

Congressional Record.

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, SPECIAL SESSION.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *March 5, 1917.*

The PRESIDENT of the Senate pro tempore (WILLARD SAULSBURY, a Senator from the State of Delaware) assumed the chair.

The Senators and Senators elect were seated to the left of the Vice President's desk.

The Speaker and Members and Members elect of the House of Representatives were announced and occupied seats to the right of the Vice President's desk, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives was escorted to a seat on the left of the Vice President's chair.

The ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary representing foreign Governments were announced and escorted to the seats reserved for them.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States were announced and shown to the seats provided for them.

The Chief of Staff of the Army and the Admiral of the Navy were announced, and they with their aids were conducted to the seats assigned them.

The Committee on Arrangements of the two Houses of Congress escorted the President of the United States to the Senate Chamber and occupied the seats provided for them in the area in front of the Vice President's desk, as did also the members of the President's Cabinet.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock meridian.

PRAYER.

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

Almighty God, by Thy grace we are called together to open another session of the Senate. We pause at the threshold of this solemn duty to make mention of Thy name and to invoke Thy blessing. We offer upon Thine altar the praises of a great Nation. Thy providence has never failed us in all our national history. The storms of earth do not shake Thy throne. Thy law stands guard over the rights of men. We thank Thee to-day for the abundance of material blessing that Thou hast been pleased to bestow upon us. Thou hast given us a vision of a fair and beautiful form of civilization. By Thy power and grace alone do we hope to perpetuate the institutions that have come to us as a rich inheritance from the past.

And now we humbly beseech Thee to look upon us as we are called upon to face the trials and dangers of this tragic hour of the world's history. Bless Thy servants who are now called into places of authority and power. May they have that wisdom which justifies authority and that grace which sanctifies power. As they make and execute the laws of this land may they hold with even hand the scale of justice for all men, and may they transmute into law the highest achievements of a Christian civilization.

We pray Thy blessing upon all nations. Give to us responsive hearts to the cry for help from the stricken and starving people of all lands that are now being blasted with cruel war. May our mission among all the nations be that of self-sacrificing service, and our message be an evangel of peace and good will.

Do Thou, O God of our fathers, commission us anew this day to a place of gracious ministry among the nations of the earth which will hasten the coming of the imperial Prince of Peace. For Christ's sake. Amen.

PROCLAMATION.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the proclamation of the President of the United States convening the Senate in extraordinary session.

The Secretary (JAMES M. BAKER) 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 5th day of March next to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, 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 5th 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 23d of February, in the year of Our Lord 1917, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-first.

[SEAL.]

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH TO THE VICE PRESIDENT.

The President pro tempore administered the oath of office to THOMAS R. MARSHALL, of Indiana, Vice President elect of the United States, who responded, "I do, so help me God, in whom I believe."

ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT MARSHALL.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Senators, custom calls for the utterance of a few words upon this occasion. Were it otherwise, I should gladly remain silent. It may not be inappropriate to express my gratitude for the little nameless, unnumbered, and oft-times unremembered, acts of courtesy and charity shown to me by the Members of this body during the last four years; to express my regret over the vanishing faces of those who are leaving us, and to welcome those who in a few moments are to become our coworkers in the cause of constitutional freedom.

Everywhere in America are clamant and strident voices proclaiming the essential elements of patriotism. He who seeks out of them all to select one clear note of love for country may fail. I conceive it to be far more important to examine myself than to cross-examine anyone else. May I make bold to insert in the Record some elements of the creed which I have prepared in this period of retrospection and introspection? It does not embrace what I know, but holds part of what I believe.

I have faith that this Government of ours was divinely ordained to disclose whether men are by nature or can be by education made fit for self-government; to teach Jew and Greek, bondman and free, alike, the essential equality of all men before the law and to be tender and true to humanity everywhere and under all circumstances; to reveal that service is the highest reward of life. I can not believe otherwise than these things when I read the words and view the sacrifices of the fathers. If ours is not the golden rule of government, then Washington wrought and Lincoln died in vain.

