

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, March 4, 1913.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President of the United States, to whom the oath was administered at the close of the last regular session of the Sixty-second Congress, called the Senate to order and said:

Let us reverently attend while the Chaplain invokes the blessing of the God of our fathers and our God upon us.

Rev. Ulysses G. B. Pierce, D. D., the Chaplain of the Senate, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, at the opening of this Congress we stand before Thee to acknowledge Thy Providence and to implore the continuance of Thy favor toward this Thy people. Bend over us, we humbly beseech Thee, and hearken unto our prayer.

We ask Thy blessing, our Father, upon him who this day surrenders the high office to which he was called by the suffrages of this people. We pray Thee to watch over him, to direct his feet into the paths of peace, and to keep him in the memory and esteem of this people.

We pray Thee, most merciful God, to bless Thy servants, the President and Vice President of the United States. Anoint them with Thy Spirit and plenteously endue them with Thy grace. Protect them by Thy heavenly power and direct them by Thy counsel, that they may serve Thee with reverence and godly fear.

For all who, by the suffrages of this people, are called to exercise authority, we pray that as they rule by Thy favor, so they may serve in Thy fear and with an eye single to Thy glory.

We pray Thee, O God, to bless our country. Deliver us from violence without and from discord within. Defend our liberties and uphold our free institutions. Extend unto us the peace that floweth as a river, enriching our borders with peaceable industries and with honorable toil. Upon the altar of the hearts of this people kindle into flame the fire of patriotic devotion, that, by Thy grace, this may be that happy Nation whose God is the Lord.

We invoke Thy blessing upon this Congress, begun in Thy name. So direct their deliberations and order their counsels that the time may be hastened when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our God and of His Christ.

And unto Thee, O God, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom and whose dominion endureth throughout all generations be glory and praise now and forevermore. Amen.

ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT MARSHALL.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Senators, the proprieties of this occasion probably require a few words from one who is grateful to the American people for the honor heretofore done him and this day consummated.

No Senator has, I trust, a keener appreciation of the necessities in the way of tact and courtesy now devolving upon me than I myself. I offer no surety as to my discharge of duties other than a personal pledge that I will seek to familiarize myself with them and will endeavor always to exercise that complaisance and forbearance which are essential to him who ably presides over great debates upon great public questions by great men.

Divergent views relative to this body would be less divergent if the American people would come to realize that on all sides of real questions much may truthfully be said. Such an attitude of the public mind would eliminate the view that this body is distinctively deliberative and not thoroughly patriotic.

Charges of bad faith based upon an attitude of mind or upon conduct should never be made until it is clearly established that

the resultant action is the outcome of personal interest or improper and dishonorable business or social relations.

Your action has not always met with universal approval, but up to this good hour no workable substitute for the exercise of the functions of this body has been proposed. It is not needful for me here and now to accept a brief in your defense. This body will continue to stand, not because of its Presiding Officer, but because of the patriotism and intelligence of its constituent Members and their devotion to our system of government.

To my mind, government is the harness with which a people draws its load of civilization. If the harness be properly adjusted the load, though heavy, will be drawn with ease and no part of the people will be galled. The Senate is the blinders, intended to keep the people from shying at imaginary dangers and toppling into the ditch our system of government. So long as the blinders serve this purpose they are a most valuable part of the harness, but if they be drawn so closely to the eyes as to prevent the seeing of real dangers, then they should either be spread or done away with entirely. I am one of those who think that we can so adjust our blinders as to meet new conditions and render us sanely responsive to every reasonable demand of the people without disturbing any of the checks and balances of our system of government and preserving with loyalty and fidelity the ancient ideals of the Republic.

With neither right nor desire to infringe upon the prerogatives of the President so soon to be, I beg the expression of the opinion that whatever diverse views may be held relative to the work of this body all persons are agreed that under the Constitution the Senate of the United States is singularly the guardian of the people's honor; that more and more as righteousness is exalted among this people the idea is becoming more firmly fixed that it is not vast territory, great wealth, nor large learning which mark the real status of America; that America is to be measured by the golden meteward of honor; and as the idea in her formation was the inherent right of men to rule themselves, that now she can ill afford to announce this doctrine in her own land and renounce it for an instrument of oppression in other lands.

