

PETITIONS, ETC.

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

By Mr. BACHARACH: Resolution adopted by the Burlington County (N. J.) Board of Agriculture, asking for exemption from military service of farm operators and farm laborers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania: Petition of W. E. Sweet, Dr. J. W. Wright, Frank E. Bond, James D. Johnson, and 18 others; also, a petition of J. L. Whalen, George M. Lyle, Harry Mehl, M. C. Cornell, and 18 others; also, a petition of Rev. W. P. Murray, H. A. Strong, Dr. O. N. Chaffee, and 16 others, all praying for the passage of House bill 7995, for the preservation of Perry's flagship; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a petition and copy of the the Perry Centennial Book of Past National Commander George R. Downs, Army and Navy Union, to accompany House bill 7995; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. EAGAN: Petition of many citizens of New Jersey, favoring the enactment of legislation providing for an increase in the salaries of the city letter carriers and post-office clerks; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

My Mr. ESCH: Papers in support of House bill 795, granting a pension to George K. Redmond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FISHER: Petition of M. L. B. Ensley; also, abstract of printed evidence and a statement relative to a claim of Enoch Ensley for 77 bales of cotton used by the United States Army; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. FOCHT: Evidence, in support of House bill 8309, for the relief of Caroline Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in support of House bill 8053, for the relief of William Hockenbroucht; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Memorial of the Merchants' Association of New York, protesting against the zone system for second-class mail; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois: Petition of B. B. Martin and sundry other citizens of Blandinsville, Ill., for the repeal of zone rates on second-class mail matter; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILLIARD: Petition of Jennie B. Kern, Elizabeth Lovins, Mary L. Frantz, Lena Auslander, A. Lampert, M. M. Kern, Charlie N. Roberts, R. J. McRae, H. M. Clark, B. Cohen, J. B. Hewitt, N. Cramer, A. T. Milstein, N. Halpern, J. Suponick, N. Brookman, L. Kerlick, N. Waltson, A. G. Mann, Max Solisch, J. A. Lovin, S. Lampert, S. L. Skoss, Sarah M. Skoss, and M. Bilkon, all of Denver, Colo., urging the passage of the Keating bill, granting an increase of pay to Government employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, petition of Peter G. and Mary E. Miller, of Denver, Colo., urging passage of House bill 1654, granting increase in pay of post-office clerks and letter carriers; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of Baltimore Branch of the Pharmaceutical Association, favoring bill for the organization of a pharmaceutical corps in the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Susan Collins, of Baltimore, Md., relative to appropriation for maintaining the kindergarten division of the Bureau of Education; to the Committee on Education.

Also, petition of Carr-Lowrey Glass Co., of Baltimore, Md., against repeal of increased postage on second-class matter; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: Memorial of Local Board of Exemption No. 1, Pawtucket, R. I., protesting against the exemption of aliens who have not yet become full-fledged citizens; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a memorial of the Rhode Island Council of Defense urging legislation permitting the induction of aliens not alien enemies into the military service under the selective act; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROWLAND: Resolution passed by the John S. Melvil Post, No. 141, Grand Army of the Republic, of Bradford, Pa.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNELL: Petition of the Woman's Club of Lake Placid, N. Y., protesting against the postal increase by zones on periodicals, and urging a repeal of the present law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of employees of United States customs service, port of Maline, N. Y., urging increase in salary of Federal employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, January 17, 1918.

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

Almighty God, we ask Thy guidance and blessing upon the labor of this day, that it may be done under the inspiration of Thy holy Spirit, that we may have an eye single to Thy glory, and that the accomplishments of the day may add to the happiness and prosperity of all the people whom we serve. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE, PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE, Washington, D. C., January 17, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOHN H. BANKHEAD, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY, President pro tempore.

Mr. BANKHEAD thereupon assumed the chair.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, 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:

Bankhead	Hitchcock	New	Sterling
Beckham	Johnson, Cal.	Norris	Stone
Calder	Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Poindexter	Swanson
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	Pomerene	Thomas
Curtis	Kellogg	Ransdell	Tillman
Fernald	Kirby	Robinson	Townsend
Fletcher	Knox	Shaftroth	Trammell
Gallinger	McKellar	Sheppard	Vardaman
Gerry	McLean	Simmons	Wadsworth
Gronna	McNary	Smith, Ga.	Watson
Hale	Martin	Smith, Md.	Weeks
Harding	Myers	Smith, S. C.	Wolcott
Hardwick	Nelson	Smoot	

Mr. TOWNSEND. I announce the necessary absence of my colleague [Mr. SMITH of Michigan]. He is paired with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. MYERS. My colleague [Mr. WALSH] is still detained from the Senate by illness. He is paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN]. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. FRANCE] for the day.

Mr. RANSDALL. I wish to announce the continued absence of my colleague [Mr. BROUSSARD] on account of illness.

Mr. GERRY. I desire to announce that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON] are detained on important business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-five Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The Secretary will read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings.

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

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The PRESIDING OFFICER announced his signature to the bill (S. 3235) amending section 32, Federal farm-loan act, approved July 17, 1916, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House.

PETITIONS.

Mr. GALLINGER presented a petition of the Rural Letter Carriers' Association of Grafton County, N. H., praying for an increase in the salaries of rural letter carriers, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. SUTHERLAND presented a petition of the Pan Handle Agricultural Club of Brooke County, W. Va., praying for the conservation of food, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. SMOOT. I present a petition from Prof. William H. Hart and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Printing with the view of publishing the same as a public document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be so referred.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. MYERS, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 2886) for the relief of Albert O. Brown, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 196) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 1084) for the relief to J. G. Seupelt, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 197) thereon.

Mr. SHAFROTH, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 2487) permitting Frances Mack Mann to purchase certain public lands, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 198) thereon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, asked to be discharged from their further consideration and that they be referred to the Committee on Finance, which was agreed to:

A bill (S. 3473) to provide for the importation into the United States, without the payment of duty, of raw materials, parts or partly fabricated parts of equipment, and finished equipment for war purposes; and

A bill (S. 3474) to amend section 600 of an act entitled "An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1917.

## MONONGAHELA RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 6176) extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Monongahela River at or near the city of Fairmont, W. Va., and I submit a report (No. 199) thereon. I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill.

The Secretary read the bill; and there being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

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

## ADDITIONAL PAGES.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I make a favorable report upon Senate resolution 184, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read Senate resolution 184, submitted by Mr. OVERMAN on the 16th instant, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to employ three additional pages for the Senate Chamber at \$2.75 per day each for a period lasting until the end of the present session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, to be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I ask for the present consideration of the resolution. In making this request I wish to state that the force of pages has not been increased in 30 or 35 years, whereas the membership of the Senate has increased largely and, as everyone knows, the business has increased during these war times greatly. We do not have enough pages to do the work. We have two extra 'phones in the cloakrooms, which require the attendance of pages. The Sergeant at Arms says that he has not enough pages to do the work necessary for Senators in carrying messages, and so forth. I therefore ask for the present consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I do not care to object to the present consideration of the resolution, but in view of the statement of the Senator from North Carolina, I suggest that it be amended so that the increase shall be limited to the duration of the present war.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is limited to the present session.

Mr. THOMAS. I did not so understand the resolution when it was read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

## 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. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 3534) granting an increase of pension to John S. Jordan (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MYERS:

A bill (S. 3535) for the relief of Lloyd D. Barley; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND:

A bill (S. 3536) to amend the military records in relation to William M. Chevront; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 3537) for the relief of the estate of Henry Ware, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS:

A bill (S. 3538) for the relief of the heirs of John J. and Mary S. Englebright; and

A bill (S. 3539) for the relief of Samuel W. Morrison; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3540) granting a pension to Laura Belle Ewing;

A bill (S. 3541) granting an increase of pension to Mary Jane Drew;

A bill (S. 3542) granting an increase of pension to Ida Critchell;

A bill (S. 3543) granting an increase of pension to Delia Curry;

A bill (S. 3544) granting a pension to Mary C. Christensen;

A bill (S. 3545) granting an increase of pension to Henry Brown;

A bill (S. 3546) granting an increase of pension to Jeanie G. Lyles;

A bill (S. 3547) granting a pension to Margaret M. King;

A bill (S. 3548) granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Kelly;

A bill (S. 3549) granting a pension to Hiram B. Kelly;

A bill (S. 3550) granting a pension to Mrs. W. H. Holmes;

A bill (S. 3551) granting a pension to Phoebe W. Hooper;

A bill (S. 3552) granting a pension to Lucy S. Hamilton;

A bill (S. 3553) granting a pension to Anna C. Gregory;

A bill (S. 3554) granting a pension to William H. Emery;

A bill (S. 3555) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Price;

A bill (S. 3556) granting a pension to Anne E. Newbury;

A bill (S. 3557) granting a pension to John A. McCarthy;

A bill (S. 3558) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth McKeever;

A bill (S. 3559) granting an increase of pension to George W. McKelvey;

A bill (S. 3560) granting a pension to William G. Neeley;

A bill (S. 3561) granting a pension to Cora E. Myers Barton (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3562) granting a pension to Jennie Perry (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 125) authorizing the Joint Committee on the Library to provide for the restoration and completion of the historical frieze in the Rotunda of the Capitol; to the Committee on the Library.

## SUSPENSION OF CIVIL PROCESS.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have received a letter from the Hon. H. J. Snively, chairman of the legal advisory board of Yakima County, Wash., relating to registrants, and making a suggestion with reference to the suspension of civil process. I wish to read a paragraph or two from the letter, and then introduce a bill which I think covers the situation. He is one of the leading attorneys in our State and a man thoroughly conversant with the situation in connection with the registrants. He says:

I received your letter in relation to the passage of an act by Congress to stay suits against young men in the National Army. I have never looked up the question as to the authority of Congress to stay process in the State courts. I know during the Civil War that State laws were passed by the States.

It occurred to me, however, that as part of the conscription act, or as an amendment to it, that Congress would have the power to stay process against soldiers, and my particular purpose in writing you now is this:

I am chairman of the legal advisory board of Yakima County, and have been in close touch with the registrants from this county. I find quite a number of young men who have been engaged in business, would like very much to waive exemption they might have by virtue of being engaged in agricultural pursuits, particularly if they were assured that existing indebtedness would not be pressed against them during their absence.

Practically all of these young men in this country have made their own starts, and they are more or less involved in debt. As I told you in my other letter, I know of some great hardships that already have been vested upon soldiers taken away from their business and put into the National Army.

I do not know of any one thing that would encourage young men either to volunteer or to waive exemption than the passage of an act to protect them in their absence from judgments.

Then he proceeds to urge that Congress ought to take action along these lines:

Certainly Congress has the power to do what is necessary to encourage enlistment or to encourage the waiver of exemptions. The trouble about State legislatures being convened is that it would take too long a time. Meantime claims could be put into judgments.

