as Exhibit 25.

I also addressed the following to the Secretary of State requesting his assistance in the search for communications covered by the resolution of the Senate:

JULY 19, 1919.

To the honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Will you be so good as to transmit the inclosed message through the proper channels to your representative at London?

I request that you indicate to your representative the extreme urgency of this matter, which is in response to Senate resolution 114, which directs the Federal Trade Commission "to furnish to the Senate, at the earliest possible moment, copies of all documents, correspondence, or other papers in its possession relating to its efforts or action in promotion or concerning the export trade in meats from the United States to the Kingdom of Great Britain or any of its colonial dependencies and other countries, and especially any communications by the Federal Trade Commission, or any of its members, officers, agents, or employees with the officers or agents of any foreign government, and more especially all communications had with the ministry of reconstruction of Great Britain, or the members thereof appointed in 1918, and to include all correspondence with the Hon. Charles A. McCurdy, member of Parliament, of the ministry of foods, and recently chairman of the committee on trusts, also such correspondence with any other member of the ministry of reconstruction in relation to the meat industries of the United States."

Respectfully,

(Signed) VICTOR MURDOCK,
Acting Chairman.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
July 19, 1919.

Federal Trade Commission is required to furnish the Senate at the earliest possible moment copies of correspondence by Federal Trade Commission or its members, officers, agents, or employees with officers or agents of the ministry of reconstruction of Great Britain, or members thereof, appointed in 1918, including all correspondence with Hon. Charles A. McCurdy, ministry of foods. Please inquire what, if any, correspondence of this nature is in the possession of any of the above. Secure copies and cable them at once. Matter extremely urgent.

To this the following response has been received to-day:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 29, 1919.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: With further reference to your letter of July 19, 1919, regarding certain correspondence required of your commission by the Senate, you are informed that the Department of State has received a telegram dated July 26, 1919, from the American ambassador at London reporting that neither Mr. McCurdy nor the American ministry of reconstruction is able to trace this correspondence. The ambassador therefore requests further information concerning the probable dates and the subject matter of the letters in question, and the department will be glad to communicate to him any further information you may furnish along the lines mentioned. I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

WILLIAM PHILLIPS,
Assistant Secretary.

COMMUNICATIONS BY OFFICERS, AGENTS, AND EMPLOYEES OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

The secretary of the commission reports as follows:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, 21 July, 1919.

To the CHAIRMAN:

Pursuant to your direction careful inquiry has been made of the officers, agents, and employees of the commission. This inquiry followed the lines indicated by my letter of July 16 to the personnel, as follows:

"JULY 16, 1919.

"OFFICERS, AGENTS, AND EMPLOYEES OF THE COMMISSION CONDUCTING CORRESPONDENCE.

"DEAR SIR: You are instructed to make immediate response to the secretary of the commission as to whether or not you have had any communications with officers or agents of any foreign Government regarding the export trade in meats from the United States or regarding the meat industries of the United States, and especially any communications had on these subjects with the ministry of reconstruction of Great Britain or the members thereof appointed in 1918, or any correspondence with Hon. Charles A. McCurdy, M. P., of the ministry of foods and recently chairman of the committee on trusts; also any correspondence with any other member of the ministry of reconstruction.

"If so, you are instructed to furnish the secretary copies of such communications at once.

"By direction of the commission:

"J. P. YODER, Secretary."

The replies from the officers, agents, and employees of the commission were negative in every case except Dr. J. G. Ohsol, who had been assigned to the duty of collecting information with respect to food and fuel regulations in belligerent countries, and Mr. Stuart Chase.

Dr. Ohsol's statement is as follows:

"FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington.

"MR. J. P. YODER, Secretary.

"DEAR SIR: In response to your request of July 16, 1919 (Form 1429), I report as follows:

"Pursuant to instructions from Mr. W. Y. Durand and Dr. G. A. Stephens, of the commission's staff, I spent several weeks during July and August of 1918 in the Library of Congress and in the reference library of the United States Food Administration gathering material on methods of food control abroad, paying especial attention to the Smithfield meat market of London.

"Failing to obtain satisfactory data on the Smithfield wholesale meat market organization from the files of the National Food Journal, published by the British Ministry of Food, and from the London Times, I requested information on the above subject from Maj. Phipps, of the Allied Provisions Export Commission, at the Food Administration's offices in Washington. This was done at the suggestion of the librarian of the Food Administration.

"Maj. Phipps had no definite information at hand on the subject and referred me to Messrs. Charles Pearson and Cunliffe, of the Allied Provisions Export Commission, stationed at Chicago and New York.

"I reported my interview in due course to Dr. G. A. Stephens.

"I also mentioned the matter in a personal letter, of which I have no copy, to Mr. Stuart Chase, an examiner of the Federal Trade Commission, at that time in Chicago, suggesting to him to see Mr. Pearson or Mr. Cunliffe, provided they should happen to be in Chicago, and ask them for particulars about the new Smithfield Market organization.

"Mr. Chase did see Mr. Cunliffe, who promised him to write to London for the desired particulars.

"When I arrived at Chicago last fall, Mr. Chase handed me on November 1, 1918, three documents which he had just received from Mr. Cunliffe.

"These documents have been handed to Commissioner Murdock for inclusion in his report in response to Senate resolution 114, being marked 'Exhibit 18, Ohsol's file.'

"The exhibits referred to consist of:

"(1) Memorandum and articles of association of the London and Counties Wholesale Meat Supply Association (Ltd.) (a corporation organized under the auspices of the ministry of food in connection with the distribution of food in the Smithfield Market and other territory included in 'the London and counties area').

"(2) Proof sheet of a form of agreement between the food controller and the tenants of the Smithfield Market.

"(3) Typewritten memorandum entitled 'Distribution of supplies of dead meat through the Smithfield Control Board (Smithfield Market) to retail butchers in the London metropolitan police area,' signed by A. P. Twigg, and dated September 6, 1918.

"Apart from the above-related circumstances I have had no communication of any kind with the British Ministries of Food and of Reconstruction or any of their members nor with the officers or agents of any foreign Government respecting the subjects covered by the resolution.

"Respectfully submitted,

"JOHANN G. OHSOL,
Special Expert.

"JULY 21, 1919."

Dr. Ohsol's report seems to indicate that Examiner Stuart Chase had some communication with Agent Cunliffe, of the British ministry of food, at Chicago, in connection with obtaining the documents desired by Dr. Ohsol, and Mr. Chase being absent on leave, I have communicated with him as follows:

[Telegram.]

"FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, July 21, 1919.

"STUART CHASE,
108 Cherry Street, West Newton, Mass.:

"Senate resolution asks full disclosure on part any member personnel Federal Trade Commission of any communication with officers, agents, foreign governments, especially British ministry of foods, and more especially Charles A. McCurdy, member of Parliament. Apparently you had some contact with one Cunliffe at Chicago. Wire circumstances fully, send any original documents special delivery, or indicate where same can be found. Similarly advise fully if you have had communication with any other foreign officer. Answer quick.

"YODER."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 21, 1919.

"YODER,
Federal Trade Commission:

"Your telegram dated July 21 to Stuart Chase, 108 Cherry Street, West Newton, Mass., has been forwarded. Government paid, to Center Harbor, N. H. If you desire to communicate with this office by telephone in regard to the above message, call Franklin 7100 and ask for extension No. 66. Changes in the address must be paid for at the usual rates.

"W. R. WILLIAMS."

The following reply has been received to this telegram:

"MEREDITH, N. H., July 22, 1919.

"YODER,
Secretary Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.:

"Saw considerable of Cunliffe and Pearson, British ministry food, in Chicago while working for food administration, same office. Civilities only; no official business on my part; discussed meat prices on several occasions. Remember no correspondence. Ask Ohsol about Food Administration correspondence he saved; something there, perhaps.

"STUART CHASE."

The export division, through Dr. Notz, made a report, approved by Chairman Fort, as follows:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, July 19, 1919.

Mr. J. P. YODER.

Secretary Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: With reference to Senate resolution 114, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session, the undersigned, in charge of the Export Trade Division of the Federal Trade Commission, begs to advise you as follows:

Upon investigation of the files and records of this division, I find that they contain no documents, correspondence, or communications with any officers or agents of any foreign Government or with the ministry of reconstruction of Great Britain, or the members thereof appointed in 1918, or with the Hon. Charles A. McCurdy, of the ministry of foods, or with any other member of the ministry of reconstruction in relation to the meat industries of the United States. No communications have taken place between this division and officers and agents of any foreign Government, to the best of my knowledge.

Under section 5 of the export trade act (Webb-Pomerene law) "associations" organized for and engaged in export trade are directed to file certain verified statements (articles of incorporation, by-laws, and agreement) with this commission. Up to the present time two "associations," purporting to be organized for the export of packing-house products and meats, have filed papers with the commission, viz, the American Provisions Export Co., 316-319 Royal Insurance Building, Chicago, Ill., and the United States Provision Export Corporation, 175 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. The originals are being submitted with the report of the commission.

The sworn statements filed by these two associations with the commission, giving the names of their officers, directors, stockholders, or members, and other data, do not contain any of the following names, viz: Swift & Co., Armour & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co. (Inc.), Cudahy Packing Co.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM NOTZ,
Export Trade Division.

Approved:
JOHN FRANKLIN FORT.

The former secretary of the commission, Mr. L. L. Bracken, and the chief economist of the commission have signed certain letters in their official capacities. The correspondence signed by them in their official capacities is included in the files transmitted in the succeeding section of this report, devoted to official correspondence.

The negative responses from officers, employees, and agents of the commission are handed you herewith, inclosed in an envelope and marked "Exhibit 23."

As for myself, I have had no communication whatsoever with any British official or any official of any foreign Government with respect to the matters inquired of by the Senate resolution.

Respectfully,

J. P. YODER, *Secretary.*

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COMMISSION WITH OFFICERS OR AGENTS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

The original correspondence files furnished herewith are arranged to show—

First, any correspondence with the British ministers of food and of reconstruction, including correspondence with the committee on trusts and the Hon. Charles A. McCurdy, with respect to which the resolution inquires especially; and

Second, any correspondence with other officers or agents of foreign governments, including the distribution of the Federal Trade Commission's reports, with or without correspondence, to such officers or agents. The files are arranged chronologically by subjects.

(a) Correspondence of the Federal Trade Commission with the British ministries of food and reconstruction, the committee on trusts, and the Hon. Charles A. McCurdy.

Letter of October 18, 1918, to national kitchens division of the ministry of food, London, signed by Francis Walker, Chief Economist of the Federal Trade Commission. (Original of this letter is in general file, sup. 5, en. 7, and is attached as Exhibit 1.)

Letter of April 28, 1919, from Charles A. McCurdy of the ministry of food, London, to William B. Colver, care of Ed. L. Keen, the United Press, Paris.

Letter of May 24, 1919, from Charles A. McCurdy, ministry of food, London, to William B. Colver, care of Ed. L. Keen, the United Press, Paris.

Document inclosed in above letter of May 24, being report of committee on trusts of the British ministry of reconstruction, dated London, 1919.

Letter of July 19, 1919, from William B. Colver to Hon. Charles A. McCurdy, ministry of food, London.

(These three letters and the inclosed report of the committee on trusts are in Colver's file attached as Exhibit 2.)

(b) Correspondence of the Federal Trade Commission with other officers or agents of foreign governments (including distribution of the Federal Trade Commission's reports, with or without correspondence to such officers or agents).

The letters which are listed below and the originals of which are attached to this report as indicated, constitute the only correspondence with officers or agents of foreign governments on the subject of the export trade in meat or of the meat industries of the United States which has been found in the files of the commission.

Letter of February 1, 1915, from Joseph E. Davies, Commissioner of Corporations, to Right Hon. Sir R. C. Munroe-Ferguson, governor general, Melbourne, Australia.

Letter of March 13, 1915, from Geo. Steward, official secretary, Commonwealth of Australia, governor general's office, to the Commissioner of Corporations, Department of Commerce, Washington.

Letter of March 24, 1915, from George Steward, official secretary of the Governor General of Australia, to the Commissioner of Corporations, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

Letter of May 12, 1915, from Joseph E. Davies, chairman of Federal Trade Commission, to official secretary of the Governor General, Melbourne, Australia.

(The four above letters concern a request by the Commissioner of Corporations, subsequently the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, for a copy of the report of an investigation of the beef industry by Commonwealth royal commission on the meat-export trade of Australia and the supplying of this document. They are in files 2267-1-1 of the Bureau of Corporations, and 8029-1-1 of the Federal Trade Commission, and are attached as part of Exhibit 3.)

Letter of November 8, 1915, from the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission to Mr. Cherry, veterinary inspector for the Commonwealth in England, care of comptroller-general of customs, London.

Letter of November 8, 1915, from the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission to comptroller-general of customs, London.

Letter of November 20, 1915, from J. P. Byrne, customhouse, London, to the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission.

(These letters have to do with the request from the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission for a copy of the report by the

veterinary inspector for the Commonwealth to the comptroller-general of customs on the Beef Trust. They are in file 8029-3-1, attached as a part of Exhibit 3.)

Letter of July 13, 1917, from the secretary of the Federal Trade Commission to the department of commercial intelligence, London.

Letter of July 16, 1917, from the secretary of the Federal Trade Commission to the department of commercial intelligence, London.

Letter of September 5, 1917, from the board of trade, commercial department, London, to the secretary of the Federal Trade Commission.

Letter of September 22, 1917, from the secretary of the Federal Trade Commission to the assistant secretary, board of trade, London.

(These four letters concern an arrangement for exchange of published reports. Though general in scope, not relating particularly to meat, they are nevertheless here included. They are in file 8029-3-1 and are attached as part of Exhibit 3.)

Following is correspondence from the files of the Federal Trade Commission's Division of Publications concerning the distribution of the reports of the commission relating to the meat industries of the United States.

(These letters and duplicate franks are from the files indicated below and are marked "Division of Publications File" and attached as part of Exhibit 4.)

File 8754-4003:

Letter, July 9, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to American Consul General, Auckland, New Zealand.

Letter, July 9, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to chief clerk, State Department, Washington.

Letter, December 27, 1918, from Acting Secretary of State to Federal Trade Commission. (Inclosures to foregoing letter, being copy of dispatch No. 523, Oct. 22, 1918, from Alfred A. Winslow, American consul general at Auckland, New Zealand; copy of letter Oct. 18, 1918, from W. D. S. Macdonald, minister of agriculture and of industries and commerce, Wellington, New Zealand, to A. A. Winslow; and copy of letter July 9, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to Alfred A. Winslow.)

Duplicate frank indicating mailing of meat packing report, part 2, to W. D. S. Macdonald, December 30, 1918.

Letter January 3, 1919, from Federal Trade Commission to W. D. S. Macdonald.

Letter January 3, 1919, from Federal Trade Commission to Acting Secretary of State.

File 8754-4292:

Letter September 4, 1918, from Dr. O. D. Skelton, of royal commission to inquire into marketing of live stock and live stock products, Kingston, Ontario, to Federal Trade Commission.

Letter September 25, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to O. D. Skelton.

Duplicate franks indicating mailing of summary of meat packing report, September 27, 1918, to the following: W. A. Wilson, Cooperative Creameries (Ltd.), Regina, Saskatchewan; O. D. Skelton, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario; Dr. J. G. Rutherford, department natural resources, Calgary, Alberta; J. D. McGregor, the Royal Alexandra, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Hon. W. C. Sutherland, Galt, Ontario.

File 8754-4239:

Letter (without date) from Henry W. Macrosty, board of trade, London, to Federal Trade Commission.

Letter September 16, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to board of trade, London.

Duplicate frank indicating mailing of report on cooperation in American export trade, volumes 1 and 2, and meat packing report, to board of trade, Gwydyr House, Whitehall, London, England, September 18, 1918.

File 8754-4303:

Letter September 27, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to chief diplomatic bureau, State Department, Washington, requesting that copies of meat packing report be sent through the proper channels to the foreign governments named. (Inclosure to foregoing letter, being copy of suggested letter transmitting said report to the hands of the respective governments.)

File 8754-4421:

Letter October 14, 1918, from L. E. H. Spillen, private secretary to agent general for Queensland, to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, and referred to Federal Trade Commission.

Letter November 4, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to Sir Thomas B. Robinson, agent general for Queensland.

Duplicate frank indicating mailing of two copies each of summary and part 2 of meat report to Sir Thomas B. Robinson.

File 8754-4577:

Letter November 19, 1918, from F. Stanley Scott, chairman Liverpool and District Shipping Butchers' Association, Liver-

pool, England, to director Government Printing Office, Washington, and referred to Federal Trade Commission.

Letter December 16, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to Liverpool and District Shipping Butchers' Association.

Duplicate frank indicating mailing of six copies of summary of meat report to Liverpool and District Shopping Butchers' Association.

File 8754-4850:

Letter February 5, 1919, from E. Ward Jones, markets representative Dominion live stock branch, department of agriculture, Calgary, Alberta, to Federal Trade Commission.

Letter February 12, 1919, from Federal Trade Commission to E. Ward Jones.

Duplicate frank indicating mailing of Summary and Part II of Meat Report to E. Ward Jones, February 14, 1919.