I believe that the world, advancing now, retreating then, is nevertheless assuredly moving forward to a far-off divine event wherein the tongues of Babel will again be blended in the language of a common brotherhood; that I can reach the highest ideal of my tradition and my lineage as an American, as a man, as a citizen, and as a public official when I judge my fellowmen without malice and with charity; when I worry more about my own motives and conduct and less about the motives and conduct of others. The only time I am liable to be wrong is when I know that I am absolutely right. In an individualistic republic I am the unit of patriotism, and if I keep myself keyed up in unison with the music of the Union my fellowmen will catch the note and fall into time and step.

I believe there is no finer form of government than the one under which we live, and that I ought to be willing to live or to

die as God decrees, that it may not perish from off the earth through treachery within or through assault from without; that while my first right is to be a partisan when the principles on which alone free government can rest are being strained, my first duty is to be a patriot, and in a wilderness of words to follow that clear call which bids me guard and defend the ark of our national covenant. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

ADMINISTRATION OF THE OATH TO SENATORS ELECT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senators elect whose credentials are on file with the Secretary of the Senate and against whom no objections have been made to taking the oath of office will present themselves four at a time at the Secretary's desk for the purpose of being qualified as Senators of the United States. The Secretary will call their names in alphabetical order.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. ASHURST, Mr. CALDER, Mr. CULBERSON, and Mr. FRANCE.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. TILLMAN, Mr. WADSWORTH, Mr. SHEPPARD, and Mr. SMITH of Maryland, 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. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. GERRY, Mr. HALE, and Mr. HITCHCOCK.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. HUGHES, Mr. COLT, Mr. FERNALD, and Mr. NORRIS, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, Mr. ANDRIEUS A. JONES, Mr. KELLOGG, and Mr. KENDRICK.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. JOHNSON), escorted by Mr. FALL, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. WARREN, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. KING, Mr. KNOX, Mr. LA FOLLETTE, and Mr. LODGE.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. SMOOT, Mr. PENROSE, Mr. HUSTING, and Mr. WEEKS, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. McCUMBER, Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. McLEAN, and Mr. MYERS.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. GRONNA, Mr. SHIELDS, Mr. BRANDEGEE, and Mr. WALSH, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. NEW, Mr. PAGE, Mr. PITTMAN, and Mr. POINDEXTER.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. WATSON, Mr. DILLINGHAM, Mr. NEWLANDS, and Mr. JONES of Washington, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. POMERENE, Mr. REED, Mr. SUTHERLAND, and Mr. SWANSON.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. HARDING, Mr. STONE, Mr. STERLING, and Mr. MARTIN, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. TOWNSEND, Mr. TRAMMELL, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. WOLCOTT.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. VARDAMAN, and Mr. SAULSBURY, 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 Oscar W. Underwood.
Arizona—Henry F. Ashurst and Marcus A. Smith.
Arkansas—Joseph T. Robinson and William F. Kirby.
California—James D. Phelan and Hiram W. Johnson.
Colorado—Charles S. Thomas and John F. Shafroth.
Connecticut—Frank B. Brandegee and George P. McLean.
Delaware—Willard Saulsbury and Josiah O. Wolcott.
Florida—Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell.
Georgia—Hoke Smith and Thomas W. Hardwick.
Idaho—William E. Borah and James H. Brady.
Illinois—Jas. Hamilton Lewis and Lawrence Y. Sherman.
Indiana—James E. Watson and Harry S. New.
Iowa—Albert B. Cummins and William S. Kenyon.
Kansas—William H. Thompson and Charles Curtis.
Kentucky—Ollie M. James and J. C. W. Beckham.
Louisiana—Joseph E. Ransdell and Robert F. Broussard.
Maine—Bert M. Fernald and Frederick Hale.
Maryland—John Walter Smith and Joseph I. France.
Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge and John W. Weeks.
Michigan—William Alden Smith and Charles E. Townsend.
Minnesota—Knute Nelson and Frank B. Kellogg.
Mississippi—John Sharp Williams and James K. Vardaman.