I had suggested that some question had been raised as to the power of Congress to go into the States and close their courts and stop their processes.

Mr. President, I know that a bill has been presented regarding this matter, and I know that there are very serious questions with reference to the authority of Congress to suspend process in local courts, and so on, but it seems to me we ought to take some action, and we ought to take it promptly, if there is any action that we possibly can take. It has occurred to me that there is a very simple way to take care of it, and I desire to introduce a bill along the lines I have in mind for that purpose. I ask that it may be read and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and I want to urge that that committee take prompt action, one way or the other. It should do something if we have the power, and if we have no power it should say so, that agencies that can act may do so.

The bill (S. 3533) to prevent service of civil process during the war upon those enlisted in the military service of the United States was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That whoever, during the war and prior to the making and ratification of the treaty of peace terminating it, shall serve, attempt to serve, or assist in serving, any process upon any person enlisted in the military service of the United States for the collection or enforcement of any claim arising prior to such enlistment shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

#### AMENDMENT TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. SMOOT submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$252,900.58 for the relief of Prof. William H. H. Hart, principal of the Hart Farm School and Junior Republic for Dependent Children, as settlement in full for his costs incurred, losses sustained, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the District of Columbia appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

#### STANDARDIZATION OF WAGES.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, on yesterday a motion was made to refer a certain bill to the Naval Committee. That motion went over for a day, and I now ask permission to call it up.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia delay that request for a moment, in order that I may make a statement?

Mr. SWANSON. Certainly.

Mr. STONE. I am obliged to the Senator.

Mr. President, by the courtesy of the Senator from Virginia I make this statement: On yesterday the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] called up Senate resolution 174, directing the Committee on Education and Labor to inquire into certain subjects mentioned. At my request he was kind enough to let the resolution lie over until to-day on my statement that I desired to address the Senate when the resolution was under consideration. The Senator from Utah advises me from his home this morning that he is physically so indisposed as not to be able to attend the session of the Senate to-day, but authorizes me to call up the resolution, if I so desire. When I gave the notice on yesterday of my intention to address the Senate this morning I was under a misapprehension with respect to the date of an important engagement I had. I thought the engagement was for 2 o'clock to-morrow, whereas it is for 2 o'clock to-day. I feel under some obligation to keep that appointment.

I had intended, under the authority of the Senator from Utah, to call up his resolution this morning; but after being informed that the engagement of which I speak is for to-day instead of to-morrow, I had intended to give notice that I would call up the resolution if the Senator from Utah was not present on to-morrow, and speak then. I am now told that it is probably the wish of Senators to adjourn the Senate at the conclusion of to-day's business until Monday. That may not occur, of course, but I have consulted with our floor leader, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], and others, and that, I am informed, may occur. So I wish merely to state that, in view of the circumstances related, I shall ask the Senator from Utah to call up his resolution not earlier than Monday next, to which date I postpone what I had in mind to say to-day.

#### SUSPENSION OF ORDER OF FUEL ADMINISTRATOR.

Mr. SWANSON obtained the floor.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Will the Senator from Virginia yield to me, as the matter which he intends to bring before the Senate will probably take some time? I have a resolution which I desire to present.

Mr. SWANSON. I will yield to the Senator from Nebraska temporarily.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Virginia that I also have a resolution which I desire to present.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 186), as follows:

*Resolved,* That the Fuel Administrator of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to delay for five days the order suspending the operation of industrial plants in portions of the United States, in order that protests may be heard, investigation made, and information presented.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I ask for the present consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I had hurriedly prepared a resolution on the same subject as that which has been submitted by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], which I will ask the Secretary to read. If the resolution submitted by the Senator from Nebraska shall be agreed to, very likely I shall not think it necessary to press the consideration of the resolution I offer, but I ask that it may be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolution submitted by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER].

The Secretary read the resolution as follows:

Whereas through the newspaper press it has been brought to the attention of the Congress and the country that an order has been issued by the Fuel Administrator providing for the closing down of a large portion of our industrial establishments; and

Whereas on information already received it would seem to be of serious doubt whether such order would not prove highly detrimental to both the industrial and labor interests of the United States: Therefore be it

*Resolved,* That it is the sense of the Senate that such order should be suspended until a thorough investigation shall be made as to the necessity for the proposed action.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, the resolution which I have presented asks the Fuel Administrator only for a delay of five days. I do not assume to say that the Fuel Administrator has made a mistake. All I ask for is sufficient time to permit the country to be heard from. The thing which he has done has been properly denominated "a national disaster."

Mr. President, it may be necessary; there may be such a grave situation confronting the fuel administration, such a grave situation concerning the supply of fuel for the ships that we must send overseas, and such a grave situation confronting the railroads that drastic action of this sort is necessary; but, before it is taken, the short time of five days should certainly be afforded the country to present the facts to the Fuel Administrator; and, if necessary, to the President.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do, for a question.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I desire to make a suggestion to the Senator from Nebraska. In the absence of the chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures [Mr. REED], I want to state to the Senator that that subcommittee has had this question under consideration for six weeks; a great mass of testimony has been taken; and we are just about to conclude our investigations and make a report upon the subject matter. I think that if this resolution, which I very heartily approve, is passed the information the Senator wants can be obtained from the testimony taken by our committee. I think that the resolution ought to be adopted, for I regard it as a national calamity that such an order should have been issued. It can be justified only upon the theory that the coal used in the factories is needed to prevent the poor women and children from freezing. Personally I have great respect for Dr. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, and I in no way question the loftiness of his motives; but it strikes me that this order is without justification under the circumstances.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President—

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, if the Senator from Georgia will permit me to continue, I wish to say the fact is that this thing has come upon the country like a flash of lightning out of a clear sky. It means the closing down of hundreds—and perhaps thousands—of industrial establishments of the country at a time when we have been straining every effort to keep those establishments up to their greatest production. It means the throwing out of work of hundreds of thousands—and perhaps millions—of men whose wages are necessary to their daily existence. It will involve establishments which are manufacturing munitions and other necessary articles for the Government; it will involve establishments that are operating in some cases largely by water power, and which only use a

small amount of fuel, yet they are included within this very drastic order; it will involve the closing down of establishments which have coal in their bins, perhaps sufficient to operate them for another month, and that coal will be absolutely idle for the time being. It is, Mr. President, such a revolutionary order, it involves evils of such tremendous moment to so many millions of people, that I can not think it an unwise thing to pause for five days to give an opportunity for the presentation of arguments. That has not been permitted, Mr. President, up to the present time. There was no foreboding, no warning of this, and those interested and having information, so far as I know, have been given no opportunity to present it.

I have the greatest respect for the Fuel Administrator; I feel that he has been struggling against the most tremendous obstacles endeavoring to perform an almost impossible task, and I would not add to his burden; but I believe that the country ought to be given an opportunity to present facts, information, and protests, if necessary. Possibly the result may be a modification of the order; certainly the interests are so tremendous and the damage will be so enormous that the five days ought to be allowed; and I hope the Senate will make this request of the Fuel Administrator.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield.

Mr. HARDWICK. I have before me the legislation on which this order rests, if it rests anywhere; and while I am in hearty sympathy with the Senator's resolution it seems to me it ought to be directed to the President of the United States, because all the authority under which this act can be predicated is, unless I am mistaken from a cursory examination of the law, conferred on the President and not on the Fuel Administrator, who is a mere agent and servant of the President. So I think we had better change the form of the Senator's resolution.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, Mr. President, the Senate has no official information; all the information it gets is from the newspapers of this morning that the Fuel Administrator has issued this order. I have read that he has issued it as the result of consultation with the President. But, Mr. President, the unfortunate situation of affairs at this time is this: One branch of the Government is doing one thing, while another branch of the Government is doing another thing, and another branch of the Government is doing still another thing, and we have no coordination of the enormous forces which have been placed in the hands of the Executive. I am very firmly of the opinion that many Government agencies will be handicapped by this order, and I doubt very much whether some of them have been consulted or considered before it was issued.

The situation argues strongly for a reform in our Government; and, Mr. President, I am here now to predict that before much time elapses we will be compelled by the very force of circumstances to locate somewhere absolute power to coordinate the various branches and functions of our Government which are now largely running wild.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield.

Mr. POINDEXTER. What possible improvement could the Senator suggest in that connection as to centralizing authority than is provided now by the Constitution of the United States, which centralizes authority over every one of these activities in the President of the United States?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, Mr. President, that is a fair question, and I have no doubt that it is going to be debated on the floor of the Senate at an early date. Without violating any confidence I may say that the Senate Committee on Military Affairs within a very few days, through the chairman of the committee [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], will present to the Senate in concrete form a recommendation for centralizing the various war forces of our Government, so that we will not only get action, but consistent and harmonious action. That is another question. As it is now, we have the President vested nominally with enormous powers, but he is operating through various branches of Government, through various departments of Government, through various officials, who practically are not in harmony with each other; they are not coordinated as they should be, and it is utterly impossible for the President of the United States, with the vast and varied duties he has to perform now, largely of an international character, to bring this about.

The reform which I think should be brought about is such a reform as will place above the Cabinet now existing and below the President a war cabinet to bring all these forces into a few

hands, to harmonize them, coordinate them, and bring order out of chaos. If we had established heretofore such a war cabinet, I do not believe there would have developed a coal shortage, which is partly, at least, due to a confusion of government functions. Nor would such an extraordinary order as this have been issued without being submitted to that war cabinet, and that war cabinet would not have acted without knowing definitely the effect on the various industries of the country which would result from it.

Mr. WEEKS and Mr. POINDEXTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield.

Mr. WEEKS. I rose because I thought the Senator was about to yield the floor. I do not care to interrupt him.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am about to yield the floor; I have said all that I care to say; I have said perhaps more than I should have said. I understand unanimous consent has been granted for the consideration of the resolution, and I hope that it may be adopted. Of course it is only in the nature of a request; it is in the nature of a request from the Senate of the United States simply for a delay to afford an opportunity to present the vast interests that are involved in this revolutionary order, which was apparently issued without giving the country much opportunity for a hearing.

Mr. WEEKS obtained the floor.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, before the Senator from Nebraska takes his seat—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. LEWIS. I merely desired to address an inquiry to the Senator from Nebraska. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator from Massachusetts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska has yielded the floor, and the Senator from Massachusetts has been recognized.

Mr. LEWIS. The Senator from Massachusetts having been recognized, I will not interrupt the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I can not speak too strongly in favor of the resolution which has been introduced by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] or a resolution which will have the same or a similar effect.