File 8754-5071:

Letter February 24, 1919, from A. F. Lindberg, commissioner, Alta Comision, Managua, Nicaragua, to Federal Trade Commission.

Letter March 28, 1919, from Federal Trade Commission to A. F. Lindberg.

Duplicate frank indicating mailing of Summary and Part II of Meat Report to A. F. Lindberg March 29, 1919.

File 8754-5102.

Letter April 19, 1919, from D. M. Solandt, secretary, Manitoba Patriotic Fund (Inc.), Winnipeg, Manitoba, to Federal Trade Commission.

Letter April 23, 1919, from Federal Trade Commission to Manitoba Patriotic Fund.

Duplicate frank indicating mailing of Summary and Part II of Meat Report to Manitoba Patriotic Fund April 21, 1919.

File 8754-5177.

Letter May 1, 1919, from D. M. Solandt, secretary Manitoba Patriotic Fund, to Federal Trade Commission.

Letter May 5, 1919, from Federal Trade Commission to Manitoba Patriotic Fund.

Duplicate frank indicating mailing of 12 copies each of Summary and Part II of Meat Report to Manitoba Patriotic Fund.

The following duplicate franks on file in the Division of Publications show the sending of the documents mentioned in the following list on the dates mentioned:

August 29, 1918. Department of Labour, deputy minister, Ottawa, Canada. Report on Meat Packing Industry.

August 29, 1918. Italian Embassy, commercial delegate, 1400 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D. C. Report on Meat Packing Industry.

August 29, 1918. Imperial Russian Embassy, for Hon. C. Medzhkovsky, 44 Whitehall Street, New York, N. Y. Report on Meat Packing Industry (3 copies).

August 29, 1918. Switzerland legation, 2013 Hillyer Place, Washington, D. C. Report on Meat Packing Industry.

October 25, 1918. The Social Service of Council of Canada, general secretary, Toronto, Canada. Summary of Report on Meat Packing Industry.

October 25, 1918. Comision de Credito Publico, Managua, Nicaragua. Summary of Report on Meat Packing Industry.

November 30, 1918. Department of Agriculture, International Institute Commissioner F. K. Doherty, Ottawa, Canada. Summary, Meat Report.

December 30, 1918. Russian Embassy, for Hon. C. Medzhkovsky, 32 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Meat Packing Report, part 2.

December 30, 1918. Department of Labour, deputy minister, Ottawa, Canada. Meat Packing Report, part 2.

December 30, 1918. Library of Parliament, librarian, Ottawa, Canada. Meat Packing Report, part 2.

February 1, 1919. Minister of agriculture, department of agriculture, Ottawa, Canada. Summary and part 2 of meat report.

February 5, 1919. National resources intelligence branch, department of the interior, Richard A. McClymont, Motor Building, Ottawa, Canada. Summary and part 2 of meat report.

February 14, 1919. The social service of council of Canada, general secretary, Toronto, Canada. Meat report, part 2.

March 5, 1919. T. J. Orwin, Wholesale Meat Supply Association (Ltd.), 24 Hill Street, Glasgow, Scotland. Part 2, meat report.

March 8, 1919. F. K. Doherty, department of agriculture, Ottawa, Canada. Part 2, meat report.

(The duplicate franks above listed were not accompanied by correspondence, being records in general of reports sent out to persons on the regular mailing list or in response to requests telephoned or conveyed through individual messengers. These duplicate franks are attached as part of Exhibit 4.)

In addition to the distribution of commission's report under frank, the following distribution was made directly in response

to request by representatives of the foreign embassies and legations indicated:

December 30, 1918. British ambassador, 6 copies of part 2 of the report on the meat-packing industry; Norwegian minister, 3 copies of part 2; Switzerland Legation, 1 copy of part 2; Italian Embassy, 1 copy of part 2.

July 15, 1919: Argentine Embassy, 2 copies of summary of part 2, meat-packing report.

At various times the British Embassy has sent its messenger to obtain copies of the summary and part 2 of the meat-packing report. It is estimated that in all, through this medium, it has obtained 50 copies of each.

DOCUMENTS AND OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO THE COMMISSION'S EFFORTS OR ACTION IN PROMOTION OR CONCERNING EXPORT TRADE IN MEATS.

In this section of the report are furnished all documents and other papers relating to the Federal Trade Commission's efforts or action in promotion or concerning export trade in meats from the United States to the Kingdom of Great Britain or any of its colonial dependencies or other countries. These include documents and papers, whether in connection with the commission's investigation of foreign trade and its duties under the Webb-Pomerene Act, permitting combinations in American export trade, or in connection with the food investigation directed by the President in his letter of February 7, 1917, or in connection with the ordinary course of the commission's work.

In the course of the commission's foreign-trade investigation, which resulted in its report on cooperation in American export trade, correspondence was had with the representatives of American meat concerns, schedules were received from them, and testimony received in hearings in an effort to secure information as to the problems, difficulties, and suggestions of the meat industry on export trade.

These documents are furnished, as well as documents in other connections which bear on the export trade activities of the larger packers, individually or jointly, and also of the small packers, individually or jointly.

Published documents of this Government, which include data on the export trade in meat, are not furnished, as being readily available to the Senate; but certain statistics of the world trade in meats, published by W. Weddell & Co. (Ltd.), an English firm, are furnished. Documents concerning war regulation of the distribution of food, particularly meat, by foreign governments, are included, as no doubt affecting our exports.

Incorporation of three confidential State Department reports is with consent of that department. (My letter and the consenting reply is in Exhibit 24.)

(a) Swift & Co.:

1. Letter, November 4, 1915, from chairman Federal Trade Commission to persons who attended the foreign trade hearings, and inclosing schedule of questions.

2. Letter, November 24, 1915, from Louis F. Swift to chairman Federal Trade Commission.

3. Letter, December 2, 1915, from chairman Federal Trade Commission to Louis F. Swift.

(These three letters are a form request for opinion as to the desirability of cooperation for export trade, the reply thereto, and acknowledgment of reply. They are in Files 8411-1 and 8404-861, and are attached as part of Exhibit 5, which is marked "Swift & Co., Opinion on Cooperation in Export Trade.")

NOTE.—The schedule of questions inclosed in the letter of November 4, 1915, was not returned by Swift & Co., but the form was the same as that returned by the G. H. Hammond Co., one of Swift & Co.'s subsidiaries, and which is furnished below.

4. Letters, statements, and other papers, being correspondence between Henry Veeder, chief counsel of Swift & Co., and the Federal Trade Commission regarding oleomargarine exports to the West Indies. (These papers constitute the entire file 8404-30, which is attached as part of Exhibit 5 and marked "Swift & Co. (Veeder), Oleomargarine Exports to West Indies.")

5. Letter, from packer files, dated January 19, 1917, from Jas. P. Moon, of Swift & Co., to Louis F. Swift. (This concerns Cunard Line supply business. It is from File Pac 7 F 7 and is attached as part of Exhibit 5, marked "Swift & Co., Cunard.")

6. Reports of interviews of various persons and firms by agents of the Federal Trade Commission concerning alleged practices of Swift & Co. in export trade. (These reports comprise Marcum No. 15, McIsaacs No. 23, Barrett No. 1, Barrett No. 2, and are attached as part of Exhibit 5 and marked "Swift & Co., Alleged Practices in Export Trade, Agents' Reports.")

7. Swift & Co.'s statistics of sales, total and foreign, 1908-1916, as furnished to the commission's examiner, Dr. A. S. Kravitz.

8. List of Swift & Co.'s foreign representatives.

(The two above items are comprised in Files Big 7 S 5 S 4 and Big 7 S 5 F 5, and are attached as part of Exhibit 5, marked "Swift & Co., Foreign Sales and Representatives.")

9. Schedule No. 21293 on foreign trade conditions from the G. H. Hammond Co., a subsidiary of Swift & Co. (This schedule, sent in reply to a form letter to this company, dated November 4, 1915, is attached as part of Exhibit 5, and marked "Swift & Co. (the G. H. Hammond Co.) Schedule, Foreign trade.")

10. Letters between the Federal Trade Commission and Swift & Co. concerning the profit and loss of Swift & Co. from its foreign subsidiaries and concerning the furnishing of the financial statements of such subsidiaries.

NOTE.—Swift & Co., having furnished its profit and loss from foreign subsidiaries (1912-1917) as a single figure for all these subsidiaries combined, correspondence followed seeking more detail, and particularly the extent to which profits and losses of the foreign companies had been taken up on the books of Swift & Co. Thereupon the financial statements of the foreign companies were required from Swift & Co.

(These letters are in file Sch 5, O 5, Swift & Co., pt. 2, and are attached as part of Exhibit 5, marked "Swift & Co., profit and loss foreign companies, correspondence.")

11. Financial statements concerning profit and loss of foreign companies, furnished by Swift & Co. pursuant to foregoing correspondence. (These statements are in file Sch 5, O 5, Swift & Co., pt. 1-1, and entire file Sch 5, O 5, Swift & Co., pt. 1-2, and are attached as part of Exhibit 5, marked "Swift & Co., financial statements, foreign companies.")

12. Letters between the Federal Trade Commission and Swift & Co. concerning the organization of Swift & Co.'s foreign subsidiaries. (These letters are in file Sch 5, O 5, Swift & Co., pt. 2, and are attached as part of Exhibit 5, and marked "Swift & Co., organization of foreign subsidiaries, correspondence.")

13. Schedules of Swift & Co.'s foreign subsidiaries, showing their organization, etc. (These schedules, each comprising a separate file, are attached as part of Exhibit 5, and marked "Swift & Co., foreign subsidiaries, organization schedules." The individual file numbers are listed in the exhibit.)

14. Reference is made to the State Department file listed below under (K) 4 for a consular report concerning the Swift Beef Co. of London, its organization, articles of incorporation, and charter powers, and data appearing in the prize proceedings with reference to meat cargoes.

(B) Armour & Co.:

1. Statement of J. Ogden Armour in hearings of the Federal Trade Commission on foreign trade conditions, July 27, 1915, pages 85-92. Certain lists of Swift & Co. of letters, and letter of July 23, 1915, from vice chairman Federal Trade Commission, to Louis F. Swift. (This statement is in file 8519-1-7-2 and is attached as a part of Exhibit 6 marked "Armour & Co., statement in foreign trade hearings 1915." With this is attached the original statement submitted by Mr. Armour and read by him at the hearing, this original being from file 8520-3.)

2. Report of interview of retired commission broker by an agent of the Federal Trade Commission concerning alleged practices of Armour & Co. in the export trade. (This report is Long No. 24, and is attached as part of Exhibit 6 and marked "Armour & Co., alleged practices of export trade, agents' report.")

3. Armour & Co.'s statistics of its export trade from 1898 to 1916 as furnished, in great detail, to the commission's examiner, Dr. A. S. Kravitz, together with a statement by H. M. Frey as to Armour & Co.'s foreign branch houses. (These papers are in file Big 7, A 5, F 7, and file Big 7, A 5, B 7, and are attached as part of Exhibit 6, being marked "Armour & Co., foreign sales and foreign branch houses.")

4. Letters between the Federal Trade Commission and Armour & Co. concerning the furnishing of profit and loss statements of its foreign subsidiaries. (These letters are in file Sch 5, O 5, Armour & Co., pt. 2, and are attached as part of Exhibit 6, marked "Armour & Co., profit and loss of foreign subsidiaries, correspondence.")

5. Financial statements of Armour & Co.'s foreign subsidiaries furnished pursuant to the foregoing correspondence. (These statements comprise the entire file Sch 5, O 5, Armour & Co., pts. 1-2, and are attached as part of Exhibit 6, marked "Armour & Co., foreign companies, financial statements.")

6. Letters between the Federal Trade Commission and Armour & Co. regarding the furnishing of organization schedules for its foreign subsidiaries. (These letters are in file Sch 5, O 5, Armour & Co., pt. 2, and file Sch 5, O 5, Armour & Co., foreign companies, and are attached as part of Exhibit 6, marked "Armour & Co., foreign companies, organization, correspondence.")

7. Armour & Co.'s foreign companies' organization schedules furnished pursuant to the foregoing correspondence. (The organization schedules are in file Sch 5, O 5, Armour & Co., foreign companies, and are attached as part of Exhibit 6 and marked "Armour & Co., foreign companies' organization schedules.")

8. Reference is made to the State Department file listed below under (K) 4 for a consular report concerning Armour & Co. (Ltd.), of London, its organization, articles of incorporation and charter powers, and data appearing in the prize proceedings with reference to meat cargoes.

9. Report of the commission's special expert, J. G. Ohsol, on operation of export beef department of Armour & Co., with papers and telegrams from Armour file exhibiting office methods of handling shipments, etc. (These papers are with file 9078-2-Hog 5, pt. 2, and are attached as part of Exhibit 6 and marked "Armour & Co., export beef department, Ohsol's report.")

(C) Morris & Co.:

1. Statistics of foreign sales, 1909-1916.

2. Annual sales, 1910-1916, including foreign business.

(These statistics were furnished to the commission's examiner, Dr. A. S. Kravitz. They comprise file Big 7, M 5, A 5, and are attached as part of Exhibit 7 and marked "Morris & Co., foreign sales.")

3. Letters between Federal Trade Commission and Morris & Co. concerning profit and loss and organization of the foreign subsidiaries of Morris & Co. and statements furnished pursuant thereto. (These papers are in file Sch 5, O 5, Morris & Co., and are attached as part of Exhibit 7, being marked "Morris & Co., foreign subsidiaries organization and profit and loss.")

4. Reference is made to the State Department file listed below under (K) 4 for a consular report concerning Morris Beef Co. (Ltd.), of London, and the Dausk Fedt Import Kompagni, and their organization, articles of incorporation and charter powers, and data appearing in the prize proceedings with reference to meat cargoes.

(D) Wilson & Co. (Inc.):

1. Schedule of T. M. Sinclair & Co. (Ltd.), a subsidiary of Wilson & Co. (Inc.), on foreign trade conditions. (This schedule is No. 28306 and is attached as part of Exhibit 8 and marked "Wilson & Co. (Inc.) (T. M. Sinclair & Co. (Ltd.), foreign-trade schedule.")

2. Letters between Federal Trade Commission and T. M. Sinclair & Co. (Ltd.), a subsidiary of Wilson & Co. (Inc.). (These three letters concern a request by the commission for further information supplementing its schedule on foreign-trade conditions, the companies' reply thereto, and acknowledgment by the commission. They are in file 8404-1547 and are attached as part of Exhibit 8 and marked "Wilson & Co. (Inc.) (T. M. Sinclair & Co. (Ltd.), foreign-trade letters.")

3. Letter from packer files, dated January 4, 1917, from P. A. S. Franklin, of International Mercantile Marine Co., to Harry Bronner, director of Wilson & Co. (Inc.), concerning contract for steamers for beef shipments. (This is from file Pac 7, F 7, and is attached as part of Exhibit 8, and marked "Wilson & Co. (Inc.) (Bronner), International Mercantile Marine Co.")

4. Extract from report of interview of Chicago agent of T. M. Sinclair & Co. (Ltd.) by examiner of commission. (This concerns the company's method of cutting pork for the export trade and volume of pork tenderloins, as compared with Armour and Swift. It is on pp. 4-5 of Long No. 19, file Age 5, Lo 5, pts. 1-2, and is attached as part of Exhibit 8, being marked "Wilson & Co. (Inc.) (T. M. Sinclair & Co. (Ltd.), cutting pork for export.")

5. Statistics for foreign sales, 1914-1917.

6. Lists of foreign representatives.

(These statistics of sales and lists of foreign representatives furnished to the commission's examiner, Dr. A. S. Kravitz, comprise files Big 7-W-5-F 7 and Big 7-W 5-F 5, and are attached as part of Exhibit 8, and marked "Wilson & Co. (Inc.), foreign sales and representatives.")

7. Letters between Federal Trade Commission and Wilson & Co. (Inc.) regarding the profit and loss and organization of foreign subsidiaries of Wilson & Co. (Inc.) (These are in file Sch 5, O 5, Wilson & Co. (Inc.), pt. 2, and are attached as part of Exhibit 8, marked "Wilson & Co. (Inc.), foreign subsidiaries, profit and loss, and organization.")

(E) The Cudahy Packing Co.:

1. Letter of July 19, 1915, from vice chairman of Federal Trade Commission to Thomas Creigh, general counsel Cudahy Packing Co., chairman special committee on Federal Trade Commission, Chicago Association of Commerce. (Letter No. 1 is an invitation to attend the foreign-trade hearings at Chicago and present views on the export trade. It is in file 8046-1-3

and is attached as part of Exhibit 9 and marked "Cudahy Packing Co. (Creigh), invitation to foreign-trade hearings.")

2. Statement of Thomas Creigh at foreign-trade hearings of Federal Trade Commission at Chicago, July 27, 1915. (This is in file 8519-1-7-2, covering pp. 64-73 of the record, and is attached as part of Exhibit 9, marked "Cudahy Packing Co. (Creigh), statement at foreign-trade hearings.")

3. Letter of February 16, 1916, from Thomas Creigh to Federal Trade Commission acknowledging receipt of a circular letter of January 24, 1916, on foreign trade. (In file 8404-1553, attached as part of Exhibit 9 and marked "Cudahy Packing Co. (Creigh), acknowledgment of circular.")