Missouri—William J. Stone and James A. Reed.
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 and Henry F. Hollis.
New Jersey—William Hughes and Joseph S. Frelinghuysen.
New Mexico—Albert B. Fall and Andrieus A. Jones.
New York—James W. Wadsworth, jr., and William M. Calder.
North Carolina—Furnifold McL. Simmons and Lee S. Overman.
North Dakota—Porter J. McCumber and Asle J. Gronna.
Ohio—Atlee Pomerene and Warren G. Harding.
Oklahoma—Thomas P. Gore and Robert L. Owen.
Oregon—George E. Chamberlain and Harry Lane.
Pennsylvania—Boies Penrose and Philander C. Knox.
Rhode Island—LeBaron B. Colt and Peter G. Gerry.
South Carolina—Benjamin R. Tillman and Ellison D. Smith.
South Dakota—Thomas Sterling and Edwin S. Johnson.
Tennessee—John K. Shields and Kenneth D. McKellar.
Texas—Charles A. Culbertson and Morris Sheppard.
Utah—Reed Smoot and William H. King.
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—Nathan Goff and Howard Sutherland.
Wisconsin—Robert M. La Follette and Paul O. Husting.
Wyoming—Francis E. Warren and John B. Kendrick.

INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In accordance with the usual custom and the order of the Senate the procession will now be formed for the inaugural ceremonies of the President of the United States. The Sergeant at Arms will take charge.

The President, Woodrow Wilson, accompanied by the Chief Justice of the United States, the committee on arrangements of the two Houses, the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, followed by the ambassadors of and ministers plenipotentiary from foreign countries, the Members of the Senate, preceded by the Vice President and the Secretary of the Senate, the Speaker and Clerk, followed by the Members of the House of Representatives, 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 by the Chief Justice of the United States, he delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: The four years which have elapsed since last I stood in this place have been crowded with counsel and action of the most vital interest and consequence. Perhaps no equal period in our history has been so fruitful of important reforms in our economic and industrial life or so full of significant changes in the spirit and purpose of our political action. We have sought very thoughtfully to set our house in order, correct the grosser errors and abuses of our industrial life, liberate and quicken the processes of our national genius and energy, and lift our politics to a broader view of the people's essential interests. It is a record of singular variety and singular distinction. But I shall not attempt to review it. It speaks for itself and will be of increasing influence as the years go by. This is not the time for retrospect. It is time, rather, to speak our thoughts and purposes concerning the present and the immediate future.

Although we have centered counsel and action with such unusual concentration and success upon the great problems of domestic legislation to which we addressed ourselves four years ago, other matters have more and more forced themselves upon our attention, matters lying outside our own life as a nation and over which we had no control, but which, despite our wish to keep free of them, have drawn us more and more irresistibly into their own current and influence.

It has been impossible to avoid them. They have affected the life of the whole world. They have shaken men everywhere with a passion and an apprehension they never knew before. It has been hard to preserve calm counsel while the thought of our own people swayed this way and that under their influence. We are a composite and cosmopolitan people. We are of the blood of all the nations that are at war. The currents of our thoughts as well as the currents of our trade run quick at all seasons back and forth between us and them. The war inevitably set its mark from the first alike upon our minds, our industries, our commerce, our politics, and our social action. To be indifferent to it or independent of it was out of the question.

And yet all the while we have been conscious that we were not part of it. In that consciousness, despite many divisions, we have drawn closer together. We have been deeply wronged upon

the seas, but we have not wished to wrong or injure in return; have retained throughout the consciousness of standing in some sort apart, intent upon an interest that transcended the immediate issues of the war itself. As some of the injuries done us have become intolerable we have still been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind,—fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong.

It is in this spirit and with this thought that we have grown more and more aware, more and more certain that the part we wished to play was the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace. We have been obliged to arm ourselves to make good our claim to a certain minimum of right and of freedom of action. We stand firm in armed neutrality since it seems that in no other way we can demonstrate what it is we insist upon and can not forego. We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. But nothing will alter our thought or our purpose. They are too clear to be obscured. They are too deeply rooted in the principles of our national life to be altered. We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We have always professed unselfish purpose and we covet the opportunity to prove that our professions are sincere.