This order of the Fuel Administrator has fallen with crushing force on the section of the country which I in part represent. It is in this part of the country, Mr. President, where the Government's necessities are being provided at this time. I am told that 86 per cent of all the additional business—the \$19,000,000,000 of additional business that is being done this year—is concentrated between Massachusetts and Virginia and east of Pittsburgh. Necessarily the Government requires a large amount of products, and requires them at once. We are doing everything we can to "jack up" the service, so that this product will be furnished. Why, one telephone message that I have this morning from a manufacturer states that the closing down of his mills—and two-thirds of their capacity is being used in manufacturing Government products—will result in a loss of \$2,000,000 of product. In other words, in the case of the very things which we need, and need most, to prosecute this war, in that one instance there is going to be a falling off in supply on account of this order of more than \$1,300,000.

I can not believe that this question has been suitably considered from every viewpoint. It illustrates the injustice that is likely to result from an order which seems to be right from one viewpoint, but which is made without taking into consideration the influences and effects it may have in various other directions.

I sincerely hope that some action will be taken by the Senate which will stay this procedure until the public has an opportunity to be heard. The Senator from Nebraska has well said that this action seems to be an excellent example of the failure to prepare for an emergency which was as apparent six months ago as it is now. Reasonable foresight would have made ample provision for the conditions which now prevail.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President. It was my privilege last Saturday in New York to confer with the coal administrator of that State and with the representatives of Dr. Garfield temporarily in the city. The proposition first was to apply this order to the State of New York; but when we came to reason out the fact that practically everything going abroad comes through the "neck of the bottle" to the great port of New York we were able to convince the authorities that such a proposition would be the very worst thing that could happen to the country.

In New York City to-day, Mr. President, there are 300,000 children unable to attend school. Throughout our State at

least one-fourth of our industries are closed for lack of coal. This morning, by telephone, a New York shipbuilder—a man who employs upward of 10,000 men, all of whom are engaged in Government work—informed me that he has enough coal to keep his plant going for three weeks, and that under this order, as he interprets it, he will be compelled to shut down to-morrow morning.

I submit, Mr. President, that in April the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] and myself introduced and had passed resolutions requesting information from the Federal Trade Commission relative to the supply of coal. We were informed at that time that it was simply a "state of mind" on the part of the people of the country. We were told that there was sufficient coal if people would not buy so recklessly. To-day a situation confronts us that convinces the country that those in charge of the Nation's business failed to apply ordinary business principles.

Mr. President, it seems to me that what we need in this Nation to-day on many of these commissions is men with business training, men who will plan in advance as men would plan to build a city, and then coordinate all the elements so that really effective work may be done.

Mr. President, this is perhaps one of the most serious orders that ever has been attempted to be put forth in the history of this Nation. I do hope that the resolution introduced may prevail, to the end that some information may be obtained before the order is put into effect.

Mr. POMERENE obtained the floor.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado will state his inquiry.

Mr. THOMAS. I wish to inquire whether the debate upon this motion is subject to the five-minute rule?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair knows of no rule that requires such limitation.

Mr. THOMAS. I did not understand the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair does not think debate on the resolution is subject to the five-minute rule.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, I will accept the decision of the Chair; but I think the best thing to do is to pass this resolution and debate it afterwards.

Mr. STONE. That is true, Mr. President. It is best to pass it and debate it afterwards; but I have been sitting here in some wonderment to know who would speak on the other side, if there be another side, and tell the Senate authoritatively why this order was made.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I may say to the Senator, if he will permit me—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I thought I had been recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator was recognized, and the Chair understood that he yielded to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. POMERENE. I will yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. STONE. I beg pardon; I did not know that the Senator from Ohio had been recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. STONE. Perhaps the Senator from Ohio can answer the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Missouri for a question?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I will make this answer to the Senator from Missouri: I shall speak this morning for myself and for no one else.

Mr. STONE. That is not any answer at all.

Mr. POMERENE. No; I realize it is not. I meant it in a courteous way. I was not referring to the Senator.

Mr. President, I regard this order as a calamity. I feel that at the present time there is no necessity for it. When it is shown to me that there is a necessity for it, I shall apologize for what I have been saying and what I may say.

I think I know something about the coal conditions in Ohio. We have enough coal in that State to last the people of our State until our grandchildren are gray-haired men, and yet our people in Ohio are suffering as perhaps the people in no other State are suffering, and in my judgment it is due to the way in which this subject has been handled.

As early as October of last year we had a severe cold spell in the State. The attorney general sent to me a list of 205 towns, 150 of which were without a pound of coal in the markets, and only a portion of the private consumers had any coal in their cellars. When I took this list with me to the Fuel

Administrator's office and saw one of the subordinates, the chief not being there, I presented the list. It gave the names of the towns, the amount of last year's consumption, the amount which would be needed for this year's consumption, and the names of the mayors. I was then told that the conditions there were "exaggerated"; and I was told that by a man who, I think, knows as little about the coal supply in Ohio as I know about the coal supply in the planet Mars.

Later on, when I communicated with the office, giving information sent to me by telegram and telephone, some clerk, perhaps, or perhaps some errand boy would answer the telephone; and I have had little different experience several times when I was able to get in touch with some of those in authority. Later on, when I presented telegrams from chambers of commerce and from local fuel administrators, I was again met with the explanation that the situation was being exaggerated; and just recently I understand the coal administrator said the situation was "purely psychological." And now, with this "psychological" situation before him, he makes an order that is so drastic that even those who have a supply of coal on hand will not be permitted to use it. In the language of Virgil, "Wonderful to relate!"

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. POMERENE. I do.

Mr. HARDWICK. Does the Senator believe that any such order as that is valid in law or can be enforced anywhere?

Mr. POMERENE. I have not examined the statute in the light of this order, but I dare say that it was not in the mind of any Senator or Congressman who voted for it that any such order ever would be made.

Mr. President, I want to point out what I think are a few of the mistakes that have been made in this connection. Before I go to that branch of the subject, allow me to say that within two weeks one of the biggest coal operators in this country, who owns 15,000 acres of the best coal land in this country, said to me in my office that this coal legislation had saved the day for the consumer, and that if it had not been for it he to-day would be paying from \$25 to \$30 a ton. And yet, after the orders were made fixing the prices—and I recognize the fact that it was necessary to make certain modifications of those orders as applied to certain places—it was not, in my judgment, necessary to raise these prices in certain localities as they have been raised.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio permit a remark?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. POMERENE. I yield.

Mr. TILLMAN. I want to tell the Senator that if we paid \$100 a ton in South Carolina we could not get a ton of coal, because it is not there, and the railroad from Dante, Va.—the Clinchfield, with many trains loaded with coal—gives as an excuse that it has not locomotives and can not bring it to South Carolina. It is a question of transportation.

Mr. POMERENE. I think that is true, perhaps.

Mr. TILLMAN. It is not "true, perhaps"; it is true. I know it from telegrams I have received from home.

Mr. POMERENE. It ought to be there, though. The remark demonstrates, in my judgment, the fact that it was not high prices that were necessary for increased production.

Later, though in my own city we formerly got coal at 90 cents a ton at the mines for our factories, during the last year they were paying five dollars and five dollars and a half a ton at the mines; and then, when a priority order was issued to the railroads for lake shipments, the coal operators gave as an excuse for not giving coal to the ordinary consumer that an order had been made to them to ship none save that to the lake region. It was not true, and the coal operators who made that statement knew it was not true when they made it.

Later, when we were all concerned about conditions upon the Lakes, and there was an attempt to move coal to the Northwest, in order to take care of the good people in that section, nobody made any complaint about that in Ohio, as long as that order was reasonably carried out; but what was the situation? The coal was sent to the Lake ports when there were no vessels there on which to load this coal for the Northwest, and nearly every siding and every switch in the cities of Cleveland and Toledo and Sandusky were filled with cars loaded for the Lakes, and these cars were left there loaded in that way for storage purposes, while the people in my own State were suffering and the cars and the coal were needed elsewhere.

In the little manufacturing city of Alliance, on the Pennsylvania system, in the latter part of November there were 30 or 40 cars loaded for the Lakes right at the doors of one of our big

manufacturing plants. Those cars were there for 30 or 40 days, not moved, not emptied, and many of the big manufacturing plants there were obliged to shut down. Those cars could have been unloaded, sent back to the mines, and reloaded three or four times while they were standing on the siding in Alliance. It was not done. Schools were obliged to close down. The great Ohio State University was obliged to close down for several days because there was no coal. On the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad one-half of their cars were on the tracks, loaded with coal and not moving.

Mr. TILLMAN. Whose fault was that but the railroads'?

Mr. POMERENE. It was the fault of both the operators and the railroads.

Mr. TILLMAN. They were in collusion, then.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, while these cars were thus being loaded for certain places up in the Northwest, our people in Ohio were given to understand that there was not any coal for them.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President—

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

Mr. POMERENE. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. WATSON. Is it not a fact that a portion of that difficulty originated because of priority orders, as well as a law of Congress that permits the purchaser or the seller to designate the route over which the purchase shall travel?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I think it is true that a part of the difficulty arose from that particular cause; but not all of it. I think I can say that cars would have been moved to any locality that needed the coal if the request had come from the Coal Administrator.

I happen to have before me here an account of a shipment of a car of coal from the southeastern part of the State up to Cleveland and back to the mine again. From the time it was first loaded and sent to Cleveland and back again to another mine 28 days intervened. Twenty days one hour and thirty-two minutes of that time was lost when the car was not moving. It was, in fact, moving eight days one hour and five minutes. This car was traced by a newspaper man, who was sent out specially to note the time that it was moving and the places where it was left on the sidings along the road on its way to Cleveland and return. I do not care to go into the particulars of that.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. POMERENE. I yield.

Mr. SWANSON. I understand the contention of the Senator from Ohio is that the priority order sending all these cars to the Northwest on the 30th of November unloaded so much coal there that they could not distribute it. I understand that so much coal was sent to a city that the wagons could not haul it for distribution, and that it was poured in there and delayed, and the cars were held up, instead of sending to the Northwest the coal that they could handle and distribute. Is that the impression the Senator has?

Mr. POMERENE. There were too many of the cars loaded with coal for the Northwest. I say too many because there were not vessels at the ports in which they could be unloaded, and that coal should have been distributed through the State of Ohio and elsewhere, and people would have been benefited by it.

Mr. SWANSON. I know; but the great difficulty in getting coal in Virginia, where a superabundance of coal is produced—more than the State needs—was because it was furnished elsewhere on account of this order. I thought at the time that the sending of the coal into one section where they did not have boats to carry it across the lake and did not have horses and wagons sufficient to distribute to the consumers in the cities, where it was loaded in freight cars that for days and days were unloaded, was unwise administration. If they had sent to the Northwest the coal that they could handle quickly and promptly, giving them the preference, and let the rest of the country be supplied, they could have handled it. Is that the impression the Senator has or of those who know?

Mr. POMERENE. I do not know that I followed the Senator. My attention was diverted.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. POMERENE. I yield.