4. Explanatory and statistical statement entitled "The Cudahy Packing Co. export department," furnished to the commission's examiner, Dr. A. S. Kravitz. (This statement includes a list of foreign representatives and value of export shipments of the company, 1910-1916. It comprises file Big 7, C 5, F 5, and is attached as part of Exhibit 9, marked "Cudahy Packing Co., foreign representatives and sales.")

5. Letters between Federal Trade Commission and Cudahy Packing Co., concerning profit and loss and organization of Cudahy Packing Co.'s foreign subsidiaries, and statements supplied pursuant thereto. (These papers are in file Sch 5, O 5, Cudahy Packing Co., pt. 2, Sch 5, O 5, Cudahy & Co. (Ltd.), and Sch 5, O 5, Cudahy Packing Co. (Ltd.), and are attached as part of Exhibit 9, being marked "Cudahy Packing Co., foreign subsidiaries, profit and loss, and organization.")

6. Reference is made to the State Department file listed below under (K 4) for a consular report concerning Cudahy Packing Co. (Ltd.), of London, its organization, articles of incorporation, and charter powers.

(F) Large packers, joint.—Letters and documents relating to joint activities of large packers in export trade:

1. Letter and telegram from the packers' files relating to the seizure by the British Government of cargoes of meat exported to neutral countries and to joint expenditures by Armour & Co., Swift & Co., and Morris & Co. for legal services in connection therewith. (These are in File Pac 7, F 7, attached as part of Exhibit 10, and marked "Large packers, joint, British seizures, packer files.")

2. Items concerning expenditures for legal services in connection with British seizures, from answers of large packers to question 15 of the Federal Trade Commission's schedule A, Slaughtering and meat packing, and correspondence regarding same. (These items appear, with others, in answer to question 15, which required disclosure of fees or other payments in excess of \$5,000 for services rendered. The original replies are attached and the items believed to relate to the British seizures have been indicated by the commission for the purpose of this report by check marks. It does not appear in the case of Wilson & Co. (Inc.) and Cudahy Packing Co. whether or not these are joint payments, and they may be presumed to be individual. Correspondence as to payments of Wilson & Co. (Inc.) is attached. These papers form part of Exhibit 10, marked "Large packers, joint and individual, British seizures.")

3. Letters from files of Swift & Co. concerning kidney knobs. (These are in File Pac 7, F 7, and are attached as part of Exhibit 10, marked "Large packers, joint, kidney knobs.")

4. Reference is here made to extract from Marcum, report No. 15, last paragraph, which reports alleged joint export activities of Armour & Co. and Swift & Co. (This document has already been furnished. See above, A: Swift & Co., item 6.)

(G) Large packers, grouped.—Documents referring to the alleged export activities of large packers as a group, or in general, or with reference to two or more of them:

1. Reports of interviews of various firms and persons by agents of the Federal Trade Commission, especially as to alleged practices of large packers in acquiring export trade. (These are in files 9076-14-1-1 (For 5 G 5) and 9076-14-3-1 (For 5 U 5). They are reports of extracts from reports, Barrett, 16 and 17; Long, 22, 25, and 26; Reeves, 1; Reed, 67 and 68. There is also furnished, at pages 5, 6, and 7 of Cowie No. 20, File Age 5, Co 7, pt. 2, on which pages are marked passages bearing on this subject. Those papers are furnished as Exhibit 11 and marked "Large packers, grouped, alleged export practices, agents' reports.")

(H) Small packers:

1. There are furnished letters and statements concerning the interest of the small packers in connection with the Federal Trade Commission's foreign-trade investigation. These papers comprise a statement of Charles E. Herrick, secretary of the Brennan Packing Co., Chicago, in the foreign-trade hearings at Chicago, July 28, 1915, as appearing in the record of hearings, together with his manuscript statement submitted at the hearing and supplemental correspondence regarding statements

in the hearing. Also the statement of C. H. Frye, president of Frye & Co., meat packers, Seattle, Wash., at the Seattle foreign-trade hearing, August, 1915. Schedules of foreign trade conditions from the Wilson Provision Co., Peoria, Ill. (not a subsidiary of Wilson & Co. (Inc.)); Nuckolls Packing Co., Pueblo, Colo.; Hammond, Standish & Co., Detroit, Mich.; Brennan Packing Co., Chicago; and John Morrell & Co., Ottumwa, Iowa. (The Morrell schedule, No. 24826, was received by the Federal Trade Commission in confidence and bears notation "Please treat these answers confidentially." The commission calls this to the attention of the Senate in connection with publication of this report.)

(These papers are in files, as indicated in the attached Exhibit 12, and marked, "Small packers' foreign trade investigation.")

2. Reports of interviews with various small packers and other firms concerning their handling of export trade in meats by agents of the commission. (These reports are in files 9076-14-1 (For 5 G 5), file Age 5 Lo 5, pts. 1, 2, and 3, and the Age 5 Co 7, pt. 2. They consist of agents' reports: Haines, No. 1; Twombly, Nos. 2, 19, 37, 53, and 69; Barrett, Nos. 13 and 19; Long, Nos. 5, 7, 14, 15, 26, 35; Bays, No. 38; Cowie, No. 21. In the case of reports Long 7, 15, and 26, and Cowie 21, the matter furnished is in the form of pages from these reports, the portion of each page that refers to export trade being marked by the commission for the purpose of submission to the Senate.)

(The above papers are attached as part of Exhibit 12 and marked "Small packers' methods of handling export trade, agents' report.")

(I) Small packers, association, under Webb-Pomerene Act for export trade:

1. Papers filed by the American Provisions Export Co., Chicago, Ill. (These papers are in File Association 20, and are attached as Exhibit 13 and are marked, "Small packers, association, American Provisions Export Co., application under Webb-Pomerene Act.")

2. United States Provision Export Corporation, Chicago, Ill. (These papers are in File Association 26, and are attached as Exhibit 14 and are marked, "Small packers, association, United States Provision Export Corporation, application under Webb-Pomerene Act.")

NOTE.—According to opinion previously rendered by counsel of the export trade division, part of the data in these papers is confidential. These papers are originals submitted in compliance with section 5 of the Webb-Pomerene Act.

It has been the practice of the commission not to permit these papers to leave the files for any purpose whatever, the commissioners and members of the export trade division using only certified copies of the same.

It is respectfully urged that these original documents be immediately returned to the commission by the Senate and that the commission be permitted to substitute certified copies of the same.

(J) State Department, cable to British ministry of food:

1. Letter September 11, 1918, from Federal Trade Commission to Secretary of State requesting transmission of inclosed cable to British ministry of food, seeking information on British governmental control of the meat business; reply of Department of State, October 29, 1918, through Secretary of Treasury, inclosing report of Chargé d'Affaires F. M. Gunther, London, advising that British ministry of food was loath to supply the majority of the information; letter of November 1, 1918, from Department of State referring further to matter.

The above papers are those referred to and quoted by Commissioner Colver in his personal statement. Reference is made to Dr. J. G. Ohsol's personal statement (p. 33) regarding the securing of part of the information requested in the cable, viz, that regarding the regulation of the Smithfield Market.

(These papers are in File P F—Cor 5 St 3, and are attached as part of Exhibit 15, marked, "State Department, cable to British ministry of food.")

NOTE.—The last page of this file consists of office memos explaining failure to acknowledge State Department letter of November 1, 1918, and the report forwarded through the Treasury, due to absence of Dr. Ohsol, who had had charge of the inquiry into foreign governmental regulations, and final filing of the material unacknowledged January 28, 1919.

(K) State Department, correspondence and reports:

1. Letter from Department of State to Federal Trade Commission, April 12, 1915, requesting publicity as to certain shipping difficulties in export trade with the Netherlands, referred to in an inclosed letter from American Chamber of Commerce in the Netherlands, and reply of Federal Trade Commission to Department of State, April 17, 1915.

(These letters and the inclosure, including the list of five pages of goods for shipment among which were certain items of meat, lard, etc., are in file 9731-3, and are attached as part of Exhibit 15 and marked "State Department, Shipping Difficulties, Export Trade.")

2. Letters from Department of State, March 16, 1917, and March 19, 1917, transmitting to Federal Trade Commission for examination numerous communications advocating embargo on exportation of foodstuffs from the United States; letter from Federal Trade Commission to Department of State, March 27, 1917, returning these communications; and memorandum of Francis Walker, chief economist of the commission, reporting on the examination of these communications.

3. Letter from Department of State to Federal Trade Commission, April 2, 1917, transmitting report of Consul General R. P. Skinner, of London, on subject of British meat supplies, and letter of Federal Trade Commission, April 5, 1917, acknowledging receipt.

(These letters and the consul general's report are in file 8827 and are attached as part of Exhibit 15, marked "State Department, British Meat Supplies, Skinner's Report.")

4. Letter from Federal Trade Commission to State Department, September 10, 1917, requesting it to secure from the British Government data for use of the commission in its investigation of the meat industry, acknowledgment by Department of State, and transmittal by it (letter of January 8, 1918) of report of Consul General Robert P. Skinner, of London, furnishing the available information, with correspondence referring thereto.

(These papers are in file 8827. The consul general's report covers the organization of the principal British companies of a number of American packers, and data as to their representatives from the prize proceedings with respect to meat cargoes seized by the British Government; also data regarding the governmental regulation of food under the defense of the realm act; also gives agencies or representatives of smaller American packers in the United Kingdom. These papers are attached as part of Exhibit 15 and marked "State Department, Organization of British Companies of American Packers and British Government Regulation of Food, Skinner's Report.")

5. Letters from Department of State, January 15, 1918, and May 6, 1918, transmitting reports by Consul General Winslow, of Auckland, and Consul General Skinner, of London, on American meat corporations in New Zealand, with commission's acknowledgment of same. (These papers are in file 8827, and are attached as part of Exhibit 15, being marked "State Department, American Meat Corporations in New Zealand, Skinner Reports.")

6. Letter of State Department, May 31, 1918, to Federal Trade Commission, inclosing copy of dispatch from American Consul General Winslow, at Auckland, New Zealand, requesting, on behalf of Hon. W. D. S. Macdonald, minister of agriculture, industries, and commerce from New Zealand, copies of available information relative to investigation by the Federal Trade Commission of the American Meat Trust, with correspondence relating thereto. (These papers are in file 8827, attached as part of Exhibit 15, being marked "State Department, New Zealand, Request for Information on American Meat Trust.")

NOTE.—Reference is made to further correspondence through the State Department with the American consul general relative to this matter described on page 46 above, and attached in the first part of Exhibit 4.

(L) Digest of Library Research on Foreign Companies of Large Packers:

This is an office report on "Slaughtering and Packing Business of the Big Five in Foreign Countries. Library Research at Chicago, by L. T. Cowie (examiner, Federal Trade Commission), 1917." The bulk of this document does not concern export trade in meat from the United States, but rather exports from foreign countries wherever the large American packers have slaughtering plants. Thus it covers South American and Central American countries, including any Paraguay data on the American International Corporation, and also Australia and New Zealand and Canada. The data, however, on Great Britain (being pages 16-19) bears on export trade from the United States.

(This is File For 5, S 5, and is attached as Exhibit 16, marked "Cowie Library Research on the Big Five in Foreign Countries.")

(M) Documents Secured by Commission from W. Weddell & Co., Ltd.:

These documents bear on the import trade of Great Britain and world trade in meats, etc. This company's trade publica-

tions on world statistics of the meat industry have a recognized standing, and include data on exports of meats from the United States.

(These documents, with correspondence regarding their transmission, are in File Sou 7 and File 8012-216, and are attached as Exhibit 17 marked "World Meat Statistics, W. Weddell & Co., Ltd.")

NOTE.—There are references in the letters from W. Weddell & Co., Ltd., to the commission's letters of October 15, 1917, and November 8, 1917. Carbons of these two letters are not now found in the files of the commission. The chief of files advises that this was probably correspondence carried on by the former librarian of the commission to secure documents and that copies of such correspondence probably never reached the files.

(N) Papers and Documents Concerning Regulation of Food and Meat Industries by Foreign Governments:

These papers and documents, so far as they relate to governmental regulation of foods or meats in countries to which the United States exports meats, are furnished because such regulation of distribution by the foreign governments affects the export trade of American companies in these products.

Reference is made to certain documents and typed copies of items in London papers concerning such regulations in Consul General Skinner's report already referred to, and which have been furnished above under (K) 4, being the fifth section of Exhibit 15.

1. Documents from British Ministry of Food regarding governmental regulation, particularly of the Smithfield Market. These documents are as follows:

(a) Memorandum and articles of association of the London and Counties Wholesale Meat Supply Association, Ltd.

(b) Proof sheet of a form of agreement between the food controller and the tenants of the Smithfield Market.

(c) Typewritten memorandum entitled "Distribution of Supplies of Dead Meat Through the Smithfield Control Board (Smithfield Market) to Retail Butchers in the London Metropolitan Police Area," signed by A. P. Twigg and dated September 6, 1918.

(These three documents are attached as Exhibit 18 and are marked "Ohsol's File, Smithfield Market Regulations.")

2. Office compilations and digests of regulations of the Governments of France and Great Britain of the food business including meat. (These office digests, which were prepared by the commission's special expert Dr. J. G. Ohsol, are in files Gov. 5 Fr. 5-G 5; and Gov. 5 Gr. 5-G 5; E 5, F 5, C 5, and are attached as Exhibit 19, being marked "Regulations by Foreign Governments, Office Digests and Compilations.")

(O) Published Report of Federal Trade Commission:

Reference is made to the following published reports of the Federal Trade Commission, which contain passages referring to the export trade in meats:

1. Summary of report of Federal Trade Commission on meat-packing industry, July 3, 1918.

Pages 5 and 6 of the letter of submittal of this report contain a paragraph concerning the international activities of large American meat packers in its bearing on the regard in which the American people is held in international comity.

Other references are pages 12-13, foreign interests, and 33-35, the international meat pool (see below).

(This report is attached as Exhibit 20, passages referred to being marked.)

2. Report of Federal Trade Commission on meat-packing industry, part 2, 1918.

In this are found references to the British seizures and conditions affecting the export trade of Sulzberger & Sons Co. (pp. 176-177, 181, 190-191, 193).

In this volume also is a discussion of the international meat pool, which presumably has at least an indirect bearing on the exports of meats from this country (pp. 99-107). The basis of this discussion is principally found in the so-called "Black book" of Germon Sulzberger, which is printed as Exhibit I (A) and (B) (pp. 213-247). In addition to passages in this exhibit concerning the international meat pool, the following pages have reference, apparently, directly to export trade from the United States: Pages 216, 221, 222, and 227.

(This volume is attached as Exhibit 21, passages referred to being marked.)

3. Report of the Federal Trade Commission on cooperation in American export trade, part 1, summary and report, and part 2, exhibits.

The report, in addition to its general features, contains the following matter with specific reference to the meat industry:

(a) Part 2, pages 92-94, notes from Commercial Attaché A. H. Baldwin on "Informal Combination in South American Meat Trade."

(b) Part 2, pages 178-179, special report of Vice Consul in Charge John S. Calvert, Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 8, 1915, on the "Meat Industry."

(c) Part 2, page 419, regarding combination of foreign buyers of meat products.

(The two volumes of this report are marked "Exhibit 22.")

I may add that in addition to the foregoing data the commission has voluminous letters, documents, and papers on the foreign slaughtering companies of American packers in South America, Australia, and Canada, which export from the countries of their location to other countries, but which are not directly connected with the export trade from the United States. As this subject is only indirectly connected with the export trade from the United States, these documents have not been furnished.

However, the essential substance of material on this subject is digested in chapter 4 of part 1 of the commission's report on the meat-packing industry, which was released on July 11 and is now being printed and bound at the Government Printing Office and will be available within a few days.

The foregoing correspondence and the documents annexed hereto, under schedule, are the result of a thorough draft upon the records of the commission, and are sent in volume to meet the sweeping specifications of the Senate's inquiry. They do not reveal the derelictions on the part of the commission or the commissioners which might be implied in a reading of the resolution or taken as indicated in the debate at the time of its adoption. The largest meat packers have not availed themselves of the law permitting combination for exportation. Whether they suffered from their neglect to avail themselves of the legal right of concerted action in export or whether their degree of domestic accord made such neglect appear desirable to them, it is assumed that the inquiry of the Senate does not call for an expression from the commission on that point.

Respectfully submitted.

VICTOR MURDOCK,
Acting Chairman.

To the SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, a motion was made by the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] to have the report referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. I think that should be taken up at this time.

Mr. SMOOT. I understood that it was simply a request of the Senator from Iowa; that it will not take a motion, but the report will simply be referred to that committee without objection.

Mr. POMERENE. I thought it was in the form of a motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection the report and documents accompanying it will be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

FOREIGN FINANCE CORPORATION.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, under the rule I desire to make a motion to take from the calendar for consideration the bill (S. 2472) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.

I will preface my remarks by stating that I have no intention of pressing the bill at this time. I should like, however, to have it made the unfinished business, because it is of great importance. The bill, as Senators generally recognize, is a bill termed the export financing bill, prepared by the Federal Reserve Board and, of course, with their entire approval and with the approval of the chairman of the War Finance Corporation. In my judgment it will help solve one of the really big problems that this Congress has been convened to solve.