There are many things still to do at home, to clarify our own politics and give new vitality to the industrial processes of our own life, and we shall do them as time and opportunity serve; but we realize that the greatest things that remain to be done must be done with the whole world for stage and in cooperation with the wide and universal forces of mankind, and we are making our spirits ready for those things. They will follow in the immediate wake of the war itself and will set civilization up again. We are provincials no longer. The tragical events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not.

And yet we are not the less Americans on that account. We shall be the more American if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance;

That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege;

That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power;

That governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose, or power of the family of nations;

That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms;

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety;

That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

I need not argue these principles to you, my fellow countrymen: they are your own, part and parcel of your own thinking and your own motive in affairs. They spring up native amongst us. Upon this as a platform of purpose and of action we can stand together.

And it is imperative that we should stand together. We are being forged into a new unity amidst the fires that now blaze throughout the world. In their ardent heat we shall, in God's providence, let us hope, be purged of faction and division, purified of the errant humors of party and of private interest, and shall stand forth in the days to come with a new dignity of national pride and spirit. Let each man see to it that the dedication is in his own heart, the high-purpose of the Nation in his own mind, ruler of his own will and desire.

I stand here and have taken the high and solemn oath to which you have been audience because the people of the United States have chosen me for this august delegation of power and have by their gracious judgment named me their leader in

affairs. I know now what the task means. I realize to the full the responsibility which it involves. I pray God I may be given the wisdom and the prudence to do my duty in the true spirit of this great people. I am their servant and can succeed only as they sustain and guide me by their confidence and their counsel. The thing I shall count upon, the thing without which neither counsel nor action will avail, is the unity of America—an America united in feeling, in purpose, and in its vision of duty, of opportunity, and of service. We are to beware of all men who would turn the tasks and the necessities of the Nation to their own private profit or use them for the building up of private power; beware that no faction or disloyal intrigue break the harmony or embarrass the spirit of our people; beware that our Government be kept pure and incorrupt in all its parts. United alike in the conception of our duty and in the high resolve to perform it in the face of all men, let us dedicate ourselves to the great task to which we must now set our hand. For myself I beg your tolerance, your countenance, and your united aid. The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be dispelled and we shall walk with the light all about us if we be but true to ourselves—to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world and in the thought of all those who love liberty and justice and the right exalted.

The Senate returned to its Chamber at 1 o'clock and 14 minutes p. m., and the President pro tempore took the chair.

HOURLY OF DAILY MEETING.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I submit the following resolution and ask for its present consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. No. 1) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

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

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn. The motion was agreed to, and (at 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, March 6, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, March 6, 1917.

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

Almighty God, we come to Thee for the spiritual equipment to enable us to perform the duties of this day and of the coming days as men who fear God and who appreciate in the fullest degree the sacred responsibility of this place and of this office. With interests more precious than life itself in our hands and with a sense of our obligation to the world for clearness of discernment, for vision of possible achievement, for the exaltation of purity and righteousness—with this sense of obligation we come to Thee and pray that Thou wilt send us forth upon this day's work with Thy blessing. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings when, on request of Mr. MARTIN and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I offer a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I wish, before any action is taken that will recognize the Senate as being bound by the rules of the preceding Congress, to make the observation that while the Senate is a continuing body as an executive body it is not a continuing body as a legislative body. All the bills on the calendar died with the Sixty-fourth Congress. We have no calendar. We have no legislative committees. I wish to make the point that those rules are not binding on the new Members who come into this body, who have had no opportunity to participate in the making of the rules by which they are to be bound, and that they are not bound in the legislative functions of the Senate by the rules of any preceding Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is that a point of order? Mr. OWEN. I make that observation for the RECORD so that any proceedings we take here shall be by unanimous consent.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to the fact that the committees of the Senate were continued by resolution, as usual, and those committees can only exist under the rules. The question whether the rules continue or not is a rather large one, which I have no desire to discuss at this time. I call attention to the action at the last session of Congress.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, it seems to me, as this matter will probably be considerably discussed, it would be better to