Mr. KELLOGG. I should like to say, if the Senator from Ohio will permit me, that if the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] refers to the port of Duluth as the Northwest he is entirely mistaken. There was a good deal of coal loaded for

the Lakes that was going to Canada when our people could not get coal.

Mr. SWANSON. I do not know where it was going.

Mr. KELLOGG. There was a good deal of coal which was shipped to Canada that was not destined for the Northwest. There is a shortage of coal in Minnesota and north Wisconsin, and but for the heroic efforts of people up there to cut wood and send it out into the country where they have been using coal there would be a shortage now. You can not ship coal into the Northwest by rail; it never has been done; and you can not run a boat in the wintertime.

Mr. POMERENE. I realize the difficulties the State of Minnesota has had. It is true, as the Senator has said, that much of this coal was sent across into Canada. Just five minutes before I took the floor I had a telephone message from a very prominent man in Ohio, who said to me that he, the other day, had talked with a Canadian who had been in one of the large cities of Canada, and that they had coal there to last them until the middle of July, a good part of which came from Ohio.

Mr. GALLINGER. In this connection, has the Senator from Ohio any information that would throw any light on the subject from this point of view: While the shortage has been accumulating in this country, and it now has reached the acute stage, can the Senator tell us what amount of coal has been sent across the ocean and into Canada to supply the wants of people of other countries?

Mr. POMERENE. No; I do not have that information at hand.

Mr. GALLINGER. But undoubtedly it has been a very large quantity, has it not?

Mr. POMERENE. That is undoubtedly true; but it must also be borne in mind that there has been more coal mined in the United States during the last year than ever before in its history, running as much as eight to ten million tons per month in excess of what it has been in any other year.

Mr. GALLINGER. Which would indicate that if the matter had been carefully handled we would have had enough coal for our own use and a surplus besides.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, when I know there is enough coal in our hills to last this country for centuries and enough miners to mine it, I can not be persuaded that there is any just reason why we should have this shortage at this particular time.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President—

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

Mr. POMERENE. I do.

Mr. McCUMBER. I should like to ask the Senator whether or not there is a sufficient amount of coal now mined to take care of the needs of the people of this country if it could be properly distributed?

Mr. GALLINGER. And kept at home.

Mr. POMERENE. I do not know that I can answer the Senator exactly, save this, and I want to be perfectly frank. There was a time when the operators were not making proper efforts to mine their coal. That situation is different now, after they succeeded in boosting the prices of it. Then the complaint was that there was a car shortage, and I think there is something in that proposition now. If there were cars enough at these mines at the present time to take the supply that can be mined by the miners now at work, there is not any question about there being sufficient coal for everybody.

Mr. McCUMBER. Then it is more a question of transportation than it is a question of shortage of coal; a matter of moving coal rather than the mining of coal to-day.

Mr. POMERENE. At this particular time I think the Senator is correct. In Ohio there has been a very severe cold spell. They are lacking in motive power somewhat. But when I took the floor I did not expect to dwell so much upon the particular branch of the subject upon which I am speaking as to make this suggestion with reference to the particular resolution which has been presented by the Senator from Nebraska. It seems to me that from every point of view this order is an unwise one.

Mr. BORAH. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. If it is an unwise one, which the consensus of opinion seems to support, has the Senate and the Congress of the United States been reduced to such impotency as that it can do nothing else than merely request a Fuel Administrator to suspend it?

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. POMERENE. I yield.

Mr. KNOX. I was about to ask a question which may perhaps clear this up a bit. The resolution introduced by the Senator from Nebraska speaks of the fuel commissioner, and I notice the Senator from Ohio speaks of the Fuel Administrator. I should like to know whether there is such a legal office as either the fuel commissioner or Fuel Administrator. I know of none. I know of no act of Congress creating a fuel administrator or fuel commissioner. It seems to me it is almost undignified for the Senate of the United States to address a request to some one who was appointed by some other authority. Let us address our request to the authority that is exercising the power conferred by Congress, and the only authority that we have any direct relation to. I hope the Senator from Nebraska will alter his resolution so that it will apply to the proper authority which deals with the subject and preserve the dignity of the Senate.

Mr. POMERENE. Section 25 of the food and fuel act relates to the subject of coal and fuel, and under that the President was authorized to appoint an agent to carry out the provisions of the act; in other words, to administer it, and the name has been given to him of, I think, United States Fuel Administrator, as I now recall it.

Mr. KNOX. Just so, and undoubtedly under the law the various departments may appoint people to carry out the provisions of the law, appoint special counsel, and all that sort of thing, but when the Congress of the United States comes to deal with the subject and inquire why a particular thing is being done, or why a particular thing is not being done, it does not address its resolution to the clerks who are actually performing the work.

Mr. POMERENE. The order was issued by the Fuel Administrator, and it would seem to me with entire propriety he could be named.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. If the Senator will yield I have taken the liberty of modifying my resolution so as to make the title "Fuel Administrator." If the Senator will permit me to say it, it seems to me we are merely quibbling over an unimportant matter when we debate whether this resolution of request shall be addressed to the President or to the administrator. The fact is that when the administrator acts he acts with the full power of the President. He is not a mere clerk. He is vested with the power that Congress has placed in the President, and the thing for us to do is to cut red tape and get the request to him. He is the one who made the order. He is the one to grant the relief by a modification of the order.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I want to say just a word with respect to the policy of the issuing of this order. I speak particularly with reference to conditions in my own State. I know that a good many of our manufacturing plants have been obliged already to close down temporarily because they could not get the fuel. I know that certain interurban lines have stopped moving their cars and these interurban lines have been furnishing the electric power for many of the smaller towns and the electric lighting along the routes. They are without coal. There has been unusual suffering because of this very severe cold. The situation had begun to improve in Ohio until a few days ago. The cars were moving. The heavy snow interfered somewhat. It does seem to me that if there was just a little delay, and there was not any other human means by which to improve the situation, automatically some of the manufacturing plants would be compelled to close down. Why should an order be made compelling a manufacturing plant to close down that already had in its bins a sufficient supply of coal to continue its operations?

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. POMERENE. I do.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I had a long-distance phone from a manufacturing center in my State a few moments ago asking if this order would affect those manufacturing plants that derive their power from water. Through my office I made inquiry of the Fuel Administration what would be expected of those mills or those manufacturing plants that use water. The reply that was given to me was that, though they might not have any authority over water power, they would expect the plants deriving their power from water to obey this order to the letter.

Mr. REED. Who gave that?

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. That was reported to me as coming from the office of the Fuel Administrator.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, if plants are to be closed down arbitrarily, as they will be closed under this order if it is permitted to continue, I do not like to think of the psychological effect that it will have on the people in the country.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President—

Mr. POMERENE. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. HARDING. There is apparently a confusion relating to priority. There is the priority of railroad service on the one hand, but my understanding is that the embarrassment relating to the coal situation is due to the priority order which goes to the operator directing him to supply coal to a certain consumer. I wanted to ask my colleague, who seems to know pretty well concerning the situation, if he has any knowledge as to what has been the determining influence or what reasoning these priority orders are based upon?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I do not think I can answer my colleague with exactness, except to say that I have gleaned this knowledge from my interviews had with the department; I know there was a desire at the department to supply the schools and the municipal and public utilities, and orders with reference to the movement of cars were made so as to accommodate those utilities and public institutions. Beyond that I have not been advised that there has been any priority order, so far as the furnishing of coal by the operators is concerned.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. POMERENE. I do.

Mr. FLETCHER. I inquire of the Senator if he has a copy of the order, or if he has the matter in such a shape as to be authentic? We might be engaged here in fighting a windmill, and we do not want to do that.

Mr. POMERENE. No. I was very much surprised at this order last night, and I have not had an opportunity to get the order.

Mr. FLETCHER. Some one ought to furnish the order and let us have the order read.

Mr. POMERENE. I am speaking of the effect upon the country at the present time. Now, let us just think of what the effect is going to be when some of these plants are closed down; plants that had a coal supply on hand, and their men are thrown out of work, and they are around on the street corners or elsewhere, not able to earn anything, and some of them not able to get the coal with which to keep their homes warm.

Mr. President, I recognize that we are confronted by a situation here which is very serious, and it does seem to me that if it becomes necessary in the future to issue an order of this kind some notice should be given to the public, so that the public may get its house in order. I hope that one or the other of these resolutions will be adopted.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, when I arose a moment ago it appeared as if I did so in response to the inquiry from the senior Senator from Missouri. When he asked, Who is here to speak for the other side—for the administration? There was an appearance, from the fact that I rose spontaneously with that inquiry, as though I arose to assume with my presence that I was directed to speak on the other side of the resolution, "for the administrator," to use the words of the Senator from Missouri. Mr. President, I rise to speak a word or two, but by no direction of anyone, upon the authority of no one, and with no one other than myself, I trust, to bear the responsibility.

Mr. President, when the bill, and particularly section 25, was before this body for the authority which it conferred I said that we would be brought to the point where we must take charge of the coal mines. I said then, to the dismay of many of the distinguished Members of this body, that we would have to take charge of the coal mines as an agency of Government; that the time had come when we should do so upon the theory that the coal mines by nature were mere repositories of elements necessary to the public welfare and ought not longer to be held in private control.

That which has transpired and which has been alluded to this morning is clearly disclosing that the time has come when, under the circumstances surrounding us, this Government should take charge of all coal mines, proceed to supervise coal mining, to control it, and then supervise the distribution of the coal in such manner that no such conditions could be existing, which evidently is the justification for this order, remarkable as it is.

Mr. President, I think we are hastening with some degree of madness this morning. I can understand how any Senator, receiving, as I have this morning, scores and scores of telegrams in relation to this matter, can be aroused in behalf of the interests of his people and that he can readily appreciate the effect that this order must have upon the industries of the State for which he speaks. But there must be some reason for this order. The eminent Senators, both from Nebraska and Ohio, respectively, Senators HITCHCOCK and POMERENE,

say it came suddenly, without knowledge, without information. Mr. President, my mind addresses itself to this thought: There must have been some singular and unusual exigency suddenly confronting the Fuel Administrator and the President from which such an order could have been issued; there must be some unusual condition somewhere; there must have arisen suddenly some remarkable circumstance. Surely these men, the President and the Fuel Administrator, are sensible men; it can not be said they are unpatriotic men; it will not be charged that they are foolish men. There must be, sir, some reason so persuasive to their sense of patriotism and duty which called for this immediate action.

Is it not the expression of wisdom, instead of suddenly passing a resolution that on its face condemns what they did, that we pause to consider of them a moment from whom we might obtain information as to why it was done and give them some opportunity by which they may explain to these, the representatives of the Government, before we hastily, in a spirit of almost frenzy, pass a resolution that has for its tenor practically a condemnation of the action, without ourselves knowing the thing that brought it forth or the justification or reasons that might be advanced in its behalf? For myself I concede—

Mr. HITCHCOCK rose.