I ask permission to read extracts from a letter received only this morning. Hundreds of letters come to me, because I introduced the bill, I suppose, from manufacturers and producers all over the country, urging action. This morning I received a letter from the president of the American Manufacturers' Export Association, representing over 1,000 of the average-sized manufacturing industries of the country, not the large trusts, so called, but the smaller manufacturing industries, in which he says:

I feel constrained to write you regarding your bill, now in the Senate, to provide for a foreign finance corporation as a means of organizing under Government supervision the credit resources of this country, so urgent for the financing of European industries.

The question is not whether this country should help to finance the industries of Europe; that is self-evident. The only thing to be decided is the wisest and sanest method by which this can be accomplished.

If Europe's industries languish for lack of financing, we shall as a Nation lose our best customer, and, what is worse, we shall witness a period of unrest and disorder more serious than the world has ever known.

To finance Europe now is to take out insurance for our own prosperity and tranquility.

It is, therefore, with great satisfaction that manufacturers of the country, and particularly the exporting manufacturers who are brought into constant contact with the European situation, have watched the progress of the plans put forward by bankers and legislators to meet this problem.

The bill introduced by you in the Senate providing for a foreign finance corporation offers the necessary Government supervision for the organization of our national credit resources. It is evident that the bankers of this country realize their responsibility.

The manufacturer is not in a position to pass upon details, but only on the necessity. His word to bankers and legislators alike is "hurry." - Manufacturers exporting to Europe are discovering that there are immediate needs which they are supplying to those who now have funds and are able to find others who can buy from them at a profit. The manufacturer realizes, however, that the cream is being rapidly skimmed and that behind the present flood of orders there is no substantial ability to keep buying.

The critical period is at hand when the artificial post-war stimulus will cease and Europe will stop buying even necessities.

The need, therefore, is urgent for immediate action by Congress and by bankers to tide over this critical period until Europe can get going once more.

This bill, as I hope Senators understand, does not in any way provide for Government underwriting or Government guarantees of any kind. It provides simply that the Federal Reserve Board shall supervise the operations of corporations incorporated under it.

I do not know what we are going to do with the merchant marine of which we are all so proud. A few days ago I read in the newspapers that we are going to build two 50,000-ton ships. We are delighted and proud to see the merchant marine being developed, but it would be of very little use to America if the exporters and manufacturers can not be paid for goods for which they now have orders to export in the merchant marine. It is absolutely essential for us to first solve the financial question before we talk and think about additional tonnage. We have to loan abroad, as we know perfectly well. We have already loaned \$9,000,000,000 abroad. We have raised that through some form of taxation. It is generally recognized that we must loan perhaps two billion or three billion dollars more, both from the humanitarian standpoint and from the standpoint of stabilizing the business of the world. Is it better to loan that from this country by the same method of taxation of some kind, or is it better to try to stabilize business so that our manufacturers and producers can make a profit while they are sending goods abroad, and thus greatly equalize the financial condition between the two countries? In other words, it is very much better for us to furnish goods than to furnish cash. When we furnish goods we make a profit. When we furnish cash we charge our citizens, of course, in one form or another in order to raise it.

The present rate of exchange is practically prohibitive. The orders that are being received by our exporters are very large right now, but are simply the necessary orders for food and raw material which must be sent over there, but it is soon going to sag, because the Frenchman is not going to pay \$1.40 for a dollar's worth of American goods; neither is the Englishman going to pay \$4.29 or \$4.30, on the basis of the last quotation of exchange which I noticed, for a pound sterling. It is a simple business proposition.

I know there may be some difference of opinion as to the method to pursue. I think we all admit that the problem is here, and the problem must be solved.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President—

Mr. EDGE. I simply want to get the bill before the Senate so we can have an interchange of views and endeavor to pass something to meet this situation.

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

Mr. EDGE. Certainly.

Mr. GRONNA. May I ask the Senator from New Jersey if he considers this a banking bill or a bill which deals not only with securities but with trade in general?

Mr. EDGE. It is a bill which deals with both. It is a bill that I perhaps can illustrate better by pointing to our own banking institutions from the domestic standpoint. If we do a domestic business, and wish to get a loan, of course we go to our bank, putting up some satisfactory security. We find the same situation, only on a very much larger scope, necessarily facing our producers and manufacturers in their business abroad. They can get security but they can not get cash. This bill provides for incorporation under the supervision of the Government. At the present time there is no such supervision. At the present time investment brokers can loan money abroad and do anything they want without any supervision.

Mr. GRONNA. Is it not the idea that under the provisions of this bill, if it is not amended, it would give power and authority to this commercial organization—I call it a commercial organization because it is not a banking organization; it is in no sense a banking bill—to issue debentures, to issue bonds, based upon securities of foreign Governments or upon the securities of people of our own country, and practically transact business the same as the Government of the United States is now transacting?

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, the bill provides that the ordinary banking facilities are permitted to such a corporation. I assume that the only way we can balance the tremendous credit balance now in our favor, and which is working against us naturally from a commercial standpoint, is to get securities from abroad covering what we sell, be they Government securities or be they mortgages on plants or whatever they may be. We get them in exchange for goods. The corporation naturally issue debentures or bonds on such foreign credits and sell them to the American public. That is the way they realize the cash. That is an ordinary banking corporation.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, if I do not disturb the Senator, will he point out anywhere in the bill the provision where it will be possible to regulate foreign exchange?

Mr. EDGE. There is no way to regulate foreign exchange that I know of. I do not claim to be a financial student, except in a moderate way. There is only one way to do that, and that is through supply and demand, the equalization of debits and credits between the nations.

Mr. GRONNA. Is it not true that the regulation of foreign exchange is simply incidental, and that that is not really the purpose of the bill?

Mr. EDGE. That is true; but the fact exists, because of the prohibitive foreign exchange, that an American dollar is worth just what I quoted a few moments ago, making it very expensive for the foreign buyer to buy American goods, because it costs him so much to pay for them. It is a perfectly clear proposition.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. EDGE. I yield.

Mr. CUMMINS. This morning I gave notice that at the conclusion of the address of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDALL] I would move to take up what is known as the bill for the repeal of the daylight-saving law. I discovered afterwards that the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] had arranged to speak upon the subject of the league of nations, and that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] expected to follow him. I did not want to interfere with those addresses, but I had hoped to call that bill to the attention of the Senate and have it taken up for consideration and thus become the unfinished business, not expecting to ask for a vote upon it this afternoon, but hoping that I would be able to secure a vote some time to-morrow or the next day.

I recognize the overpowering importance of the league of nations, and I do not want to interfere with those who are prepared to make speeches upon that subject; but I do not want any other business to come in ahead of this very important measure.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. EDGE. I should like first to make a brief statement.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am not opposing the measure of the Senator from New Jersey, for I have not studied it at all; I do not know what it is; but I thought it was only fair to suggest to him, before he had finished what he had to say upon the subject, that I intend at the first moment I can get the attention of the Chair in my own right to move to take up for consideration the bill to repeal the daylight-saving law.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, perhaps I can make a suggestion that will meet the view of the Senator from Iowa, and still permit the bill to which I have referred to become the unfinished business, if I understand the rules correctly.

The Senator from Iowa, I think, understands my position, for I have already taken the matter up verbally with him, saying that I would wait until he moved consideration of the daylight-saving bill in order not to interfere with him, so that I am in entire accord with him, but it just happens that it is necessary for me to leave the Capital to-night to be gone for several days, and I felt this bill was of extreme importance. I do not want to take advantage of anyone, but I desire the bill to become the unfinished business so that all those Senators who wish to consider it may realize that it is in that position. They would naturally consider it in the

interim, and be prepared to offer amendments, and to discuss it so that we might have a full interchange of views.

We have the problem with us, and we must solve it. Perhaps this is not the best method to solve it, but it is certainly a step in the direction that will help solve it. I desire to read just one paragraph from the letter of Gov. Harding, of the Federal Reserve Board, to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McLEAN], the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency:

With these slight changes the Federal Reserve Board earnestly indorses the proposed bill and suggests that its enactment is even more essential at this time than when its adoption was first recommended by the board. The board knows no one way in which the present European credit situation may be more effectively dealt with than by the incorporation of institutions of the kinds provided for in this bill, and anything that betters that situation assists not merely in the gigantic task of reconstruction in Europe, but also in providing a market for our own exports and in developing our foreign commerce in a most effective and satisfactory way.

Very truly, yours,

W. P. H. HARDING, Governor.

Is it not possible under the rules, if this bill could be made the unfinished business, that, on motion of the Senator from Utah—I intended to leave it in his hands while compelled to be away—it might to-morrow be laid aside, and the daylight-saving repeal bill be considered?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, there are several Senators who desire to vote upon the daylight-saving bill who are compelled to leave the city to-morrow or very soon thereafter, and I shall feel constrained to ask the Senate to-morrow to consider that bill, so I do not want any measure to precede it in being made the unfinished business. Just the moment it is disposed of the Senator from New Jersey will have an opportunity to move the consideration of his bill, and if the Senate sees fit to agree, it may be made the unfinished business; but I think that I have fairly established a clear priority in so far as notice of my intention can establish precedence.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President—

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

Mr. EDGE. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. I desire simply to suggest to the Senator from New Jersey that, this being a Senate bill and the House of Representatives adjourning day after to-morrow, it would not delay the passage of the bill by allowing it to go over until the Senator returns.

Mr. EDGE. I appreciate that; but if we conducted all our business on the assumption that we were not going to do anything until the other House resumed its sessions we should simply congest our own calendar of bills and waste valuable time.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that there is no disposition of which I know on the part of any Senator in the Chamber to keep the bill from being considered, and I shall be very glad to assist the Senator in any way I can to make it the unfinished business.

Mr. EDGE. I ask if the suggestion I have made is not, under the rules, the usual thing to do?

Mr. SMOOT. Under the rules, if made the unfinished business, it would require unanimous consent to lay the bill aside, and if one Senator objected the only thing that could be done would be to proceed with the consideration of the bill or else for a Senator to make a motion to take up another bill, which would displace it as the unfinished business.

Mr. EDGE. The Senator from New Jersey introducing the bill being absent from the Chamber, I can not imagine that the bill would be taken up.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator asked me a question, and I have stated to him what the rule provides, namely, that if the bill is the unfinished business at 2 o'clock to-morrow it is automatically placed before the Senate at that time. Then, if any Senator asks that it be temporarily laid aside, it can only be done by unanimous consent. There may be some Senator who would object to its being laid aside; then the Senate would have to proceed with the consideration of the bill or else some Senator would have to move to take up another bill, which would displace the Senator's bill as the unfinished business.

Mr. EDGE. I have no desire to be anything but courteous to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], as I demonstrated in discussing this matter with him.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. EDGE. Just a moment. I desire to finish the observation I was making, and then I will yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey declines to yield at present.

Mr. EDGE. I desire to finish the remark I was making, and then I will yield. I wish the Senator from Iowa thoroughly to understand that I have no disposition in the action I have sought to take in any way to precede the daylight-saving repeal bill, and if he feels, under the explanation of the Senator from Utah, in view of my absence and the fact that unanimous consent is required, as I understand, under the rules, that there is a possibility that some one would object, the introducer of the bill being out of the Chamber—which I can not for one moment imagine—I shall not press the motion; but I have at least, I hope, accomplished the main object, and that is to draw the attention of the Senate to the extreme importance of action on a measure designed to accomplish what this measure is designed to accomplish. I will now give notice that on my return I shall again renew the motion to make the bill the unfinished business, so that it may be considered by the Senate at the earliest possible moment. We must do something to solve this question; we must do something to help our own business men.

If I may take a moment longer, this is not a bill designed to help the large business organizations of this country, because they do not need help. That is obvious. The big concerns, like the International Harvester Co., the United States Steel Corporation, and the Standard Oil Co., have had their export departments for years; they have had their sales organizations covering probably every country in the world where they can do a profitable business. The bill is designed to aid the small manufacturer whom Congress tried to help a year or two ago when it enacted the Webb Act, which permitted them to combine in order to enter the foreign field. Congress then certainly indorsed the policy of trying to help American business men in their export business. Now comes along the proposal to have American banks help finance their business which they can not finance unless they have some combination of capital of this character. If there is a better way that can be devised, let us have it, but let us face this question, for it is a very important one, and try to bring about a solution of the problem.

To demonstrate the feeling among small manufacturers throughout the country as to the necessity of the proposed legislation to which I have referred, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD extracts from a few letters that I will send to the desk. I will read just one paragraph from the letter of a small manufacturer of agricultural machinery employing 200 hands—hardly in the class of a trust. Speaking of the bill, he writes as follows:

This is particularly interesting and pertinent to us at this time, as the writer has been laboring with a proposition made us through the Roumanian Government to furnish them agricultural machinery, for which they would give us in exchange their three-year bonds. After considerable effort to handle these bonds through our bankers or to get any indorsement of them by the Government, we have been obliged to decline the business.

That is simply an example of what our business men are encountering.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request of the Senator from New Jersey will be complied with. The Chair hears no objection.

The letters referred to are as follows:

Senator WALTER E. EDGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We note with very much interest announcement in this morning's Philadelphia Public Ledger in regard to the bill which you propose to introduce in the Senate respecting the financing of foreign countries in making purchases in the United States.

This is particularly interesting and pertinent to us at this time, as the writer has been laboring with a proposition made us through the Roumanian Government to furnish them agricultural machinery, for which they would give us in exchange their three-year bonds. After considerable effort to handle these bonds through our bankers or to get any indorsement of them by the Government, we have been obliged to decline the business.

From the report of the representative of the Roumanian Government the fact that we have been unable to finance them is very sad, indeed, as the people in that country are undoubtedly very much in need of machinery with which to produce crops for their own sustenance. The need is so great because it is impractical to do the plowing and cultivating with a "crooked stick."

We have also had some Russian business offered us which undoubtedly we will lose because of their inability to finance it by paying us cash, which is the only basis on which we feel we are safe in accepting the business at this time.

We sincerely trust that something real and tangible will grow out of your efforts to develop a bill which would finance especially those countries which are so much in need of help. We feel there is nothing so important at the present hour to the commercial interests of this country and the financial interest of the war-davastated countries as this very effort which you are making, inasmuch as it is most fundamental in that we are helping them to help themselves.

All praise to you and best wishes for successful culmination of your efforts.

Very truly, yours,

BATEMAN MANUFACTURING Co.,
FRED H. BATEMAN,
Vice President and General Manager.

GRENLOCH, N. J., June 24, 1919.

THE GASTINE CO.,
Bridgeton, N. J., June 26, 1919.

Hon. Senator EDGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We note in the New York Commercial of the bill you have introduced in the Senate for the protection of American exporters, by not helping financially any nation who have placed embargoes on American importers.

We wish to cite an instance of a distributor of ours in Rome, Italy, who, before the war, ordered Gastine quite regularly, and for the past six months he has tried and tried repeatedly to obtain an import permit from the authorities, and they have refused him in every instance, even notwithstanding the fact that our product will help rejuvenate low grades of gasoline, and which they can use economically.

The same thing applies to a distributor in France, in the city of Paris. He has been trying time and time again to import Gastine. We even understand that he has some orders that he would like to fill. They will not allow him to send any money nor will they give him an import permit. We do certainly thank you, and assure you that your efforts are appreciated.

The writer feels that he almost knows you, inasmuch as he used to see you every day last summer, from June 20 to June 29, as he was at Sea Girt, N. J., and is a member of Company D, First Battalion, New Jersey State Militia.

Yours, very truly,

THE GASTINE CO.,
I. W. GOLDBERG,
General Manager.

MOORESTOWN, N. J., July 25, 1919.

Hon. WALTER E. EDGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Permit me to thank you for your very prompt and courteous letter of July 22.

I also take this occasion to commend the bill which you lately introduced and wish it success. It would be a great help in developing American export business.

Again thanking you, I am
Very truly, yours,

J. S. STOKES.

AMERICAN FOREIGN BANKING CORPORATION,
New York, July 21, 1919.

Hon. WALTER E. EDGE,
United States Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR EDGE: We have procured a copy of Senate bill 2472, introduced by you on the 15th instant, which is of considerable interest to us. The American Foreign Banking Corporation is now incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, and most of its stock is owned by national banks located in the principal cities of the United States. We would probably wish to incorporate under the provisions of the proposed bill should it pass, as, other things being equal, it would seem preferable to have a Federal charter rather than a State charter. In view of the above, we would be pleased to have you inform us from time to time as to the status of this proposed legislation.

We remain, with sentiments of esteem,
Yours, very truly,

HAYDEN B. HARRIS,
Vice President.

LONDON, July 18, 1919.

Senator EDGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington.

London Daily Mail refers to bill you have introduced. It is imperative legislation be enacted promptly and American banks and industries support same, as each day's delay is working injury which will take months to right. Unless prompt action is taken without doubt foreign governments will be obliged to embargo against everything except vital amount foodstuffs and essential raw materials. Such injury to American trade will be difficult of remedy.

GEORGE GASTON.

NEW YORK, July 26, 1919.

Senator WALTER E. EDGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR EDGE: We are very much interested in the foreign bank bill which you are putting through, and feel that some such plan will be of necessity and great assistance to firms in the United States desiring to do foreign business.