Unfortunately there is no fixed standard of honor outside the dictionary. The gambler may hold it to consist in paying his gambling debts, the member of the smart set in divorcing his neighbor's wife before taking her unto himself, the Senator in eliminating personalities. But when we enter the chancelleries of the world and submit to their judgments not only our right to be but our right to be respected, we can hope to be measured in but one way, and we must be able to show that the solemn treaty obligations of this Republic will be kept with the same scrupulous honesty, both of spirit and letter, whether made with the humblest people of this continent struggling for self-government or with the mightiest monarch of the Old World. This high sense of honor constitutes the panoply of the American people. Armies and battleships furnish no substitute for it. These are valuable, but the people never intended that authority should use them as accessories to a burglar's kit.

If anyone, in the name of the American people, either in violation of treaty obligations or the manifest purpose of the Monroe doctrine, has taken aught while this body was deliberating, it is your duty to ascertain all facts thereto. And if wrong or injustice has been done, even to the humblest republic, let this people be brave enough and sufficiently honest to make reparation. The real greatness of this Republic rests upon its unsullied honor, and it is the duty of this body to search down rumors of bad faith and dishonesty and to rectify wrong wherever wrong is discovered.

Here in this most sacred spot where war has been made and peace declared; here in the presence of the distinguished representatives of the Governments of the civilized world; here

within the hearing of the beauty, culture, and ripened statecraft of his own land may one humble American express the hope before he enters upon a four years' silence that all our diplomacy may spell peace with all peoples, justice for all Governments, and righteousness the world around.

PROCLAMATION.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proclamation of the President convening the Senate in extraordinary session.

The Secretary (Charles G. Bennett) read the proclamation, as follows:

A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Whereas public interests require that the Senate of the United States be convened at 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March next to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive;

Now, therefore, I, William Howard Taft, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 4th day of March next, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as Members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States at Washington the 13th day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirteen, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-seventh.

[SEAL.]

WM. H. TAFT.

By the President:

P. C. KNOX,

Secretary of State.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The names of the newly elected Senators will be called, four at a time, Mr. Secretary, and as their names are called they will present themselves at the Vice President's desk for the purpose of taking the oath of office.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. BACON, Mr. BANKHEAD, Mr. BORAH, and Mr. BURLEIGH.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. SMITH of Georgia, Mr. JOHNSTON of Alabama, Mr. BRADY, and Mr. JOHNSON of Maine, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. COLT, Mr. FALL, Mr. GOFF, and Mr. HUGHES.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. GOFF), escorted by Mr. LIPPITT, Mr. CATRON, and Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. JAMES, Mr. KENYON, Mr. LANE, and Mr. MARTIN of Virginia.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. CUMMINS, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, and Mr. SWANSON, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. NELSON, Mr. NORRIS, Mr. OWEN, and Mr. RANSDALL.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. CLAPP, Mr. HITCHCOCK, Mr. GORE, and Mr. THORNTON, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. ROBINSON, Mr. SAULSBURY, Mr. SHAFROTH, and Mr. SHEPPARD.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. ROBINSON), escorted by Mr. SMITH of Maryland, Mr. THOMAS, and Mr. CULBERSON, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. SHIELDS, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. SMITH of Michigan, and Mr. STERLING.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. LEA, Mr. OVERMAN, Mr. TOWNSEND, and Mr. CRAWFORD, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. TILLMAN, Mr. VARDAMAN, and Mr. WALSH.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. BRISTOW, Mr. SMITH of South Carolina, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. MYERS, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. WARREN and Mr. WEEKS.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. CLARK of Wyoming and Mr. LODGE, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath was administered to them.

LIST OF SENATORS.