Mr. LEWIS. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska, who indicates a desire to interrupt me.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The characterization of the resolution as unfriendly or antagonistic is certainly a great mistake. This resolution is in the nature of a mere request from the Senate; something which is very unusual. It might be made directory, but it is a mere request, and the reason it has got to be done suddenly is that the order has been suddenly issued and goes into effect to-morrow morning. So the request has got to be made at once. If the request goes to the fuel administrator, it is for him to decide whether he will grant it or not. If he grants it, then there will be five days in which he will hear from the country.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, this resolution which has been tendered by the Senator from Nebraska, and which is characterized by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] as expressing, what seemed to him, to be unanimity of view up to that time, at least, to condemn this order, makes only a request, it is true, that this matter go over for five days, and addresses that request of the Fuel Administrator; but if this resolution is passed to-day it will be read by the public in the light of the criticisms which have been made here in the speeches of Senators, and it should be; it will be read in the light of the condemnation expressed, and it should be; and it will be construed as an expression by the Senate of their approval of these condemnations which have been voiced by the respective Senators in support of the resolution.

If this order is without authority, it should be revoked; if it is without justification, it should be promptly withdrawn and reversed; if there are no reasons for it, then it should be condemned; but before action is taken something ought to be done out of ordinary courtesy, in due discharge of that civility which Members of this body are supposed to exhibit in their everyday conduct with common humanity, before we assume a course of action which, in the most ordinary affairs of life, would not have been undertaken by one man against another if they bore the slightest appearance of ordinary friendship, and, Mr. President, what Senators have termed here need of "coordination." It becomes a farcical observation while they in one breath speak about the necessity of coordination in the departments of the Government, and then give to the world the evidence that the Senate, the highest representative branch of the legislative department, has no coordination with the President of the United States in a patriotic duty called for by some public necessity. It will not do for Senators to stand before the country demanding that there should be cooperation, "somebody with responsibility," in order that there shall be execution without confusion, and yet give evidence constantly that in everything that is attempted one branch finds it always agreeable to dissent, to obstruct, to embarrass, to impede, to reverse, to repudiate, to condemn, and in such an instance as this, as I see it, without even a hearing to those of authority who have ordered the course put in effect.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LEWIS. Certainly.

Mr. REED. Surely the Senator does not mean to say—and I am calling attention to it because I think he spoke inadvertently—that either branch of Congress has persistently objected and repudiated and refused to concur with the President. The

Senator, I do not think, meant to employ language as broad as that. I think there has been a very ready concurrence.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, it is my pleasure to say, in certain general war measures, that there has been a very general concurrence and cooperation by both branches in the general measures up to date. I refer, if the Senator will consider the connection, to the effect before the country. It will go forth that Senators can not consistently stand up here demanding "cooperation" and "coordination" and yet fall to recognize the impression they were leaving upon the country of no cooperation or coordination with the President of the United States or his administrative aids.

Mr. President, I do not know, Senators have not been informed, what were the particular conditions and emergencies which made this order necessary. I must assume that there were some; I must take it for granted that they were of a nature to justify it. I can not assume that so sudden an order, with the consequences which Senators here invariably say impend upon their constituencies and upon business, unless there had been some reason for bringing it forth so sufficient as to justify it. Let us find out what they are and let us ascertain from those having the knowledge before we go further.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois permit an inquiry?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, Mr. President; I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. In view of the fact that on numerous occasions the President of the United States has called Congress to meet in the Hall of the House of Representatives to listen to his views on public questions—some of them of great moment, as I thought; some of them not of very great consequence—is it not a remarkable circumstance that, if this great exigency exists and this drastic action becomes necessary, the President did not follow his usual course and ask Congress to listen to his views on the subject before the order was issued?

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I will say to the accomplished and learned Senator from New Hampshire that his inquiry is pertinent, and the reply that I shall make I think is one I can offer as a justification for my position. The Senator is correct that in the great exigencies of government, wherever they have arisen, the President has made it a practice to come before the Congress and explain the conditions and seek action from Congress, certainly seek cooperation. I take it for granted that the exception to which the Senator from New Hampshire alludes would not have arisen unless there were some emergency so sudden, some conditions so unusual, some circumstances so unexpected, that they did not give opportunity for such action on the part of the President. If such be true and upon such considerations this order was issued in such emergency, is it not the part of wisdom that we consider that the reasons must have been most effective, most weighty, and, therefore, instead of passing this resolution at this time, coupled with the animadversions which have been made, should we not consider that such circumstances must have existed and let this resolution go over one day, postpone it, as the rules require, for one day, within which time we may ascertain either from the Fuel Administrator or from the President what particular reason exists, and get from them such views as they may have, and give them such hearing as we would accord to the humblest executive official in any department of this Government before we would pass a resolution surrounded with such criticisms as those with which this resolution has been inflamed?

Mr. President, I do not intimate that Senators should not condemn; I hope that the time may never come when this body will feel so stifled by any form of influence that it will withhold condemnation from anything which it esteems as a wrong; but, Mr. President, I see Senators rise, as did the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from New York, and intimate before the public that what is wrong is the lack of coordination. Lack of it where? I will admit there have been evidences where it has been absent. A war was suddenly precipitated upon us; our people were long accustomed to peace; a conflict without parallel was thrust upon us, and that we could have readily fitted ourselves to such circumstances in a moment, of course, is impossible, and that there would have arisen from time to time evidences of embarrassment is, of course, to be expected; but, Mr. President, I ask the eminent Senators if it would not be well that they allow us to have at the present time that coordination for which they have been asking? They are condemning, unless I misunderstand them, the attitude taken by the Fuel Administrator, who is one of the "responsible heads" of Mr. Hoover, another coordinate

head. In what way can you coordinate if men superior in position overthrow and destroy the work of every other department merely for differences of opinion?

What I feel, sir, is necessary is that we cease to assume that there is neglect on the part of the Government; that we cease proclaiming that we have failed in accomplishment, and turn our attention for a moment to the great things we have really done, contemplate the wondrous accomplishments this administration and which the Government at large have performed before the world.

Mr. President, I ask instead of this resolution being passed at this time that it go over for one day, that it be postponed for one day and then be taken up after Senators have become informed of whatever may be the reason for the issuance of the order.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That will be too late; the order becomes operative to-morrow.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, is the Senator from Illinois aware of the fact that the order is to go into effect to-morrow morning?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me to make a statement?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes; I yield.

Mr. REED. I think we ought, if possible, before taking action, to know all the facts that can be speedily learned. I am unwilling to pass a resolution on the instant unless that is imperatively necessary, for we might do an injustice; we might make a mistake. I appreciate the gravity of the situation, but I think we can at least wait for the matter of an hour. The Committee on Manufactures have been investigating, through a subcommittee, the question of the coal shortage. Dr. Garfield has been before the committee once and left really with the understanding that he would probably be asked further to testify. He is at the Capitol, and the subcommittee have arranged to have him appear within the next 10 or 15 minutes. We intend to inquire into the reasons of this order, and, if we are so fortunate as to get the Doctor before us and get through, we will try to get through and will report at once to the Senate. Then, the Senate will at least have before it his statement of his reasons. Is not that the better thing to do? I make that statement. We are going ahead with the investigation.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, upon the statement of the Senator from Missouri, I renew—saying that it was not my purpose originally when I rose of being drawn into the discussion to the extent I have taken the time of the Senate—my motion that the consideration of this resolution be postponed at this time, and that it go over for a day. Senators may amend that to meet such time as the Committee on Manufactures feel may serve the purpose and will provide for giving a hearing to the opposite side in some way, a privilege we ordinarily extend to any department of this Government under other circumstances.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, the adoption of the motion that the resolution go over for a day would largely defeat its purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator from Georgia will suspend a moment, the Chair desires to inquire whether the Senator from Illinois has made a motion that the resolution go over or be referred to a committee.

Mr. LEWIS. I do not ask that it be referred, but I ask that it go over until to-morrow morning, so that in the meantime we may obtain information, that we may then be able to take action without doing injustice to those who have not as yet been heard at all and against whom certain Senators threaten speedy judgment without voice or representation. I ask for the postponement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia is now recognized.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, we have unanimous consent for the present consideration of this resolution, and it would be utterly unwise, in my judgment, to let it go over until to-morrow. This order goes into effect to-morrow. What we wish is to suspend the immediate operation of the order for further investigation; and, if the order must go into effect eventually, that the industries to be affected may at least have five days in which to prepare for this harsh treatment.

There are some of us who would not object to it going over for an hour, until the Senator from Missouri and his committee can hear Dr. Garfield; but, so far as I am personally concerned, I am ready to vote for it now. I want it passed regardless of what may be said, because I think the order of the Fuel Administrator should at least be suspended for five

days, if it is finally to become operative. I think no condition or circumstance justifies such a sudden and complete interference with the industrial world. I can not conceive of an excuse for action without any notice at all, except that which comes from a 24-hour notice. I do not object, if the Senator from Nebraska desires, to having the resolution go over until 3 o'clock or perhaps half past 3, but I hope we will vote upon it and pass it with practical unanimity at a very early hour during to-day's session.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I hope the Senate will not be precipitated into immediate action upon this resolution. I am not in favor of postponing it until to-morrow morning, for the very good reason assigned by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], who has just taken his seat; but I do think that the suggestion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], the chairman of the committee which has been engaged in investigating this coal situation, ought to be adopted by the Senate.

Mr. President, I agree with the statement that has been several times made upon the floor of the Senate to-day that this order is a public calamity, that the effect of it may be disastrous to the business of the country and to the men who are working in the industries of the country. That, I think, is true; but that does not mean, Mr. President, that there is neither defense nor justification for this order. To my mind there is one justification for it, at least. If it is necessary that this order shall be issued and shall be executed to protect the people of this country, especially those who are herded into the large cities of the country, from freezing, then I consider that a condition exists which makes this order at least defensible and justifiable. I do not wish to see the industries of this country hurt; I do not wish to see this calamity to the industries of this country come upon them; but, Mr. President, the first and a higher consideration than that is that the people of America shall not freeze.

I do not know that any such condition confronts the country. I can not conceive, however, that the responsible people who have issued this order—for if it comes from the Fuel Administration, it comes with the approval of the President—have acted in this summary manner concerning this portentous measure without at least some reasonable justification for their action.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. SIMMONS. Just a moment. With such a condition as I say may confront this country, namely, the necessity of this order to protect the people in the great cities from having to endure the indescribable sufferings of cold—yea, from freezing, Mr. President—if that condition exists, if there is no other way to relieve against that condition except through this action, then we ought not to delay it or suspend it for five days, because, if such a condition as that exists, if this order is suspended for five days, the dire consequences of delay will have overtaken the people. Strong as are the appeals of business to me, the appeals of humanity are immeasurably stronger.