Could we ask you to kindly send us a copy of the bill either in its proposed form or in the form in which it finally passes?

With best wishes for the success of the bill and with our thanks for a copy,

We remain, very truly, yours,

KESTER BROS.,
R. L. KESTER, Jr.,
General Manager.

NEW YORK, July 30, 1919.

Senator EDGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We have recently noticed a measure introduced by you providing for the formation of a large company to provide capital to finance American exporters, and that the plan calls for backing by private capital.

Will you kindly favor us with a copy of the bill which you introduced, as we are very strongly interested in this movement, and as soon as we are more thoroughly familiar with it we shall be very glad to give you every possible support in the premises?

Respectfully, yours,

ASSOCIATED DRESS INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA,
DAVID N. MOSESSOHN, Executive Director.

[From letter of George McFadden, 121 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, to Senator EDGE.]

I quote you text of two cables received by us to-day from my partner, Mr. Thompson, who is visiting continental Europe, which cables set out the economic and financial situation at the present time in Czechoslovakia:

First. "It is simply wasting time trying to get these people in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, furnish dollar credits, because they simply can not do it.

"The bordering neutrals can not do so either for reason already cabled you, and wired Breton same to Paris from Italy.

"They all must have raw materials to get started, and if they don't get them soon there will be trouble.

"You can not expect them to furnish dollar credits except by export, and they can not export unless they get raw materials.

"To pay for same at the present depreciated exchange would be ruinous.

"These liberated countries were most optimistic at first, as they counted on American financial assistance, but through our lack appreciation of conditions this optimism giving way to pessimism."

Second, "Czech spinners will need credit for about two years before their exports will be big enough for them to pay off dollar credit for cotton needed, though possibly certain percentage monthly commencing seventh month. Spinners meeting decided not to buy more than 20 per cent prewar consumption, amounting to about 120,000 bales."

Permit me again to express my thanks for your letter, and I remain,
Very respectfully, yours,

GEO. MCFADDEN.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I ask permission to insert in the RECORD, without reading, the statement which I made before the committee in connection with the bill offered by the Senator from New Jersey. I do not want to take any time in connection with it now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission will be granted. The Chair hears no objection.

The statement referred to is as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ROBERT L. OWEN, OF OKLAHOMA.

Senator OWEN. Mr. Chairman and Senators, I regard the bill introduced by Senator EDGE (S. 2472), providing for an amendment of the Federal Reserve act, as a proposed new section, section 25a, as a bill of primary, urgent, immediate importance, as I shall presently explain.

The bill authorizes corporations to be organized and managed, under the supervision of the Federal Reserve Board, to deal in international banking, with special powers. It will be of great service to our foreign commerce, will afford an important medium of placing European credits with the American investing public, and stabilizing foreign exchange, to the great benefit of American commerce.

Everyone who is at all familiar with international commerce and international exchange must have observed the steady going down of foreign exchanges with those countries who have been lately the great belligerents, such as Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy. The value of the pound sterling has fallen below \$4.30 from \$4.86, and yet I take it that no man in his sober senses has the slightest doubt about the solvency of the British Empire, or the ability of the British people to meet their obligations in due time under reasonable conditions.

The French exchange has gone from its normal of 5.18 down approximately to 7 francs for a dollar, instead of 5.18 francs for a dollar.

The Italian exchange has gone down still more, to a point where the lire, which is normally worth 5.18 lire to the dollar, is now down nearly to 9 lire to the dollar. The consequence is that any Italian merchant who attempts to buy dollars from the United States for the purpose of paying for cotton or steel or copper or any other of the raw materials required for the Italian markets, is compelled to pay nearly two dollars for one on top of the very high prices which have ensued in our country and in their own country by virtue of the expansion of the currency of the United States, and other conditions which have raised the prices in the United States.

It is therefore almost impossible and certainly very improvident for the Italian people to meet such a cost. It is impossible for the French and British to do so without a serious permanent loss. Therefore the authorities of Italy and France and Great Britain have interposed, quietly and unostentatiously, but as firmly as they could, obstacles to the purchase of American goods by Italian, French, and British importers under these conditions, hoping that the time would come when these exchanges might be adjusted so that these supplies from America coming from our surplus could be obtained on a decent and fair basis.

This has not been accomplished. The mechanism is not provided. We have no adequate way in which to meet it. The banks are not able to do this, and they must not be requested or expected to do more than they can wisely do with the resources at their command. The New York banks now—for instance, the National City or the Guaranty Trust or the Irving National—are carrying as large an amount of these foreign bills as they can afford to carry, and unless there is a mechanism provided by which these foreign credits shall be sold to the American investing public there is no way available, on the scale required to rehabilitate Europe—and I estimate that scale at from four to seven billion dollars—to restore to Europe the raw materials, the machinery, the things which are required to put Europe again on the highly productive basis it occupied before the Great War.

Our banks are doing the best they can with it, as far as the purchase of these bills is concerned. Incidentally, of course, they are buying these bills at a rate which ultimately will or should net them a high profit, because the banks are merchants in credits. They buy and they sell credits. And it is not to be attributed to them as a reproach because they buy Italian lire at 9 for a dollar, or whatever price the market may fix, due to supply and demand.

But it is not the function of our great banking institutions to put the American dollar at par, or to keep it at par. That is not their business. Their business is to buy and sell bills. Their business is to get deposits. Their business is to lend money and to make money by the lending of money, and by the commissions which they earn from rendering service to commerce.

I have insisted before this committee and I have insisted before the Federal Reserve Board and before the President of the United States that a mechanism should be provided by which the American dollar could be put to par and kept at par, neither above par nor below par. During the war the American dollar, the gold dollar, in New York went to a discount of 60 per cent in Spain, and you could buy gold American dollars, payable in New York, subject, of course, to the temporary embargo, for 66 cents apiece in Spain. Does any man in his sound senses believe that the American dollar in New York, measured in gold, and subject to a temporary embargo, was worth only 66 cents? We know better.

Of course, the gold dollar of America has gone back now from a value of sixty-odd cents, as a year and a half ago it was in Madrid or Barcelona, until to-day it is worth a dollar plus, as it ought to be. In fact, it will be worth more than a dollar in Spain under these existing conditions within a very short time. In the meantime the American dollar has risen, as relates to the British pound sterling, until it is worth \$1.12, we will say, and in France it is worth probably \$1.33, and in Italy it is probably worth somewhere in the neighborhood of \$1.70.

Senator FLETCHER. How much in Germany?

Senator OWEN. In Germany it is worth, of course, still more; in Roumania it is worth still more; in Russia it is worth still more, in terms of rubles, for reasons which are obvious to everyone.

But where nations are solvent, and where the conditions are fundamentally sound, it is obviously to the interest of the American people that the American dollar should be put to par and kept at par, so that the American dollar shall be the measure of value throughout the whole world in international transactions, and in that way expand the foreign commerce of the United States and give an increased market to the labor of the United States and to the raw materials which are supplied by the United States for world markets.

This can not be done if no man knows what the value of the dollar is. At present men in Italy can not buy at this price, except where the urgency is extremely great. American merchants who desire to sell their goods do not wish to sell them in terms of lire, because they do not know whether the lire they will get will be diminishing in value or increasing in value. American sellers desire to be paid in terms of dollars, whose value they know. But the Italians are not in a position to buy the American dollars at a fair rate, and they do not feel willing to enter into an agreement to pay in terms of dollars within the next 12 months, because they do not know but what the dollars within the next 12 months will become more difficult to buy and will rise in value, and therefore they will be pledging themselves not to pay interest but to pay something they can not forecast and which may result in ruin to them and to their business. And the committee must appraise these questions in order to comprehend the value of this bill introduced by Senator EDGE.

The sum and substance of it is that during the last month our exports fell off over a hundred millions of dollars. This month I have no doubt the loss in our exports will be very much larger. I am informed by a cable I saw yesterday that there had come to be almost an impasse in the buying of goods from Europe here in certain particular lines, because of the factors which I have just referred to. The value of the Edge bill is this, that it provides for the organization of corporations that shall have the right to transact international banking, and which may be organized, and in which the American national banks may participate to a limited extent, and therefore it affords a means by which a quick and large capital can be made available for the purpose of extending credit to Europe through the process of buying European bills, of making agreements by which European bills may be renewed three or four times per annum, and carried along until the people in Europe shall be able to repay the loans which are extended. The purpose of this Edge bill is to organize a means by which European credits can be marketed with the American investing public. It provides a mechanism to accomplish this, and, as far as it goes, it is a valuable factor helping the general question.

I think we are all pretty well agreed that the Government of the United States is hardly in a position where the taxing power can be properly used to extend further credits to European Governments, and this matter ought to be preferably left to those who are willing to extend credits of their own volition, and not to be compelled to extend credits through the taxing power. For this reason, I regard it as preferable to have a mechanism of this character established through which European credits can be marketed with the American investing public.

If this is not done, I warn this committee, as I have warned the Treasury Department time and time again, that we are going to meet with an obstruction to our foreign commerce that will react with the most injurious consequences upon the people of the United States, upon the home markets, and upon all sorts of stocks and securities. This committee will see it, and they will see it very soon, and the responsibility is on this committee to afford relief to American commerce.

I understand that this bill has been very carefully scrutinized by the Federal Reserve Board and the authorities of the Treasury Department, and that it meets with their substantial approval. I do not think the bill goes as far as it should go, but it is certainly an improvement on present conditions.

On February 20, 1918, I introduced a bill providing for the Federal reserve foreign bank, which would function in foreign banking much the same as the New York Federal Reserve Bank functions in domestic banking. I regretted very much to learn that some of the New York banks, with a great lack of vision, were under the impression that the establishment of a Federal reserve foreign bank would interfere with their profits in the handling of international exchange. It would interfere with those profits which are excessive. It would interfere with the profit which would be made by a bank in buying lire at 9 lire to the dollar, awaiting the time when it should react to 5.18 to the dollar. It would interfere with that, because it would help to stabilize international exchanges, and would bring profits on international exchanges down to a normal fixed level acceptable to all banks alike. The banks ought to be content with a reasonable profit, because the banks ought not to be willing to make profits on a basis which interferes with the commerce of the United States, and with the great productive industries of America, and with the great merchants of America engaged in importing and exporting. They ought to be willing to furnish reasonable accommodations at fair rates out of the deposits and capital which the people of the United States have placed with the banks in trust for management.

Therefore I urged a Federal reserve foreign bank which would tend to stabilize international exchange, and which would comprise another medium for placing the European credits advantageously with the Federal Reserve Banking System of the United States, and through the Federal Reserve banks of the United States with member banks, and through the banks with the clients of member banks who were in a position to buy these securities advantageously. The whole point is that America has gone from the position of a debtor nation to a great creditor nation, and we will have to extend the credits now to the extent of our excess shipment of commodities. And by excess shipment of commodities I mean the excess of commodity exports over commodity imports. It has been running somewhere between three and four billion dollars the past year. If we keep that up, we will be

compelled to extend credits to the extent of three or four billions; or just to the extent that these commodity shipments exceed the commodity imports. That is a perfectly plain and simple matter which anyone at all familiar with international exchange must thoroughly comprehend.

I introduced again yesterday this bill providing for a Federal reserve foreign bank, which I ask to be put in the record (see Exhibit B), and I remind the committee that the Federal Reserve Banking System provided for the Federal reserve foreign banking facilities in the first draft of the bill, and that was put in the draft of the bill upon the advice of the great New York banks; who at that time were interested in this matter. Indeed, if I remember correctly, such a provision was put in the original Monetary Commission bill that was presented to the Senate of the United States in 1912. Yet the Federal reserve domestic banks have found themselves so tremendously engaged in the development of internal banking business that they have not been able physically to work out the system of foreign banking which was contemplated by the original act.

I remind the committee that the activities of the New York Federal Reserve Bank have been so great that they have as many as 3,000 employees in that one bank. It would be naturally larger when the Government was putting over these big bond issues, because these Federal reserve banks have been great agencies in assisting the Government in placing these bonds.

The Federal reserve act was amended when the Federal reserve banks did not exercise the functions contemplated by the original act of giving foreign banking accommodations, so as to authorize the Federal Reserve Board to require these reserve banks to discharge this function. I rather take it that the Federal Reserve Board did not have the heart to require the best of all of these banks fitted to transact the business—that is, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York—to establish a foreign branch for the transaction of this foreign business, because the men who were in charge of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York are, after all, only flesh and blood, and there is a limit to which human beings can go in their activities.

I am very frankly of the opinion that we should extend the benefit of the Federal Reserve Banking System so as to include international banking in an orderly and organized way, without taxing to excess the banks we have already established, and I shall ask this committee to consider the question of this Federal reserve foreign bank, and I pray that it may not be considered in a partisan light, because the Federal Reserve System ought not to be regarded as a partisan matter. I should be very happy to yield any personal connection I have with it, if some other member would be good enough to present the matter in such a way as to accomplish the result. I care nothing about any credit with regard to it. But I do feel the most profound interest in the welfare of American commerce, and you gentlemen who are now in control of the Senate of the United States are charged with an obligation to protect and to advance and to promote the commerce of the United States. You are charged with the duty, and I urge you to exercise your proper functions and meet this responsibility, and to meet it at once. There is no time to be lost. I will gladly cooperate with you. I tell you that American commerce is being paralyzed right now. I know of men who have been anxious to export goods and who could not do so because the people to whom they would sell the goods could not buy the American dollars, although they could give credits that are absolutely sound and good. I will give you an instance, omitting the names, because I think it is not desirable to give names in such a connection.

An exporting firm in New York had an order for a million dollars' worth of goods from Roumania. The leading bank in Roumania was willing to put up in terms of leis—which corresponds with the franc—an amount equivalent to the order, payable in 12 months; was willing to put up \$200,000 against the million-dollar order as an additional credit with a New York bank. This bank in Roumania has 800,000,000 leis deposits. It stands second in rank to the Government bank of Roumania. This bill would be underwritten by the exporting house. It would be underwritten by the merchant who was buying the goods. They desired to get the credit for one year, with three renewals every 90 days, paying a commission of one-quarter of 1 per cent for each renewal, making 1 per cent commission and 6 per cent for the loan. They were not able to get the accommodation, and the goods could not be shipped.

It is only one of many instances, but we have got to provide the mechanism, gentlemen, and this bill helps to accomplish that. I therefore favor it.

I will be glad to answer any question you would like to ask.

Senator GRONNA. As I remember the provisions of your bill, it was more of a Government bank you proposed, was it not?

Senator OWEN. Oh, yes; it was a Federal reserve foreign bank, connected with the Federal Reserve System, and a part of the system.

Senator GRONNA. Is it not also true that all during the war, at least during part of the time during the war, the foreign countries got the benefit, because the banks in the United States pegged the money and received foreign exchange at a much higher value than it actually was worth?

Senator OWEN. Great Britain pegged the exchange of pounds sterling by providing the money through loans from the United States to pay for all sterling bills, through Morgan & Co., at \$4.76½, which, of course, pegged the value of the pound sterling in its relative value to the American dollar, as far as British purchases were concerned, and limited the cost to Great Britain down to interest, and avoiding the loss of an adverse exchange. They were not subjected to the heavier cost that would have been reflected if they had been compelled to buy dollars at the rate of \$4 for a pound sterling instead of \$4.76.

Senator NEWBERRY. What would be the effect of the passage of both bills?

Senator OWEN. I think it would be very beneficial, indeed. It would help this matter immediately and would offer at once a mechanism through which these credits could be obtained. The bill to establish a Federal reserve foreign bank I introduced February 20, 1918, and re-introduced yesterday as S. 2582, and I also introduced a bill (S. 2590) to establish a foreign finance corporation to function or similar lines, as the British have organized various great corporations to protect their foreign trade.

Senator GRONNA. Who suffered that loss? Of course, somebody had to stand a loss.

Senator OWEN. The consumers of the commodities ultimately paid the difference in exchange. It amounted to this, that the purchases made by Great Britain were paid for at the rates fixed in the market here for goods, plus interest only, whatever interest the purchaser paid, plus the difference between \$4.76½ and \$4.86, the gold value of the pound sterling, which made it an economical way in which Great Britain

bought these goods. She only has to pay back these loans with interest and no more, excepting the slight difference between the pegged price \$4.76 and the gold value of the pound, \$4.86.

Senator GRONNA. I understand that.

Senator OWEN. Otherwise Great Britain or her merchants and people would have had to pay very much more for the commodities bought in the United States. Every loss in exchange is reflected in additional cost of commodities, so when sellers' exchange gets too high or buyers' exchange too low foreign purchasers must quit buying.

Senator GRONNA. When Spain would pay the United States the balance she might owe for exports, Spain would not buy American dollars; she would simply buy pounds sterling, would she not?

Senator OWEN. Spain must pay the United States in dollars, and she did buy pounds sterling and use them to buy dollars in the New York pegged market.

Senator GRONNA. And she would send the pounds sterling to New York, because New York had pegged them up to \$4.76 and a fraction, and necessarily somebody had to stand a loss. If nobody else, the producers would have to stand the loss.