The list of Senators, by States, is as follows:

Alabama—John H. Bankhead and Joseph F. Johnston.
Arizona—Henry F. Ashurst and Marcus A. Smith.
Arkansas—James P. Clarke.
California—George C. Perkins and John D. Works.
Colorado—John F. Shafroth and Charles S. Thomas.
Connecticut—Frank B. Brandegee and George P. McLean.
Delaware—Henry A. du Pont and Willard Saulsbury.
Florida—Nathan P. Bryan and Duncan U. Fletcher.
Georgia—Augustus O. Bacon and Hoke Smith.
Idaho—William E. Borah and James H. Brady.
Illinois—
Indiana—John W. Kern and Benjamin F. Shively.
Iowa—Albert B. Cummins and William S. Kenyon.
Kansas—Joseph L. Bristow and William H. Thompson.
Kentucky—William O. Bradley and Ollie M. James.
Louisiana—Joseph E. Ransdell and John R. Thornton.
Maine—Edwin C. Burleigh and Charles F. Johnson.
Maryland—William P. Jackson and John Walter Smith.
Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge and John W. Weeks.
Michigan—William Alden Smith and Charles E. Townsend.
Minnesota—Moses E. Clapp and Knute Nelson.
Mississippi—John Sharp Williams and James K. Vardaman.
Missouri—William J. Stone.
Montana—Henry L. Myers and Thomas J. Walsh.
Nebraska—Gilbert M. Hitchcock and George W. Norris.
Nevada—Francis G. Newlands and Key Pittman.
New Hampshire—Jacob H. Gallinger.
New Jersey—William Hughes and James E. Martine.
New Mexico—Thomas B. Catron and Albert B. Fall.
New York—James A. O'Gorman and Elihu Root.
North Carolina—Lee S. Overman and F. M. Simmons.
North Dakota—Asle J. Gronna and Porter J. McCumber.
Ohio—Theodore E. Burton and Atlee Pomerene.
Oklahoma—Thomas P. Gore and Robert L. Owen.
Oregon—George E. Chamberlain and Harry Lane.
Pennsylvania—George T. Oliver and Boies Penrose.
Rhode Island—LeBaron B. Colt and Henry F. Lippitt.
South Carolina—Ellison D. Smith and Benjamin R. Tillman.
South Dakota—Coe I. Crawford and Thomas Sterling.
Tennessee—Luke Lea and John K. Shields.
Texas—Charles A. Culberson and Morris Sheppard.
Utah—Reed Smoot and George Sutherland.
Vermont—William P. Dillingham and Carroll S. Page.
Virginia—Thomas S. Martin and Claude A. Swanson.
Washington—Wesley L. Jones and Miles Poindexter.
West Virginia—William E. Chilton.
Wisconsin—Robert M. La Follette and Isaac Stephenson.
Wyoming—Clarence D. Clark and Francis E. Warren.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Sergeant at Arms will carry out the order of the Senate for the inauguration of the President of the United States upon the east front of the Capitol.

The President elect, Woodrow Wilson, accompanied by the Chief Justice of the United States, the joint committee on arrangements of the two Houses, the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, and followed by the ambassadors of and ministers plenipotentiary from foreign countries, the Members of the Senate, preceded by the Vice President and Secretary of the Senate, the Members of the House of Representatives, preceded by the Speaker and Clerk, and the other guests of the Senate proceeded to the inaugural platform at the east front of the Capitol.

The oath of office having been administered to the President elect by the Chief Justice of the United States, he delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds to-day. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them with fresh,

awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered, and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds 50 years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost

or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure-food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: To lift everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they can not tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics, but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

The Senate returned to its Chamber at 1 o'clock and 28 minutes p. m., and the Vice President took the chair.

HOOR OF MEETING.

On motion of Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, it was:

Ordered, That the hour of the daily meeting of the Senate be 12 o'clock meridian until otherwise ordered.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 32 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, March 5, 1913, at 12 o'clock m.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, March 5, 1913.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. Ulysses G. B. Pierce, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, to the end that the presence of a quorum may be ascertained I suggest the lack of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Georgia suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

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

Ashurst	Brady	Catron	Clarke, Ark.
Bacon	Brandegee	Chamberlain	Colt
Bankhead	Bristow	Chilton	Culberson
Borah	Bryan	Clapp	Cummins
Bradley	Burton	Clark, Wyo.	Dillingham