SEVERAL SENATORS. It is a mere request.

Mr. SIMMONS. I know it is a mere request, but it carries with it the sanction of the judgment of the Senate. I believe that before we take this unprecedented action we ought at least to give some time, some opportunity, that the man who has issued this order, with the sanction of the President, may be heard and may present to the Senate the considerations, reasons, and conditions which induced him to make this extraordinary order. We can then express our judgment upon the sufficiency of his grounds.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina now yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think it will be an easy matter to harmonize the various views here expressed. I obtained the floor largely through the courtesy of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], who had a matter which was coming over from yesterday. I am perfectly willing, if the Senate will grant its consent, to have this matter temporarily laid aside until the question that came over from yesterday, involving the reference of a bill, may be settled, providing the matter shall come before the Senate upon the settlement of this question coming over from yesterday, and in no event later than half past 3.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I would suggest—

Mr. THOMAS. I object, Mr. President.

Mr. KIRBY. I object to laying aside this resolution at the present time.

Mr. THOMAS. I object to the limitation. We want to be heard upon the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. SWANSON. I would suggest that under the rule—  
Mr. SIMMONS. I understood that I had the floor. I yielded to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. SWANSON. Under the rule, when the hour of 2 o'clock comes, this resolution will go to the calendar, will it not, being undispensed of?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That would be true if there were any unfinished business before the Senate, but there is no unfinished business, and therefore the resolution will remain before the Senate until disposed of.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I want to say that I shall feel constrained to vote for this resolution unless the Fuel Administrator can convince me, in the testimony that he is now probably preparing to give, if not giving, to the committee, that this order is made necessary by a condition which would be more calamitous to the people of this country than even the temporary suspension of business; but, Mr. President, I am not willing that the Senate should act until the Fuel Administrator has had that opportunity. If we can not in any other way secure a postponement until he has had that opportunity, I think probably we can entertain the Senate in discussing this and other matters until he does have the opportunity to make that explanation. At least, I shall try and see that no final action is taken by the Senate on the resolution until that time has been accorded.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I believe this resolution should be either defeated or withdrawn, and immediately. I think the conditions warrant the action, and it seems to me that the Senate has no right and should not attempt to review an order that was made by authority of law that we agreed to in the first instance.

Senators get up here and talk about this thing as being unprecedented and something that ought not to have occurred. No Senator is charged with the duty of this Fuel Administration, but there is a responsible agency that we have clothed with the power to look after this matter; and here comes an order from it, fully authorized, for this particular thing to be done, and what is asked by the Senate? Not that the order may remain in effect and be enforced; not that the people who are cold may be made warm; not that the 157 ships yonder in the port of New York that can not move without coal may be supplied with coal in order that they may carry the cargoes to our soldiers and allies from that congested port, where millions of tons of freight are already waiting to be carried; but delay only that the Senate may take time to investigate the conditions and ascertain whether the order is necessary. The condition exists. It is not relieved by the fact that in Ohio, as the Senator says, there is enough coal in place to warm the world. The same thing is true in the State of Arkansas. We have wonderful coal deposits down there, too; but the coal is not mined, and it is not in the hands of the consumer, and it is not relieving the condition.

The Fuel Administrator has made this order, and is it to be supposed that he would have made this order for fun? The order has been made with authority, and we are without power to review it.

In the Military Affairs Committee an investigation has been proceeding now for about four or five weeks. I think it has proceeded as long or longer than it is proving beneficial. It probably was beneficial to begin with. It at least has been made and it has been very effective along some lines, but it developed there that the coal condition was bad. It developed there that we had no ships to carry our soldiers and our supplies beyond the sea because we had no coal.

Why could they not shut down the breweries? Why could they not shut down the automobile manufactories and let the coal go where it will promote the winning of the war or promote the interests of the Government in the conduct of the war? That is what several men before our committee have suggested who have been in high position and have made a survey of the resources of this country both in connection with the war and in connection with the fuel supply. That is what some of them suggested ought to be done. They suggested it yesterday and the day before in the Military Affairs Committee—men who are in touch with the conditions and who have made a complete survey of the matter. Do you suppose that the Fuel Administrator, who made this order with the consent and the approval of the President, had not all of this matter in mind, had not all the evidence of this necessity before him when this order was issued?

I am surprised that this sort of a resolution has been introduced in the Senate. The author of it says, "We want a responsible source of centralized power," but when we have a responsible source of centralized power, and that power, after survey made, has acted, then he wants a stay of five days to

see whether he was joking about the matter or not, or whether it ought to have been done.

What will a delay of five days amount to? We have been four or five weeks already in the Military Affairs Committee. If it takes five days it will take a month to investigate this thing to the extent that some of them expect it to be done; and after a while it will be warm weather, and after a while the war will be over and the United States will not have gotten into it. It is about time, when we have granted the power and the agency has acted and expects to do something that we see will be beneficial and will promote the interests of the Government in the conduct of the war, that we let the matter stand as it is, without any review of it and without any delay of it.

I believe this resolution ought to be withdrawn, or if it is not withdrawn it ought to be defeated, and without one minute's delay.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I am not insistent that a vote be taken instantly on a matter of this kind; but this resolution is one that must be acted upon very expeditiously if we would delay the effect of the order which has been made.

I very much doubt whether the Fuel Administrator understands the entire reach of this action of his. If some action is not secured by passing this resolution, all the stocks of surplus coal now in the great manufacturing districts of the country can not be burned or converted into any form of useful effort indefinitely. The only sane application of that power, it seems to me, Mr. President, would be by a monitory proclamation that will give the manufacturing and producing interests of this country a chance, by a delay of some reasonable number of days—five days, I believe the resolution provides—to anticipate its enforcement.

Mr. President, I am sure that the Fuel Administrator does not know that thousands of tons of soft coal are piled up in the yards and convenient to the furnaces of the great manufacturing districts of the northern Mississippi Valley. I am sure, too, Mr. President, that the Fuel Administrator does not realize that between now and the 1st day of May 80,000 corn planters and 100,000 reapers must be completed and ready for the corn and small-grain belt of the United States, and that scarcely half of them are made to-day. I repeat what I said here some months ago, that 85 per cent of all the agricultural implements of the world are made within a radius of 200 miles, drawn from Chicago as a center. Of those 80,000 corn planters and 100,000 reapers not more than one-half are made to-day. A majority of all the output of the agricultural implements not only of the United States but of the world are made in the Rock Island, Moline, and adjacent country. They have enough soft coal to run for some time in their factories. They will be instantly paralyzed by this order to-morrow, and at midnight to-night their shifts of hands must cease operation, their furnaces must die, and their unfinished machines must lie idle on the work-bench and in their factories.

That is the effect of this order, and by June 1, or earlier in the southern parts of the wheat-producing country, these binders will be needed. Harvesting begins in May in the southern part of the United States. I think they cut about that time in Texas, if I remember rightly, and the harvesting belt moves on northward, and these supplies must be delivered in due season in order to supply the demands of those who require them.

That can not be done; these agricultural implements can not be completed if there is even a five-day delay. If there should be a month's delay, it would be a public disaster. To-day in one area of Illinois more than 10,000,000 bushels of corn are in the field or shock, rotting. It is bad enough as it is, although that is not beyond control. A better season than we have expected might come; cars may be available; the orders issued here may not entirely confiscate grain in the hands of the elevator men, and it is possible that that situation may be relieved; but if, on top of that, you destroy half the output of implements by the agricultural factories, if you destroy the corn planters, the reapers, and the mowers that take care of the grain, the seeding, and the forage in due season, do you think we will raise a record-breaking crop of 3,000,000,000 bushels of corn next year that now is potentially in the soil if you will give the farmers a chance to raise it?

How can it be done if you cut off one-half of the supply of necessary implements? In the four great States that produce corn—Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana—in the great wheat-producing States, the winter wheat of the great west and southwestern area, how will they harvest the grain if you stop the production of binders?

This is no idle jest. This is no mere empty-sounding proclamation of some university professor. This means the crippling of our allies in Europe. It means the shortage of our food. It means the discouragement of the farmer, both for

corn and for the bread-producing grains of the country. It means the blockade of the manufacturer. There never was a more flagrant instance of the lack of knowledge of one to whom great governmental power has been delegated by the Congress than the issuance of this proclamation by the Fuel Administrator. He has never gauged where this will ultimately land and what its evil effects will be upon the manufacturing industries of the country. The Senate would be justified in delegating no more powers to the executive branch of the Government, or to an appointive officer, if this is an illustration of where and how it is to be used.

I know something of the manufacturing needs of the country, at least the part that is supplied by my own locality. I know, Mr. President, that this order, if put into effect, will be an unmitigated calamity. This resolution proposes a very mild remonstrance, a five-day limitation, merely five days in which these surplus stocks of coal may be consumed, and the manufacturing world may adjust itself to their necessities. Possibly by that time something can be worked out, but it at least possesses the elements of sane and constructive wisdom that we give the five-day limitation embodied in this resolution.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I have long heard criticism of Dr. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, on the ground that he did not do anything. It has come through the press and from the floor of Congress that he did not do anything. It has been claimed that he spent all his time in giving out interviews and issuing proclamations and giving advice to the people and that he accomplished nothing. Now he has done something. It has been claimed that nothing he did amounted to anything. Now he has done something that amounts to something, and what is the result? A storm of criticism and condemnation on the ground that he has exceeded his power and has acted unwisely. He is criticized now because he has done something.

Ever since I have been a Member of this body I have heard a great deal of complaint, constantly growing complaint, about the alleged encroachment of the executive branch of the Government on the legislative branch of the Government. It is a common subject of complaint in Congress. We hear it in this body nearly every day. Yet, it seems to me, there is a constantly manifested disposition of Congress to find fault with all departments of the executive branch of the Government, to criticize them and investigate everything that is done by the executive branch of the Government. To investigate and denounce other branches of the Government seems to be the hobby of Congress. It seems to me that there is a perfect hysteria of investigation of everything that is done these days by the executive branch of the Government and a constant disposition of Congress to criticize what the executive branch of the Government does; to find fault with it, and to claim that Congress knows better how the executive branch of the Government should discharge its duty than does the executive branch itself.

Congress enacted the law under which this order in question is made and conferred the power to do so upon the President of the United States, and he is exercising it. Now the Senate appears dissatisfied because he did what Congress authorized him to do. Reference has been made here to the fact that the powers of the different branches of the Government should be coordinated and exercised by one head. They are coordinated now and executed by one head, by the President of the United States, who is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy in time of war. This order of the Fuel Administrator was undoubtedly made with the knowledge and sanction of the President of the United States; in fact and in law, it is the order of the President, and I am not willing to assume that he has acted without thought or ample reason, or that he does not know what he is doing. I believe he knows his business better than we know it.