Senator OWEN. When our dollar appreciates the American producer begins to lose his market and must absorb a part of the loss by lowering his price of necessity. The consumer stood part of the loss of buying from Spain when Spanish pesetas appreciated, but the reduction of the value of the American dollar in Spain was due to our extending credits to Great Britain, and Great Britain using the American dollars which she got from us to pay her own debts with Spain. The consequence was that the American dollar went down in Spain. That is what happened. That cost the American consumer, of course, who bought Spanish products, just to the extent that the American dollar went down in its purchasing power in Spain.

Now that Spain and the United States are dealing separately from Great Britain, and Spain has withdrawn her gold balances in the United States (\$25,000,000), the peseta has gone to 19 cents, and our dollar is above par.

Senator GRONNA. What concerns me is this: Suppose that a foreign bank is established, and this bank would make an effort to regulate this exchange. The bank will not stand that loss.

Senator OWEN. Oh, no; the bank will be merely a medium, that is all.

Senator GRONNA. Is there anyone, except either the consumer or the producer, who necessarily must stand the loss?

Senator OWEN. It will not be any loss, Senator. If the American investing public will buy these European securities upon a safe basis, then the securities will be extended, and that will bring these exchanges back to normal, and we will not have a loss to either consumer or producer; otherwise we will have a loss to both.

Senator GRONNA. That is a matter of credit.

Senator OWEN. Certainly it is.

Senator GRONNA. That is a matter of credit, and it is a matter of either an inflated value or the true value. We all know that if these countries were not burdened with the heavy debt that they are burdened with to-day, this question would not arise, Senator OWEN. It is a good deal the same as if I were worth a hundred thousand dollars and I extended my credit to a million dollars, and if you were dealing with me, naturally you would look into my financial condition, and you would question whether or not you would invest in my goods, in my securities, as a safe proposition. If you did invest, you would simply want a large discount. Is not that true?

Senator OWEN. Europe can give us security as good as gold, better than gold, because we need no more gold, and gold bears no interest in our own vaults, expands our currency, while good securities bring in interest every day as an earning. Senator, if you will pardon me a moment, and will give me the honor of your attention—

Senator GRONNA. I will. I want your interpretation of it.

Senator OWEN. It is not proposed to have these banks deal with securities that are not secure. It is not proposed that they shall take securities that are not sound. It is not proposed that they shall sell to the American investing public securities that are not absolutely stable. While it is true that Europe has been wounded, I think we have greatly misunderstood the productive capacity of Europe, and we have misunderstood, in large measure, the cost of this war. France, for instance, is holding almost entirely the bonded issue which France put out. The French people own those bonds, and the French people, therefore, who are the owners of the bonds, have on their books broadly a national debt and a personal credit balancing each other. There was not a destruction of French property except in the narrow margin on the northern part of France where the villages were destroyed, and in some cities where important manufacturing plants were destroyed. The body of France is not destroyed; the productive power of France is not destroyed. The French women have been taught to labor as never before. There have been brought into the field of labor as never before millions of human beings. The stimulation of invention and the development of machinery in France have grown in an enormous way. The productive power of France has probably increased not less than 50 per cent, and the indebtedness of this war, which has passed from one set of people into the hands of another set of people, is neither an asset nor a liability. When you put them against each other they cancel each other. The French are able to pay their debts—they will pay their debts, and they will pay them dollar for dollar. There is no question in the world about the solvency of the French or of the British or of the Italians or of the Belgian people.

Senator FLETCHER. Is it not true, in further answer to Senator GRONNA's suggestion, that the main purpose here is to afford machinery whereby the securities that are now tied up can be released?

Senator OWEN. Yes. We have not an adequate mechanism. Senator GRONNA is entirely right in what he said about this matter. There is no difference between himself and myself at all. The only thing is that we are looking at it from a different angle.

Senator CALDER. In the act of March 4, 1919, authorizing the issue of bonds, the Victory loan, there was a provision permitting the War Finance Corporation to extend a credit of \$1,000,000,000 to American exporters. Do you recall that?

Senator OWEN. Yes.

Senator CALDER. Do you know if anything was ever done under that? Senator OWEN. They have practically done nothing, and it is a pity. They have done nothing. That money has not been used, and is not going to be used.

Senator CALDER. Has any of it been used?

Senator OWEN. A little of it, but practically none at all. They have been confused. Mr. Eugene Meyers, Director War Finance Corporation, went over to Europe recently to find out what to do, and how to do, but he has no definite plan to submit. If he had any plan to submit, he would assuredly act on it. If he has any legislative plan to submit

he would come to the committee. Nothing is being done, and I tell you that something has to be done. You can not sit here and allow the foreign commerce of this country to go on the rocks.

I should like also to have printed as a part of the record a bill introduced by me yesterday providing for a foreign finance corporation (Exhibit C).

Mr. Chairman, I have not talked to any of you gentlemen in regard to this. I would be glad to know what the attitude of the committee is in regard to this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. We have not taken any action on it. We are trying to get action. Senator EDGE was here, and he made a brief statement this morning, but we had no stenographer, and I wish Senator EDGE would repeat his statement, if he is willing to do so—if you have finished, Senator OWEN.

Senator OWEN. I have. I did not know that Senator EDGE was here, or I would not have taken the floor. I am very deeply interested in this matter, and regard it as a matter of supreme national importance.

PROPOSED CONSIDERATION OF THE CALENDAR.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, as I was about to say a moment ago, I have no disposition to interfere with the consideration or the passage of the bill to repeal the daylight-saving law, and I have no disposition to interfere with the consideration of the bill referred to by the Senator from New Jersey, although I think there ought to be some very serious consideration given to it prior to its passage; but I rise for the purpose of making a request for unanimous consent, to which I think both Senators and all other Senators will agree. Our calendar is crowded with bills; the House is going in a few days to take a recess and cease to do any public business for six weeks or so, and I should like to ask unanimous consent to-morrow at some time to sound the calendar for the consideration of unobjected bills. There are a number of little bills that will pass readily here and not be objected to in the other House, and which ought to go to the other House before it takes its recess. I therefore submit a request for unanimous consent that during the morning hour to-morrow the calendar may be sounded for the consideration and passage of unobjected bills.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in the first place, I wish to say to the Senator that I think the calendar, under Rule VIII, ought to be taken up, but I think the proper request to make would be to proceed now to the consideration of the calendar under Rule VIII. I do not think that we have a right to enter into a unanimous-consent agreement to take up the calendar at a certain hour to-morrow.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Probably the Senator is right about that.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not think there will be any objection to the request if the Senator will make it to-morrow.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Suppose I ask unanimous consent to take up the calendar now, and then postpone proceeding with it until to-morrow morning?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, if the Senator from Mississippi will wait just a moment, until, if possible, I get the bill repealing the daylight-saving law before the Senate, I shall ask that it be temporarily laid aside, so that it will not interfere with the request of the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then, with the understanding that the Senator will get his bill before the Senate, and then will ask, if I do not happen to be present, that it be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to sound the calendar for unobjected bills, I have no objection.

REPEAL OF DAYLIGHT-SAVING LAW.

Mr. CUMMINS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3854) for the repeal of the daylight-saving law.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, will the Senator excuse me just for a moment?

Mr. CUMMINS. I intend to lay the bill aside instantly after it is taken up, so that the Senator from Oklahoma will not be interfered with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Iowa that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 3854.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 3854) for the repeal of the daylight-saving law.

Mr. CUMMINS. I now ask that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside. Without objection, that order will be made. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

THE CALENDAR.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I ask unanimous consent now that the Senate proceed to sound the calendar for the consideration of unobjected bills.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of unobjected bills on the calendar. Is there objection?

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, I fully appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Iowa in speaking as he did of his desire to press his measure but, at the same time, without interfering with those who have given notice of their intention to address the Senate upon some other subject. I have no objection whatsoever to the request of the Senator from Mississippi that the calendar shall be sounded, nor have I any desire that I should in attempting to address the Senate take up any time which the Senator from Iowa might use. I can see very well that there might be a conflict in the event of the calendar being taken up, all the morning hour consumed, and the unfinished business then laid before the Senate. I will, however, yield to the Senator from Iowa to-morrow in the event that condition should arise.

Mr. FLETCHER. The request of the Senator from Mississippi is that the calendar be considered now.

Mr. FALL. I understood that the request was that it be considered to-morrow morning.

Mr. FLETCHER. No; the Senator from Mississippi requested that the consideration of unobjected bills on the calendar be proceeded with now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request of the Senator from Mississippi is that the Senate proceed now to the consideration of unobjected bills on the calendar. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The Secretary will state the first bill on the calendar.

The first business on the calendar was the resolution (S. Res. 76) defining a peace treaty which shall assure to the people of the United States the attainment of the ends for which they entered the war, and declaring the policy of our Government to meet fully obligations to ourselves and to the world.

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask that that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be passed over.

ADAM AND NOAH BROWN.

The bill (S. 529) for the relief of the heirs of Adam and Noah Brown was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, may we have the report on this bill read?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the report.

The Secretary proceeded to read the report. After having read for some time,

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I observe that this is a very lengthy report. I do not wish to take up too much of the time of the Senate. I do not know that I have any objection to the bill, but I should like to go into it carefully. I therefore ask that it may go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

BILLS PASSED OVER.

The bill (S. 600) for the relief of the heirs of Mrs. Susan A. Nicholas was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1289) for the relief of Simon M. Preston was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1479) for the relief of the estate of Moses M. Bane was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

UNITED STATES LEGATION AT BANGKOK, SIAM.

The bill (S. 2250) providing for the exchange of certain legation buildings and grounds owned by the Government of the United States in Bangkok, Siam, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It authorizes and directs the Secretary of State, acting as the agent of the Government of the United States, to transfer to the Government of Siam all title to, and interest in, that parcel of land, located in the city of Bangkok, Siam, on the river Menam Chao Phya, together with the buildings and other appurtenances appertaining thereto, which His Majesty the King of Siam, in 1884, presented to the Government of the United States for legation purposes; and to receive in exchange therefor from the Government of Siam title to all that parcel of land and the buildings and other appurtenances appertaining thereto, situated on the Klong Poh Yome, in the city of Bangkok, Siam, which the Government of the United States now rents and occupies for legation purposes, together with a certain parcel of land contiguous thereto, the said transfer not to be made until satisfactory title to the property to be acquired by the Government of the United States has been made by the Government of Siam.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I should like to have some explanation from some member of the committee in regard to this bill.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, my recollection of the matter is that a number of years ago Siam presented to the United States a site for a legation, and we have been occupying it for some time. Later, however, a change in the development of the town of Bangkok resulted in making this a neighborhood undesirable for legations and representatives of foreign nations, and they have been gradually moving away. Now the same nation offers to give us another site and to accept the old one in exchange. It is recommended by the Department of State.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no amendment to be proposed, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS PASSED OVER.

The bill (S. 1004) for the relief of the owner of the steam lighter *Cornelia* was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1005) for the relief of the owner of the steamship *Matoa* was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1006) for the relief of the schooner *Horatio G. Foss* was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1222) for the relief of the schooner *Henry O. Barrett* was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1223) for the relief of the owner of the steamer *Wayflower* and for the relief of passengers on board said steamer was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

KATE CANNIFF.

The bill (S. 219) for the relief of Kate Canniff was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to Kate Canniff the sum of \$1,345, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in full compensation for the death of her husband, James Canniff, who received injuries April 15, 1901, while in the service of the United States on the lighthouse tender *Haze*, and as a result of which he died on October 20, 1909.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, is there any report with respect to this bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah asks for the reading of the report.

Mr. KING. If it is brief. If it is long, I will not ask it. Can any Senator make any explanation as to the bill?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, this is one of the regular claims made in the case of a widow whose husband was killed in the service of the United States. The bill, as introduced, carried an appropriation of \$5,000; but it has been reduced to the regular rates paid in such cases, namely, for one year's service.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator know why it was not presented for consideration long before this?

Mr. SMOOT. That I can not say; but I have no doubt the claim should be paid, in accordance with the practice of the Senate.

Mr. KING. With that assurance, I shall not ask for the reading of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RELIEF OF CERTAIN ARMY OFFICERS.

The bill (S. 257) for the relief of certain officers in the Army of the United States, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I dislike to offer any objection; but can any Senator make any explanation as to the necessity of this measure—its justice and merits?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Mr. President, I will say that I am quite sure these are items that were passed on the Army bill, but were rejected by the House. The Military Affairs Committee subsequently put them into a bill by themselves, and they are now presented for passage by the Senate. Every item in this

bill has been already passed upon by the Senate and by the Military Affairs Committee twice.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair calls the attention of the Senator from Utah to the fact that this bill also passed the Senate at the last session, too late, however, to receive consideration by the House of Representatives; and it embraces only such bills as have been audited and are regularly found due.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry? Was the objection of the House based upon the fact that it was legislation upon an appropriation bill or some intrinsic objection that was urged?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The objection was that it was legislation upon a general appropriation bill.

Mr. KING. I have no objection, then.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to my colleague that every year there is a bill of this character, and the Secretary of War reports to Congress the amount of these claims, which are generally small in amount and, I was going to say, large in number. This is simply carrying out the practice that has been followed for years.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow credits in the accounts of the persons herein stated.

Sec. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay the amounts enumerated herein out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, namely:

Credit in the accounts of Maj. James Canby, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. James Canby (now colonel) the sum of \$80, disallowed on voucher 920B of his money accounts for the month of November, 1913, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. David L. Stone, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. David L. Stone (now colonel) the sum of \$1,191, disallowed on voucher 6B of his money accounts for the month of December, 1911, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. Henry L. Kinnison, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. Henry L. Kinnison, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now colonel), the sum of \$82.50, disallowed on vouchers 12B of his money accounts for May, 1912, and 6B of his money accounts for June, 1912, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. John E. Baxter, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. John E. Baxter, Quartermaster, United States Army (now colonel, retired), the sum of \$18.96, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. L. C. Brown, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. L. C. Brown, United States Army (now colonel, Signal Corps, United States Army), the sum of \$72, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. H. L. Pettus, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. H. L. Pettus, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now deceased), the sum of \$1,545, disallowed on voucher 11B, January, 1912, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. Briant H. Wells, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. Briant H. Wells, United States Army (now brigadier general, American Expeditionary Forces), the sum of \$171, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. Girard Sturtevant, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. Girard Sturtevant, United States Army (now colonel, American Expeditionary Forces), the sum of \$2.99, suspended against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. James E. Normoyle, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. James E. Normoyle (now deceased) the sum of \$5, disallowed on voucher 238B of his money accounts for the month of September, 1912, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. G. G. Bailey, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. G. G. Bailey (now colonel, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army), the sum of \$106, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. G. G. Bailey, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. G. G. Bailey, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now colonel, Quartermaster Corps), the sum of \$31.09, disallowed on voucher 23A of his money accounts for July, 1909, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Lieut. Col. I. W. Littell, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Lieut. Col. I. W. Littell (now brigadier general) the sum of \$98.65, disallowed on voucher 24B of his money accounts for September, 1909, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. O. R. Wolfe, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. Orrin R. Wolfe (now colonel, American Expeditionary Forces) the sum of \$40, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Lieut. J. H. Barnard: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Lieut. J. H. Barnard, Fifth United States Cavalry (now lieutenant colonel), the sum of \$4,555.06, disallowed in his accounts as disbursing officer for the Students' Military Instruction Camp at Ludington, Mich., during the summer of 1914, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. T. E. Murphy: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. T. E. Murphy, United States Coast Artillery Corps (now colonel), the sum of \$15.98, disallowed on vouchers 922, 923, and 924 of his money accounts for the month of August, 1912, and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. Edward J. Timberlake, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. Edward J. Timberlake, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now colonel), the sum of \$2,580, disallowed and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. A. J. Bowley, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. A. J. Bowley (now brigadier general, American Expeditionary Forces), the sum of \$301.27, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Lieut. Col. T. Bentley Mott, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Lieut. Col. T. Bentley Mott, United States Army (retired) (formerly Second Field Artillery, military attaché, American Embassy, Paris), the sum of \$55.33, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Lieut. Walter C. Short, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of First Lieut. Walter C. Short (now colonel), Sixteenth Infantry, secretary of the School of Musketry, Fort Sill, Okla., the sum of \$531, disallowed in miscellaneous settlement No. 38819, dated August 9, 1916, of his accounts as disbursing officer of the United States Service Schools and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. N. K. Averill, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. N. K. Averill, Second Cavalry, military attaché, American embassy, Petrograd (now colonel, Infantry), the sum of \$39.23, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. Frank Geere, Quartermaster Corps: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. Frank Geere, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now lieutenant colonel), the sum of \$29, found to be deficient in a shipment of \$116,000 received from the Subtreasury at New Orleans, La.

Credit in the accounts of Col. Thomas G. Hanson, Quartermaster Corps: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Col. Thomas G. Hanson, Quartermaster Corps (now brigadier general), the sum of \$181.26, being an overpayment to the Blair-Murdock Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of California, for the printing done by said company under their contract with the department quartermaster, San Francisco, Calif.