It has been asked here, if this order is unwise, is Congress so impotent that it can do nothing about it? If this order is unwise and valid, the only thing that Congress could do would be to repeal or amend the law under which the authority was exercised. If the order is invalid, the judicial branch of the Government is the only branch of the Government which has power to remedy or correct the abuse. Congress has no power nor right to usurp the functions of the courts nor to attempt to rectify invalid actions of the executive branch of the Government. Our Government is divided into three branches—the executive, legislative, and judicial—and each is supreme within its own sphere of action. If Congress will attend well to its duties, I believe the executive branch may be trusted to attend to its.

I have no great amount of fault to find with this resolution and none at all with the distinguished author of it, but it seems to me that it is only a part of the general disposition of Congress to find fault with and criticize everything that the ex-

ecutive branch does and to manifest a plain belief that Congress knows better how the executive branch should discharge its duty than does the executive branch of the Government itself; and Congress is not at all slow nor timid about saying so, although I doubt if anybody else agrees with it.

I believe, however, that the best disposition which could be made of this resolution is that suggested by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], that it be postponed for at least a couple of hours, or I would suggest until 5 o'clock this afternoon, for that matter, in order that the subcommittee of which the Senator from Missouri is chairman may have time to investigate the subject and question Dr. Garfield about his reasons for the order, which I am sure the subcommittee will do in a fair way, and report to this body, and then let us act understandingly and know what we are doing. We should have more light before acting. Until then, I reserve my judgment.

Mr. GERRY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair wishes to state the parliamentary situation, and then he will recognize the Senator from Rhode Island. The question before the Senate is the motion of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] to postpone the further consideration of the resolution until to-morrow. It has been suggested that that be amended so as to postpone its consideration until 5 o'clock. Does the Senator from Illinois accept that amendment?

Mr. LEWIS. After the observations of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] I will make an announcement to the Senate. In the meantime I will confer with the introducer of the resolution and be able to respond.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. What hour did the Chair suggest?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair was simply stating the parliamentary situation, that the question before the Senate was the adoption of the motion of the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. If the Senator will modify his motion to 4 o'clock, it will be satisfactory to me.

Mr. SIMMONS. I hope the Senator from Illinois will agree to that.

Mr. LEWIS. I am perfectly willing. My object was to defeat precipitate action. I am only anxious for the length of time necessary.

I am willing to accept the suggestion and to make my motion 4 o'clock and let it be pending at 4 o'clock.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Illinois to postpone the further consideration of the resolution until 4 o'clock this afternoon. Is that correct?

Mr. LEWIS. The suggestion I made is the suggestion of the introducer of the resolution.

Mr. HARDING. I do not wish to take the floor, but before the hour is agreed upon, if the resolution is to be effective it ought really to be disposed of by 4 o'clock. I have no desire to hasten consideration, but those who are familiar with industrial methods know that when quitting time comes at night the workmen in the various factories of the land get their instructions or their notification for the morrow. If the resolution is postponed until 5 o'clock—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Four o'clock.

Mr. HARDING. I understand that 4 o'clock does not mean a vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. At 4 o'clock the resolution will be before the Senate.

Mr. HARDING. I understand that that means its disposition at a later hour, and there will be scores of factories throughout the country closed under the order of the Fuel Administrator and workmen sent home, who will not be expected to return to-morrow.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think the matter can be adjusted. There is now a motion before the Senate providing for the postponement of the resolution until 4 o'clock. Before that time speeches can be made, and when 4 o'clock arrives in all human probability we will be ready to vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island will proceed.

Mr. GERRY. Mr. President, when I rose I understood the parliamentary situation to be that a motion had been made to postpone the resolution until 3 o'clock. Unanimous consent was asked and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] objected. I rose to urge that the Senator would not insist on that objection, because I felt that the situation was such a serious one to the country at large, and also to my own State, that we should have the fullest information before we voted on the resolution. I am very glad that I misunderstood the parliamentary situation, and that now we are to hear from the committee the statement of Mr. Garfield as to why the order was made.

Of course, an order of this sort is bound to have a far-reaching effect, and while I yield to no one in a sincere desire to see everything done for our allies and for the carrying on of this war, I can not help but feel that an order so sweeping as this, which does not hold back the supply of coal for industries perhaps not absolutely necessary, but which touches all industries, is of such a character that at least the Senate of the United States is entitled to farther information, and is within its rights when it asks that due consideration be given before the order goes into effect. I know in my own State how serious the coal situation is, how important is the work that it is doing for the armies of the United States and for the carrying on of the war. I appreciate how necessary it is to keep these industries going; and not only that, but also how essential it is to have the people know that the Government of the United States is acting wisely and for their interest and for the benefit of the entire country.

In a time like this, Mr. President, when the cost of living is naturally so high from war conditions, it means a great deal to the man in the factory if he loses his day's work. It means a great deal if many people are thrown out of employment. As the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] said, that has a psychological effect on the entire country.

I do not believe that any step should be taken that in any way puts the people of the different great industrial centers out of work unless it is absolutely necessary for carrying on of the war; and if it is absolutely necessary for carrying on the war, then I know the people of my State will gladly and willingly make as great sacrifices as any people in the Union, for I feel that we are doing our share, and that Rhode Island bows to no State in its patriotism and in its desire to win the war.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, in its general aspect this subject is not a complex one. In the present emergency it appears to me to be quite a simple proposition. We will have two months of weather where it will be necessary to furnish coal to warm the people in the United States. Now, that is our first thought. The question, then, which appeals to most of us is this: Is there coal enough or is there transportation enough to furnish both the people in their homes with the necessary quantity and also to run every character of industry? If there is not, and if there is not a sufficient quantity of coal mined to supply these requirements, or if the railroads under their new management can not distribute what there is in sufficient quantities to meet the demand, then we are brought up simply to this one question: Shall the people be kept warm, or shall unnecessary industries be operated? As between the two I would have no difficulty in deciding that the theater and the moving-picture show and others of a like character could well wait; that even the manufacture and sale of automobiles could wait until the people have sufficient coal to keep their homes warm and fit to live in.

I shall hope that whoever has charge of this matter and who desires to postpone it until 4 o'clock this afternoon will ascertain whether it is possible with the present railroad equipment, even under the management of a dictator, to furnish coal to the people. If there is not enough for both them and the industries, it seems to me that we will have little difficulty in supporting what the Director or Coal Administrator has done so far. It is not a question of criticizing him for what he has done or what he has failed to do in the past. We are up against a situation, as I view it, and it seems to me that we have got to meet it, no matter whether the administration has run this arm of the Government skillfully or whether it has done otherwise. We can not wait to decide that. We must decide to-day, it seems to me, whether or not we will support an order to the effect that certain of the industries must cease operation until the people are assured of sufficient coal to last them during the winter.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, during the last session the legislation that conferred this power on the Executive was before this body. Certain Members of the Senate, on both sides of it, objected very strenuously, regarding the conferring of these powers as wholly unnecessary. But the Senate in its wisdom determined to grant these powers, and did grant these powers to the Executive of the country. Section 25 of the food-control act provides—

That the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered, whenever and wherever in his judgment necessary for the efficient prosecution of the war, to fix the price of coal and coke, wherever and whenever sold, either by producer or dealer, to establish rules for the regulation of and to regulate the method of production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment, or storage thereof among dealers and consumers, domestic or foreign.

Then provision is made that authority may be exercised through the Federal Trade Commission.

I can not find, on a somewhat cursory examination of the statute, where the President got the authority to appoint Mr. Garfield, although Senators who served on the committee and helped to frame this legislation insist it is somewhere else in the law; and it must be, since Mr. Garfield was appointed and is exercising this power under the President.

The Senate thought it necessary to confer these powers, and, exercising its constitutional function as a part of the law-making power of the Republic, it gave to the Executive this power. Personally I thought it was a mistake. Personally I do not believe it was necessary. Personally I voted against it. I do not believe that any one man, however wise or however strong, could possibly run the great business industries of this Republic with any degree of safety, satisfaction, or success, and I believe we had better rely on the ordinary processes of business and the ordinary methods of business to keep our country strong and adequate and able to successfully prosecute the war.

Congress, however, adopted the other view. It delegated this power—greater power, I think, over business than was ever before delegated in a free land in the history of the world—to the President of the United States. Now, when the President of the United States has exercised this power that we told him to exercise according to his own judgment and to his own discretion and to his own view of the situation, at its very first exercise we go to complaining, like a lot of schoolboys, without knowing the facts, without knowing what the necessity is for this order. It is not a safe thing to do. It is not a wise thing to do, and, if Senators will pardon me, it is not a patriotic thing to do.

If it was necessary to confer this power at all, and you said it was, certainly you ought not to complain at its exercise unless you are certain there has been abuse on the part of the Executive in the exercise of the power that we conferred.

The Senate, if this resolution is to be adopted, puts itself in a remarkable position. It humbly petitions an official it did not confirm, holding an office and not responsible to it, to postpone or revoke an order that he did not pass, except as the mere subordinate of the official whose agent he is.

Where we should legislate, we humbly petition; where we should command, we humbly beg, hat in hand.

There is no useful purpose to be served by adopting this resolution. If we were right when we passed legislation of this sort we must trust to the Executive to do the right thing or face the other alternative frankly and repeal the law. Why should this body petition a subordinate official of the Government, who has no legal existence, who does not hold an office created by law, but who acts as a mere agent of the President, to suspend or revoke an order that he has issued or has procured the President to make?

I say, in the first place, as a matter of correct procedure, if the resolution is to be adopted at all, if it is the judgment of the Senate that it ought to prevail, it should be directed to the President of the United States, to whom we delegated this power; to the President of the United States, upon whom we conferred this authority, and not upon some agent whom he has selected to help him in the exercise of his executive duties.

I say, in the second place, if we are going to pass legislation of this character, giving these people all sorts of power over the business and industry and the lives and the happiness of our people, when they exercise it it is useless as well as undignified in us to complain.

Some Senator has humorously suggested on this side that the proposition in a nut shell amounts to notice to the administration that if it does not quit enforcing some of these fool laws that we have enacted we will repeal them. That is about what it comes to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). The question is on the motion made by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS].

Mr. SIMMONS. I understand the Senator from Illinois modified his motion.

Mr. LEWIS. I accepted the suggestion making the hour 4 o'clock, which, I understood, met the approval of the mover of the resolution, the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is satisfactory to me. I merely inquired if the Senator had modified his motion.

Mr. LEWIS. I am going to accept the suggestion for the purpose stated by the Senator from Nebraska, the Senator from Missouri having announced that there was a hearing proceeding.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It has been agreed by us that the consideration of this matter shall be postponed until 4 o'clock, if that is agreeable to the Senate.

Mr. THOMAS. I merely wish to inquire whether the motion contemplates that the motion of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] shall be disposed of in the interim.