Credit in the accounts of Col. W. D. Newbill, Quartermaster Corps: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Col. W. D. Newbill, Quartermaster Corps, the sum of \$39.25, being an overpayment to the Blair-Murdock Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of California, for printing done by said company under their contract with the department quartermaster, San Francisco, Calif.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. (now colonel) Henry L. Newbold: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. Henry L. Newbold (now colonel, American Expeditionary Forces) the sum of \$2,157.61, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. Gen. (formerly colonel, Cavalry) Jesse McI. Carter, National Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Brig. Gen. Jesse McI. Carter, National Army, the sum of \$352.23, disallowed on Treasury statement No. 29219, dated November 26, 1913, on account of disbursements made in his miscellaneous accounts under "Contingencies of the Army, 1913," and now standing against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. (now lieutenant colonel, National Army) Arthur P. Watts, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. Arthur P. Watts, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now lieutenant colonel, National Army, Infantry), the sum of \$660.11, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

Credit in the accounts of Kenneth P. Williams, United States Army: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. Kenneth P. Williams, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$2,580.85, being a shortage in his accounts caused by embezzlement, forgeries, and thefts of Mack A. Steel, civilian clerk (temporary), Quartermaster Corps, who was acting as chief clerk in the finance office at Fort Logan H. Roots.

Credit in the accounts of Maj. (now lieutenant colonel) Charles J. Nelson: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. Charles J. Nelson (now lieutenant colonel), Quartermaster Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$1,636.46, being a shortage in his accounts caused by embezzlement, forgeries, and thefts of Mack A. Steel, civilian clerk (temporary), Quartermaster Corps, who was acting as chief clerk in the finance office at Fort Logan H. Roots.

Relief of Henry C. Chappell: That the accounting officers of the Treasury be, and are hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Henry C. Chappell, of New London, Conn., from proper appropriations of the Quartermaster Corps, the sum of \$58.50, paid by him in amounts as follows for advertisements published in newspapers soliciting enlistments in the Quartermaster Reserve Corps of the Army for service in a motor-truck company of the Quartermaster Corps: The Telegraph Publishing Co., New London, Conn., \$6; the Evening Day, New London, Conn., \$19.50; the New London Daily Globe, New London, Conn., \$15; the Bulletin Co., Norwich, Conn., \$18.

Credit in the accounts of Capt. Charles E. Scorer, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (American Expeditionary Forces): The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to

allow and credit in the accounts of Capt. Charles E. Scorer, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (disbursing quartermaster, Twenty-sixth Division, American Expeditionary Forces), the sum of \$3,634.76, which sum was lost by fire.

Credit in the accounts of Brig. Gen. Frederic V. Abbot: That the accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to remove certain disallowances made by them in the accounts of Brig. Gen. Frederic V. Abbot, Engineers, in the sum of \$509 for expenses for board and lodging paid by him in excess of \$1 per day to civilian employees of the Engineer Department at Tobyhanna, Pa., engaged on work done under urgent military necessity which required immediate action to secure and place in the field the necessary forces to survey a certain territory and prepare maps and plans of same in order to provide sites for encamping and training troops.

Credit in the accounts of Brig. Gen. Theodore A. Bingham, United States Army, retired: That the accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to remove certain disallowances made by them in the accounts of Brig. Gen. Theodore A. Bingham, United States Army (retired), in the sum of \$274, for expenses for board and lodging paid by him in excess of \$1 per day to civilian employees of the Engineer Department at Tobyhanna, Pa., engaged on work done under military necessity which required immediate action to secure and place in the field the necessary forces to survey a certain territory and prepare maps and plans of same in order to provide sites for encamping and training troops.

Relief of Capt. Fred S. Johnston, National Guard, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Capt. Fred S. Johnston, supply officer, One hundred and eighth Regiment Infantry, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$68, which amount of money is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money paid by him for newspaper advertisements of proposals for bids for forage supplies for the use of the Third Regiment, New York Infantry, National Guard, United States Army.

Relief of Maj. Powell C. Fautleroy, Medical Corps, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Maj. (now colonel) Powell C. Fautleroy, Medical Corps, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$601.40, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him from an allotment of funds of the Quartermaster Corps, 1913, furnished him for the purpose of paying expenditures incurred as an official observer of the War Department of the Turko-Balkan War, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

Relief of Lieut. Col. George O. Squier, Signal Corps, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Lieut. Col. (now major general) George O. Squier, Signal Corps, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$41.46, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him as military attaché to the American Embassy at London from an allotment of the appropriation, "Contingencies, Military Information Section, General Staff Corps," 1913 and 1914, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

Relief of Maj. H. E. Ely, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Maj. H. E. Ely, Seventh United States Infantry (now major general, American Expeditionary Forces), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$200, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the value of his private mount, which died from congestion of the kidneys, caused by struggling while being shod.

Relief of officers: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the following-named officers the amounts opposite their names: To Lieut. (now lieutenant colonel) J. A. Barry, United States Cavalry, the sum of \$135; to Lieut. (now lieutenant colonel, American Expeditionary Forces) Waldo C. Potter, Field Artillery, the sum of \$375; to Lieut. (now lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps) J. F. Taubee, the sum of \$200; to Lieut. (now major) Sloan Doak, United States Cavalry, the sum of \$150, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which amounts are hereby appropriated for the purpose of reimbursing the said officers for loss of their private mounts by fire at Fort Riley, Kans., on March 23, 1914.

Medical services and hospital care rendered George Vay, injured seaman: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to St. Francis Hospital, Newport News, Va., the sum of \$47.90, and to Dr. S. W. Hobson, Newport News, Va., the sum of \$56, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which amounts are hereby appropriated, being for hospital care and medical services rendered George Vay, seaman, injured while in line of duty.

Reimbursement of Frank C. Cady (formerly acting dental surgeon, United States Army): That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Frank C. Cady (formerly acting dental surgeon), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$127.61, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount paid out by him for rent of quarters for the period October 14, 1913, to January 31, 1914.

Relief of Leland Stanford Junior University: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the Leland Stanford Junior University, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$450.01, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the cost in preparing camp sites for United States troops near Palo Alto, Calif., during part of April and May, 1914, in excess of \$447.38 paid as rental for the same period.

Relief of Lieut. Joseph T. Clement, Ninth Regiment United States Infantry: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Lieut. Joseph T. Clement (now major, American Expeditionary Forces), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$50, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of damages to his private library incurred while being transported by the Government.

Reimbursement for quarters rented by officers: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the following-named officers the amounts opposite their names: To Lieut. Col. (now colonel, American Expeditionary Forces) Frederick P. Reynolds, Medical Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$323.90; to Capt. (now lieutenant colonel, American Expeditionary Forces) Laertes J. Owen, Medical Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$191.67; to Capt. (now lieutenant colonel, American Expeditionary Forces) Adam E. Schlanser, Medical Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$278; to Capt. (now lieutenant colonel) Jay D. Whitham, Medical

Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$86.80; to Capt. (now major) E. D. Kremers, Medical Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$340; to Capt. (now lieutenant colonel, American Expeditionary Forces) L. B. McAfee, Medical Corps, United States Army, the sum of \$293; to Lieut. G. D. Graham, Medical Corps, United States Army (now lieutenant colonel, American Expeditionary Forces), the sum of \$301.20, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which amounts are hereby appropriated, being amounts paid to them for commutation of quarters and afterwards refunded by them from their private funds.

Relief of second lieutenants, Quartermaster Corps: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the following-named officers the amounts opposite their names: To Second Lieut. H. G. Foster, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now captain, Quartermaster Corps, American Expeditionary Forces), the sum of \$350.48; to Second Lieut. S. R. Beard, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now captain, Quartermaster Corps, American Expeditionary Forces), the sum of \$168.80; to Second Lieut. Hastie A. Stuart, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army (now captain, Quartermaster Corps), the sum of \$182.40, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which amounts are hereby appropriated for the purpose of reimbursing the said officers for amounts paid by them for rental of quarters which should have been hired for them by the Government.

Reimbursement to First Lieut. William A. Squires, dental surgeon, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Dental Surgeon William Squires (now lieutenant colonel), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$290.79, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount paid by him for rental of quarters, heat, and light during the fiscal years 1914 and 1915, while an acting dental surgeon.

Payment of judgment and costs against Lieut. David H. Biddle: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the circuit court of Meade County, S. Dak., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$574.83, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of judgment of the circuit court of Meade County, S. Dak., against Lieut. David H. Biddle (now lieutenant colonel, American Expeditionary Forces), including costs and interest at 7 per cent from May 7, 1908, to July 1, 1918.

Relief of Second Lieut. Francis J. Baker, Quartermaster Corps: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Lieut. Francis J. Baker (formerly pay clerk, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$141, which amount is hereby appropriated, being for rental of quarters from November 15, 1912, to June 30, 1913, while stationed at Vancouver, Wash.

Relief of Capt. N. E. Margetts, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Capt. N. E. Margetts (now colonel, Field Artillery), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$67.90, which amount is hereby appropriated, being amount paid by him as duty on his private horses entering France for his official use as military observer in the year 1913.

Relief of Lieut. Francis A. Ruggles, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Lieut. Francis A. Ruggles, Third United States Cavalry (now lieutenant colonel, American Expeditionary Forces), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$414.81, which amount is hereby appropriated, being amount paid by him for rent of office at Santiago, Chile, and refunded from personal funds.

Payment for rental of buildings, Philippine Islands: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the following-named persons the amounts opposite their names: Felice Cultura, \$91; Andres Hipa, \$90; Ordinito Capito, \$60.66; Manuel Cardona, \$6; Bregido Basado, \$112.23; Lino Legion, \$61.66; Paulina Asis, \$12.53; Daniel Bugtas, \$27.60; Dionicia Alegre, \$11.33; Felipe Aledo, \$5.83; Benibuto Aligibe, \$86.33; Lorenzo de la Cruz, \$18.40; Valverde Cardona, \$18.40; Teresa Bacola, \$12.83; Emperatriz Basada, \$6.20; Lucia Basada, \$3.13; Francisco Osido, \$18.40; Salas Alegre, \$30.67; Esteban Amores, \$6.20; Juan Capones, \$4.13; Pedro Discar, \$6.20; Augustin Cenira, \$4.13; Geronimo Discar, \$4.96; Mateo Basal, \$5.80; Felipe Amoyo, \$6.13; Jose Badillo, \$11.13; Manuel Basado, \$10.16; Feliciano Flitong, \$27.60; Melchor Barrid, \$27.60; Juan Portun, \$16.34; Antonia Veloso, \$7.67; Mariano Castillano, \$14.10; Teresa Bagtong, 24 cents; Lucas Vritas, 20 cents; Guillermo Bugtas, 20 cents; Bernardo Galope, 20 cents; Estefano Aporra, 25 cents; Magno Abenes, \$240.50; Magno Abenes, \$411; Tin Suna, \$244.50; out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which amounts are hereby appropriated, being due for rental of certain buildings belonging to them and occupied by United States troops at Borongan, Samar, Philippine Islands, during the years 1900 to 1902, inclusive.

Repairs to wharf at Mariveles, Philippine Islands: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the Treasury Department, Public Health Service, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$700, which amount is hereby appropriated, being cost of repairing damage to the quarantine wharf at Mariveles, Philippine Islands, caused by the United States Army transport *Liscum*.

Relief of Matthew E. Hanna, late captain, Tenth Cavalry, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Matthew E. Hanna, late captain, Tenth Cavalry, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$532.18, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him as special disbursing agent from an allotment from the appropriation for contingencies of the Army 1912, to pay the unusual and extraordinary official expenses of the special mission of Army officers detailed by the President and the Secretary of War to witness the autumn maneuvers of the German Army in 1911, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

Relief of Capt. Sherman Miles, Field Artillery, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Capt. (now lieutenant colonel, American Expeditionary Forces) Sherman Miles, Field Artillery, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$57.95, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him as military attaché to the American Legation at Bucharest, Roumania, from an allotment of the appropriation "Contingencies, Military Information Section, General Staff Corps," 1913, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

Relief of Capt. Lewis J. Emery, Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Capt. Lewis J. Emery, Quartermaster Officers' Reserve Corps, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$139, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the value of silver coins lost through unavoidable accident during the transfer of funds at Cristobal, Canal Zone, on August 6, 1917, for which Capt. Emery was accountable.

Relief of Frederick G. Hodgson, late colonel, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Frederick G. Hodgson (late colonel, United States Army), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of \$21, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him from appropriation pertaining to the Quartermaster Corps for hire of a conveyance for officers in 1912, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

Relief of Lieut. H. E. Miner, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Lieut. H. E. Miner (now major, Field Artillery), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$160, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the value of his private mount ordered shot on account of fractured leg.

Relief of Col. M. E. Saville: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Col. M. E. Saville (American Expeditionary Forces), out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$1,369.55, which amount is hereby appropriated, this amount having been embezzled by John G. Hewitt.

Claim of Nellie Swords: That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to pay to Nellie Swords, of Nashville, Tenn., the sum of \$140, as damages to growing crops caused by stock belonging to the Government under control of the First Tennessee Infantry, payment to be made from the appropriation for claims for damages to and loss of private property.

Claim of Bransford Realty Co.: That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to pay to the Bransford Realty Co., of Nashville, Tenn., the sum of \$132.20, as damages to growing crops caused by stock belonging to the Government under the control of the First Tennessee Infantry, payment to be made from the appropriation for claims for damages to and loss of private property.

Claim of John Schmidt: That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to John Schmidt, of Fort Leavenworth, Kans., the sum of \$216.75, which amount is hereby appropriated, being equitably due him by reason of the annulment by the Government, of November 1, 1917, of his lease of cattle-grazing privileges on the Fort Leavenworth Military Reservation.

Claim of Sam Spencer: That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Sam Spencer, of Jacksonville, Fla., the sum of \$155 as damages for five head of cattle killed and three injured on the Black Point Rifle Range, Florida, October 9, 1916, during rifle practice, national rifle match, payment to be made from the appropriation "Shooting galleries and ranges" upon presentation of proper evidence supporting the claim.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HORACE A. CHOUARD.

The bill (S. 687) to reimburse Horace A. Chouard, chaplain in Twenty-third Infantry, for loss of certain personal property was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, on page 1, line 7, after the words "sum of," to strike out "\$1,924.35" and insert "\$1,500," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Horace A. Chouard, chaplain in Twenty-third Infantry, or his duly authorized representative, the sum of \$1,500, the same being in full for and the receipt of the same to be taken and accepted as a full and final release and discharge of the claim of the said Horace A. Chouard for reimbursement for certain personal property lost in the flood and storm at Texas City, Tex., on the 16th and 17th days of August, 1915, without fault or neglect on his part and while in the military service of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BUFFALO RIVER ZINC MINING CO.

The bill (S. 728) for the relief of the Buffalo River Zinc Mining Co. was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Reserving the right to object, I should like to have the bill read.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask that it may go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will go over.

ARUNDEL SAND & GRAVEL CO.

The bill (S. 1670) for the relief of the Arundel Sand & Gravel Co. was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. I ask that the report be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read.

The Secretary read the report submitted by Mr. Wolcott June 26, 1919, as follows:

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1670) for the relief of the Arundel Sand & Gravel Co., having considered the same, report thereon with a recommendation that the bill do pass,

The facts in the case are fully set forth in Senate Report No. 716, Sixty-fifth Congress, third session, which is appended hereto and made a part of this report. In referring to said Senate Report No. 716, the amendments therein suggested should be now disregarded for the reason that the end sought to be reached by said amendments is provided for in the pending bill by phraseology differing from the phraseology of the bill as introduced in the Sixty-fifth Congress. Said amendments are, therefore, inappropriate in considering the pending bill.

[Senate Report No. 716, Sixty-fifth Congress, third session.]

"The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 4526) for the relief of the Arundel Sand & Gravel Co., having considered the same, report thereon with a recommendation that it do pass with the following amendments:

"On page 2, line 2, after the word 'any,' insert the word 'as.'

"On page 2, line 2, after the word 'against,' insert the words 'or in favor of.'

"On page 2, line 3, after the word 'of,' insert the words 'or against.'

"This bill provides that the claim of the Arundel Sand & Gravel Co., a corporation organized and existing under the laws of the State of Delaware and doing business in the city of Norfolk, Va., owner of the steam tug *A. G. Bigelow*, against the United States for damages alleged to have been caused by collision between the said tug and the U. S. S. *Susquehanna* in Norfolk harbor on the 26th day of November, 1917, may be sued for by the said Arundel Sand & Gravel Co. in the district court of the United States for the eastern district of Virginia, sitting as a court of admiralty and acting under the rules governing such court, and said court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine such suit and to enter a judgment or decree for the amount of such damages and costs, if any, as shall be found to be due against or in favor of the United States, in favor of or against the Arundel Sand & Gravel Co., upon the same principles and measures of liability as in like cases in admiralty between private parties and with the same rights of appeal.

"Your committee is of the opinion that the claimant is entitled under every equitable consideration to have its claims adjudicated in a United States court in an admiralty proceeding, and therefore recommend the passage of the bill as amended."

Mr. SMOOT. I was wondering whether any Senator present has any information as to why there is not some kind of a report from the department as to this particular claim. Such claims are generally referred to the department for a report, and we have a report giving the facts in the case. I see none in this report.

Mr. FLETCHER. I suggest to the Senator that the bill merely authorizes the company to sue.

Mr. SMOOT. I am perfectly aware of that.

Mr. FLETCHER. There is no action required on the part of the department.

Mr. SMOOT. But it is very unusual. In fact, I do not remember that a bill has ever been passed in this form. If we are going to allow such matters to be settled in this way, with no investigation at all by the department, then we are opening the door, and I do not know where it is going to lead to. I think the bill ought to go over.

Mr. THOMAS. Does not the Senator think the best possible investigation of a claim of this sort is by trial in a court of competent jurisdiction?

Mr. SMOOT. There may be something in that, but that has not usually been the case. I will say to the Senator that such cases have been adjudicated in another way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator ask that the bill may go over?

Mr. SMOOT. Let it go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

CATHERINE GRACE.

The bill (S. 1375) for the relief of Catherine Grace was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay the sum of \$469.50, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to Catherine Grace, widow of James Grace, who died as a result of injuries received by him, the said James Grace, while in the performance of his duties as an employee of the Government.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HEIRS OF W. H. SNEED, DECEASED.

The bill (S. 767) for the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased, was announced as next in order on the calendar.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Does the Senator from Utah object to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. SMOOT. I asked that the bill go over. I see that it is for a claim for rent for \$1,366.66, "being for the use or rent of a building in Knoxville, Tenn., during the War of the Rebellion, and for which vouchers were given in lieu of payment by the United States quartermasters."

There is an omnibus bill every year or so covering such items. We thought, when the last omnibus bill passed, it took in everything that was known in the United States. Not only that, Mr. President, there has been a rule adopted as to claims based on things such as this building was used for, and as to what damage was done to the building, and so on. I see nothing in

the report which shows anything that would lead the committee to report the bill, as it seems to me, under the rules that have been adhered to in the past.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I hope the Senator will withdraw his objection. This bill is for compensation for the occupancy of a hotel in Knoxville during the period of the war. A similar bill has been twice passed by the Senate, but passed too late for consideration by the House. It was very carefully considered in committee, is a case undoubtedly of merit, and I hope the Senator will not press his objection. I am anxious to get it to the House in time for its consideration at this session, particularly as I think possibly it was my fault that it did not go over in time at the last session and the Congress before.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that I do not think the House will consider it by day after tomorrow. But that is neither here nor there. Does the Senator know why this claim was not put in the last omnibus claims bill?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I do. There were some private matters in the family, to be perfectly frank with the Senator, there were some quarrels among the people, there was a contest over the administrator or executor, and the chief beneficiary had her attention called to her rights in the premises in the last two or three years.

Mr. SMOOT. I will withdraw the objection, because I think they will have more time in the House to go into its consideration, but I feel quite sure it is a violation of the rule followed by the Committee on Claims in the past.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

COURTS IN TENNESSEE.

The bill (S. 662) to amend section 107 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911, as heretofore amended, was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 107 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911, as heretofore amended, be, and it is, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 107. The State of Tennessee is divided into three districts, to be known as the eastern, middle, and western districts of Tennessee. The eastern district shall include the territory embraced on the 1st day of July, 1910, in the counties of Bledsoe, Bradley, Hamilton, James, McMinn, Meigs, Polk, Rhea, and Sequatchie, which shall constitute the southern division of said district; also the territory embraced on the date last mentioned in the counties of Anderson, Blount, Campbell, Claiborne, Grainger, Jefferson, Knox, Loudon, Monroe, Morgan, Roane, Sevier, Scott, and Union, which shall constitute the northern division of said district; also the territory embraced on the date last mentioned in the counties of Carter, Cocke, Greene, Hamblen, Hancock, Hawkins, Johnson, Sullivan, Unicoi, and Washington, which shall constitute the northeastern division of said district. Terms of the district court for the southern division of said district shall be held at Chattanooga on the fourth Monday in April and the second Monday in November; for the northern division at Knoxville on the fourth Monday in May and the first Monday in December; and for the northeastern division at Greeneville on the first Monday in March and the third Monday in September. The middle district shall include the territory embraced on the 1st day of July, 1910, in the counties of Bedford, Cannon, Cheatham, Davidson, Dickson, Giles, Hickman, Humphreys, Houston, Lawrence, Lewis, Marshall, Maury, Montgomery, Robertson, Rutherford, Stewart, Sumner, Trousdale, Wayne, Williamson, and Wilson, which shall constitute the Nashville division of said district; also the territory embraced on the date last mentioned in the counties of Franklin, Warren, Grundy, Marion, Coffee, Moore, and Lincoln, which shall constitute the Winchester division of said district; also the territory embraced on the date last mentioned in the counties of Clay, Cumberland, DeKalb, Fentress, Jackson, Macon, Overton, Pickett, Putnam, Smith, Van Buren, and White, which shall constitute the northeastern division of said district. Terms of the district court for the Nashville division of said district shall be held at Nashville on the second Monday in March and the fourth Monday in September; for the Winchester division at Winchester, on the first Monday in April and the third Monday in November; and for the northeastern division at Cookeville on the third Monday in April and the first Monday in November: *Provided,* That suitable accommodations for holding the courts at Winchester and Cookeville shall be provided by the local authorities without expense to the United States. The western district shall include the territory embraced on the 1st day of July, 1910, in the counties of Dyer, Fayette, Haywood, Lauderdale, Shelby, and Tipton, shall constitute the western division of said district; also the territory embraced on the date last mentioned in the counties of Benton, Carroll, Chester, Crockett, Decatur, Gibson, Hardeman, Hardin, Henderson, Henry, Lake, McNairy, Madison, Obion, Perry, and Weakley, including the waters of the Tennessee River to low-water mark on the eastern shore thereof wherever such river forms the boundary line between the western and middle districts of Tennessee, from the north line of the State of Alabama, north to the point Henry County, Tenn., where the south boundary line of the State of Kentucky strikes the east bank of the river, which shall constitute the eastern division of said district. Terms of the district court for the western division of said district shall be held at Memphis on the fourth Mondays in May and November; and for the eastern division at Jackson on the fourth Mondays in April and October. The clerk of the court for the western district shall appoint a deputy who shall reside at Jackson. The marshal for the western district shall appoint a deputy who shall reside at

Jackson. The marshal for the eastern district shall appoint a deputy who shall reside at Chattanooga. The clerk of the court for the eastern district shall maintain an office in charge of himself or a deputy at Knoxville, at Chattanooga, and at Greeneville, which shall be kept open at all times for the transaction of the business of the court."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EMMA H. RIDLEY.

The next bill on the calendar was the bill (S. 174) for the relief of Emma H. Ridley.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER], who introduced the bill, vouchsafe an explanation of it?

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, the bill appropriates \$3,000 for the widow of Dr. George A. Ridley, who had charge of the hospital at Ancon, in the Canal Zone. While there, during an epidemic of pneumonia, because of his strict attention to his duties, he caught the disease and died. There are reports here from the department. There is one from former Secretary Stimson, urging that the appropriation be made. It is in line with what we have done in like cases before. This man gave up his life while performing his duty to others. The bill makes an appropriation of one year's pay for his widow.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator permit an inquiry for my information?

Mr. CALDER. Certainly.

Mr. KING. Is it the contention of the Senator that the family of every person in the employ of the Government who dies, regardless of the character of his service, receives a certain compensation?

Mr. CALDER. No; it is not. This man, under extraordinary circumstances, had charge of an important hospital, where he ran unusual risks, and I think, under the circumstances of the case, the bill ought to receive favorable consideration by the Senate. A similar bill was reported favorably last year, and it has frequently been reported favorably in the House. I think it is a very meritorious measure. In like cases, I may say to the Senator from Utah, we have appropriated money.

Mr. KING. I would like to ask the Senator whether there is any rule by which you determine the amount which is to be paid. I noticed a case a moment ago where the amount allowed was \$1,000. Here it is \$3,000.

Mr. CALDER. It is one year's salary.

Mr. SMOOT. Is not the Senator mistaken in saying that there have been appropriations in similar cases? I know we have appropriated money where a doctor has submitted himself to tests in fever-stricken districts. We have always taken care of the widow in a case of that kind. I understand this doctor was simply serving in the capacity of a physician and took the disease and died from it.

Mr. CALDER. There was an epidemic of pneumonia in the hospital at Ancon at the time, and he became infected with that disease.

Mr. SMOOT. Does the Senator understand that there were any other employees there who died from the disease whose heirs might bring a claim against the Government?

Mr. CALDER. I do not know that there are any other cases.

Mr. SMOOT. The rule applies where they have been killed in the service, but I can remember no other case of this kind. I was wondering whether we are not opening a new field.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I think that, technically speaking, this probably would not come under the rule, because we have given a year's salary where the employee in the line of his service was injured or killed. But this case could not be put in the other class, either. This doctor, as I understand it, was following out his business, in which he was taking care of the patients and overlooking various others under him in this hospital. It was in the nature of being employed in the line of duty. While he was doing that he became infected with the disease that he was trying to save other people from. So it is somewhat similar to a case where a man was killed in the line of his employment. I can see a similarity in this case that would not exist in the ordinary case.

Mr. SMOOT. I recognize what the Senator says is true, and yet there is that difference, and it is for the Senate to decide whether they want to make that violation, if I may so term it, of the rule that has been established in the past. I agree with what the Senator from Nebraska has said as to the case, but it is not altogether similar to one where the man was through some accident killed. I recognize that difference.

Mr. CALDER. Some nurses and doctors make great sacrifices in their enthusiasm in their work, and it seems to me we

can well go that far, and that they are entitled to as much consideration as though they were killed in actual employment in the service of the United States.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Nebraska or the Senator from New York what difference there is between the case now under consideration and the case of a physician here who is serving in St. Elizabeths or some other hospital in which the Government has some interest?

Mr. NORRIS. The hospital at Ancon is a Government hospital, I understand. In real merit, I would say to the Senator, I do not believe there is any difference. If I could, I would be glad to do something in every case where, for the sake of humanity, doctors and nurses often lose their lives. I would like to help their dependents. But in this particular case the service was really in behalf of the Government. It was a Government hospital. I think Dr. Ridley was a little different from an ordinary doctor in an ordinary private hospital.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator permit a question? What difference is there in principle between a man who accepts employment to work as a doctor in a hospital or for the Government at a compensation which he deems sufficiently great to induce him to leave his private practice and devote himself to Government work, and some individual who is working in one of the departments here, and who, while in the discharge of his or her duty, is taken down with the influenza and death ensues?

Mr. NORRIS. I think there would be considerable difference. If such an employee as the Senator speaks of were in the hospital, I would not care whether he was a doctor or not, if in that particular work, while he was there performing his duty, he caught a disease from which he died. There may be some other circumstances in regard to this particular case. The doctor may have overworked himself, as they often do, I know, in such cases. If it was an ordinary laborer there who lost his life, I would think just the same about it.

Mr. KING. The Senator will recognize that during the epidemic of influenza which we had last year a large number of employees in various activities of the Government, while in the discharge of their duties, were afflicted with the disease and it culminated in their death. There may be some difference in principle, but I do not see it, between a case of this kind and the case of some person who accepts employment as a physician for three or four or five thousand dollars a year, or whatever salary he accepted, and who, while in the performance of his duties, takes some disease and dies.

Mr. NORRIS. I think in the case the Senator mentions there is a difference. It seems to me there is plainly a difference. If an employee, for instance, of the Senate or any of the departments of the Government should be taken sick with one of these diseases, the "flu," let us say, it would be vastly different from one whose employment took him into a sick room where he was taking care and had charge of sick people. His duty led him where he contracted the disease. It is true he might have died from some other cause if he had not gone there, but that is a little different from the ordinary employee who, like anyone else, contracts one of these diseases.

Mr. KING. I confess I am unable to appreciate any distinction between the case now presented, as I understand the facts, and the case where any employee of the Government while in the discharge of his duty was afflicted with some ailment which culminated in his death. Here is a doctor accepting employment from the Government presumably because he can get a larger compensation while working for the Government than if he continued in his private practice. If he elects to go to Panama to work in a hospital for the Government rather than to continue his private practice here, and while in Panama meets with some accident or some disease afflicts him and death ensues, I see no valid reason why his heirs should be paid and the heirs of some person dying here who was employed in a Government department are denied compensation. I can not see any distinction. There may be, but my mind is not acute enough to see any valid distinction between those two cases.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I think this is an unusual case. This doctor was the assistant in charge of the hospital. The principal medical officer in charge was away. This epidemic came and he was required to give service night and day. Because of the unusual circumstances, because of his attention to his duty during the epidemic, he caught the disease and died. If he had had proper assistants, if the head of the hospital had been there to help in the work, it is very likely he would not have forfeited his life.

Mr. KING. May I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield further to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. CALDER. I do.

Mr. KING. There are a very large number of hospitals in the United States under the supervision of, if not directly owned by, the Government of the United States. There are some civilian employees there. There are some doctors who have elected to give up their private practice and go into the Government service and accept employment there. They are doing splendid work; they are competent and are discharging their duties with fidelity. Suppose one of them should contract a malady that would culminate in his death.

Mr. CALDER. As a result of his service in the hospital.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator think the Government should pay in that case?

Mr. CALDER. I think the Government in that case should pay his widow the equivalent of a year's salary. I would gladly vote for it in every such case.

Mr. KING. Then if that is true, why should not the Government pay for everybody who is in its employ—

Mr. CALDER. Oh, no.

Mr. KING. And who while in the discharge of his duty received some injury or is afflicted with some ailment which results in his death?

Mr. CALDER. Oh, no. This particular profession, the medical profession, is an unusually hazardous one, and the widow of the man who gives his service in a Government institution and incurs some disease from which he loses his life is entitled to a year's compensation.

Mr. KING. If the Senator will pardon me, is there any greater hazard than in the life-guard service, the men serving the lifeboats or serving upon the sea? I am not objecting to the payment. It may be that the Government ought to provide some system of compensation for the heirs of those who meet their death while in the Government service. I have not given sufficient attention to the matter to have a well-formed opinion, but the point I am attempting to make is that this seems to me to be a discrimination. When a physician accepts employment at a far higher rate of compensation than is received by a laborer who is working for the Government meets his death as the laboring man meets his death, both acting in the discharge of their duties and serving their country, I can not see why the family of the physician should be paid and the family of the laborer should not be paid, for the reason assigned by the Senator, namely, that the hazards of the physician's service are greater than the hazards of the other man's service.

It may be that some of the services in which individuals may be employed in manual labor are far more hazardous than the services of the physician and expose the individual to greater hazard of accident and death than the physician is exposed to. I do not think the distinction exists which warrants the payment in the case of the physician and the refusal to pay in the case of the laborer.

Mr. CALDER. I will say to the Senator that the family of the laborer who loses his life while occupied in his official duty is paid to-day a year's salary, and I can see no reason why the family of this doctor, whose life was lost in the same way, should not receive the same treatment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. KING. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will go over under the objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. SWANSON. Will the Senator allow me to call up a bill to which there will be no objection?

Mr. FLETCHER. I understand the Senator from Kansas proposes to resume the consideration of the Calendar to-morrow.

Mr. CURTIS. We will try to get up the Calendar to-morrow. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, August 1, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, July 31, 1919.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Impart unto us, our Father in heaven, plenteously of Thy substance, that in all the transactions with our fellow men we may act wisely, conscientiously, justly, and thus rise to the highest conceptions of the moral and religious ideals inculcated by the Prince of Men in His life and precepts. Amen.

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

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may have leave to sit during the recess of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce have leave to sit during the recess of the House. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reference of H. R. 416, referred to the Committee on Agriculture, may be changed to the Committee on the Public Lands. The Committee on the Public Lands took up the bill and voted that it belonged to that committee.

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman consulted the chairman of the committee?

Mr. RAKER. I have consulted the chairmen of both committees.

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

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have leave to sit during the recess of the House, by subcommittee or full committee.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have leave to sit during the recess of the House, by subcommittee or full committee. Is there objection?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Reserving the right to object, what was the request that the gentleman has made?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. For the Committee on Rules to sit during the recess of the House.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. What on earth can they do during vacation?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. A great many resolutions are pending before the committee upon which Members and others are desirous of submitting evidence. We think we can save a great deal of time by having meetings during the vacation.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. For the present, I object.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO COMMITTEES.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I present a resolution, for which I ask immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That OSCAR E. KELLER, a Member elect from the State of Minnesota, be, and is hereby, elected a member of the standing committees of the House, as follows: Claims; Coinage, Weights, and Measures; Railways and Canals.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. KITCHIN moves the election of GEORGE B. GRIGSBY, Delegate from the Territory of Alaska, to membership of the Committee on the Territories.

The motion was agreed to.

WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. KIESS. Mr. Speaker, I call up a privileged resolution from the Committee on Printing.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 214.

Resolved, That there shall be printed for the use of the House 5,000 copies of "The War with Germany, a Statistical Summary," by Col. Leonard P. Ayres, United States Army, to be distributed to Members through the folding room.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. What is this matter you are asking to print.

Mr. KIESS. It is called "The War with Germany, a Statistical Summary," by Col. Leonard P. Ayres, United States Army. Most of the Members, I think all, have received a copy from the Secretary of War. It is a very valuable document, and we are providing for the printing of 5,000 copies—paper back, of course.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How many will that give each Member?

Mr. KIESS. Ten.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Has the gentleman read it himself?

Mr. KIESS. Well, I have not read it all; I did not get it until the other day.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Has the gentleman read enough to see whether it is any good?