Mr. LEWIS. For myself I may say to the able Senator from Colorado that I have not comprehended the motion of the Senator from Virginia at all. That was not in the consideration of any motion I made.

Mr. THOMAS. Then I do not object to it. I do not think there will be time to consider the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] to postpone the consideration of the resolution until 4 o'clock.

On a division the motion was agreed to.

#### NAVAL OIL SUPPLY.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I submitted to the Senate several days ago a motion to refer Senate bill 3521, introduced by me, in reference to the naval reserve oil lands, to the Naval Committee for consideration. I renew that motion.

Mr. THOMAS obtained the floor.

Mr. SMOOT. We had better have a quorum.

Mr. THOMAS. I yield for that purpose.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah suggests the absence of a quorum, and the roll will be called.

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

Ashurst	Johnson, Cal.	New	Smoot
Bankhead	Johnson, S. Dak.	Norris	Sterling
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Sutherland
Culberson	Kirby	Poindexter	Swanson
Curtis	Knox	Ransdell	Thomas
Fernald	Lewis	Robinson	Tillman
Gerry	McCumber	Saulsbury	Townsend
Gore	McKellar	Shafroth	Trammell
Gronna	McNary	Sheppard	Wadsworth
Harding	Myers	Sherman	Watson
Hardwick	Nelson	Simmons	Wolcott

Mr. LEWIS. I desire to announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN], and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM] are detained on official business.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Mr. President, I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. GOFF] is absent from the Senate on account of illness.

Mr. RANSDALL. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. BROUSSARD] on account of sickness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Only 44 Senators have answered to their names. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the names of absent Senators.

The Secretary called the names of absent Senators, and Mr. PITTMAN, Mr. POMERENE, Mr. SMITH of ARIZONA, and Mr. SMITH of MARYLAND answered to their names when called.

Mr. FLETCHER entered the Chamber and answered to his name.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Forty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum of the Senate is present.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the motion of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] to refer this bill to the Committee on Naval Affairs, in my judgment, not only disregards all precedents hitherto observed but it also, if adopted, will deprive the Committee on Public Lands of its jurisdiction of one of the most important bills which has been or will be introduced in this Congress. I do not think that such a motion should be adopted by the Senate in the absence of some overpowering reason or necessity, and not then if it can be properly and fairly handled by the committee to which it ought to go.

We are doing a great many things nowadays, Mr. President, under the assumption that they are essential to the common defense and general welfare. No doubt many of these things are so in their nature and operation. On the other hand, human nature, which seldom changes, busies itself now, as ever, in assuming the shelter of a popular purpose for much proposed legislation which, appearing under such a title, only assumes to deceive. Scarcely a bill is now introduced but that a part of its title proclaims it as "an act to provide for the common defense and for the general welfare." Whether it be a bill to increase a pension or to remove the disabilities of some deserter who wants a pension; whether it be a new extension of our river and harbor system or for any other purpose, it is apt to come here disguised as an essential to the general defense and bound to promote the public welfare.

This bill in its essence would seem to be exempt from the criticism which I have just made; but when we consider the circumstances surrounding it and the fact that the immediate purpose is not that expressed in the title of the bill, I think it is subject to the ban. It does not provide for the common defense and the general welfare any more than other bills that have been introduced here affecting the public domain.

Why do I say that? First, Mr. President, because there is and there has been no intention on the part of the Secretary of the Navy and those who advise him to immediately develop these naval reserves, and if I were mistaken about that fact—which I am not—it would be scarcely possible, unless this war lasts much longer than we all hope it may, to carry these reserves, with the possible exception of reserve No. 1, to that degree of development which would make their stores of oil available in the present emergency.

Some time ago an oil man of experience and capacity, and who, notwithstanding that fact, is a patriot, suggested to the Navy Department the propriety of opening the reserve in Wyoming, the oil there being some 1,500 miles from the nearest seaboard, and exchanging it after production upon terms to be stated by the Navy Department for oil at the coast. He was told very vigorously, if I can judge from the way we treat witnesses now, and particularly in committee, by pounding a desk or table while you are propounding the questions, that no such proposal would be considered. This gentleman was informed that these reserves were designed to be kept practically in perpetuum or until the presence of some great emergency made it necessary to use them. They are to be conserved, preserved, and massaged for future generations. It was suggested by this gentleman that there was something of an emergency just at present before the United States, but the officials to whom he was referred, if judged by their actions, did not seem to think so.

I know of no greater emergency, Mr. President, that can confront this Nation than the one which now confronts it, except it be the day of judgment, at which time the oil in these reserves will be needed, if at all, for the cremation of those who in the final division are assigned to that portion of humanity denominated as the goats. [Laughter.]

If I am mistaken, Mr. President, about my assertion that there is no present intention of developing these reserves, I hope I may be corrected, because I do not wish in opposing this motion to base my opposition upon any fact or any situation which does not exist. If it be that these are reserves in perpetuity, how can the present welfare and common defense of the Nation be conserved by any provision or all of the provisions of this bill? If they can not, then what emergency exists which would justify our reversal of precedent and sending the bill to the Committee on Naval Affairs, instead of to the Committee on Public Lands?

The Senator from Virginia the other day, when he offered his motion, gave as an additional reason why the Senate should comply with his request that the bill should go to a committee that is friendly. He said:

If the Senate is friendly to the protection of the naval reserves and desires them to be used for the benefit of the Navy, and it has the authority to refer bills to suit itself, the proper committee to have jurisdiction of the bill under the rules and precedents of the Senate is the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. President, that is a new reason for departing from our customs and our rules. We must hereafter, if the argument is to prevail with the majority of the Senate, before referring a bill, in order to be consistent, ascertain what particular committee of the Senate is friendly to the measure, and, having so ascertained, then, without regard to the normal jurisdiction of committees, send it there.

I am quite willing, Mr. President, that this argument shall prevail here, providing that it be understood that we thereby set a precedent for the future. I have introduced several bills in this body, and thus far have not been very successful in securing their discussion.

If I might have sent them to a friendly committee, I might have secured an immediate favorable report. For example, for some time I was the chairman of the Committee on Woman Suffrage, and a number of land bills which I introduced could easily have been reported out and placed upon the calendar if they had been referred to that committee; but the idea had never occurred to me, until it was presented by the junior Senator from Virginia, that the mental attitude of a committee was a determining test for the reference of bills introduced here; and the very fact that the distinguished Senator resorted to such an assertion—I will not call it an argument, because the Senator does not do me the honor to be present during my discussion of his motion, possibly because its fate is already determined—involves the admission that the bill should be consigned to friendly hands if it were to be favorably reported. But the suggestion involves a sort of reflection upon the committee to which this bill should go; it carries an inference, at least, that the Committee on Public Lands is unfriendly to the bill. That I deny, Mr. President. Although I am not a member of that committee, I think I know in general the views which a ma-

majority of the members of that committee entertain regarding this bill. I agree with the sentiment which inspires many of its members and which is disposed to protect and conserve the interests and ownership of bona fide locations made by citizens of the United States, which are involved and imperiled by this proposed measure.

I might retort and say that there is not only no friendship for this class of men in the minds of a majority of the members of the Committee on Naval Affairs, but that their attitude is one of distinct hostility. If friendship for a bill is to be a controlling influence in the determination of a motion like this, it should not be a one-sided friendship, because otherwise not friendship but partiality would be the controlling factor. It is worse than partiality; it is prejudice as to some of the features of the measure and some of the interests to be affected by it. So that I hope the Senate, notwithstanding the fact that most of its Members are absent from their seats, will hesitate before they act finally upon an important measure of this sort for the reasons assigned by the mover of it and in its behalf.

It has been said, however, that this is not a bill which normally should go to the Committee on Public Lands, because it concerns naval reserves heretofore created by Executive order and for naval purposes. Why, Mr. President, the fact that the bill concerns reserves made and designated for a particular purpose certainly can not affect the broad question involved in the pending motion. Suppose that the President should tomorrow by proclamation set aside all of the spruce-timber lands on the public domain for the use of the aviation division of the War Department, would it be said that because of the purpose designed to be subserved by the reservation the Committee on Military Affairs would therefore be the appropriate one to consider either the question of the reservation itself or the rights based upon or growing out of it?

Once upon a time Congress either seriously considered or actually made—my memory is not clear as to which—a reservation of all public lands growing live-oak trees for the use of the Navy, the idea being to conserve that kind of timber for what was supposed to be an essential element of the public defense and the general welfare. I do not know to what committee that bill was referred, if indeed it was referred at all, but I am very sure that if then a Committee on Public Lands existed no one would have for a moment suggested that the bill should go somewhere else; and I may say in passing, Mr. President, that there was just about as much necessity for such legislation in the early days of the last century as there is at the present time for the creation of these naval reserves.

Neither is in anywise essential—I will not say “desirable”—but neither is in anywise essential for any purpose to be subserved by the Navy now or in the immediate future. If the case were otherwise, Mr. President, I would be the last man to stand here and waste the time of the Senate and of the public in opposing this motion.

However, this is not the time to discuss the merits of the bill, except in so far as that discussion is pertinent to the motion to refer. What does this bill propose to do? The first section declares:

That the absolute title and right of possession to any oil or gas lands within the exterior boundaries of naval petroleum reserve No. 1 in California, as defined and established by Executive order dated September 2, 1912, naval petroleum reserve No. 2 in California, as defined and established by Executive order dated December 13, 1912, and naval petroleum reserve No. 3 in Wyoming, as defined and established by Executive order dated April 30, 1915, together with any oil and gas wells, machinery, equipment, appliances, and other property on, useful for, and incidental to the production, storage, transportation, refining, use, protection, and conservation of oil and gas on or in connection with said lands shall become vested in the United States upon the issuance from time to time by the President of an Executive order or proclamation to that effect—

And so forth.

I doubt, Mr. President, if a bill containing a clause at all analogous to the one to which I have just referred has ever been introduced in Congress. In one certainly, and in two probably, of these naval reserves are large bodies of land, the title to which belongs to private citizens, either individuals or corporations or both. They are as fully the absolute owners of their premises as, Mr. President [Mr. POINDEXTER in the chair], are you the owner of realty the title to which in the State of Washington stands upon the records in your name. They have acquired this property by an observance of the laws under which such title was derived; they have doubtless paid taxes, State, county, and local, upon it; but this bill, by an edict without precedent in the history of American or Anglo-Saxon legislation, by the proclamation of the President of the United States, proposes to wipe out those titles as absolutely and completely as though they never existed.

I assume from what the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] said during the discussion of yesterday, that he is rather inclined to favor the reference of this bill to the Committee on Naval Affairs. I want to inquire, now that he is in the Chamber, inasmuch as this bill by legislative edict proposes to destroy private vested titles in fee simple, whether he does not think there is something in the measure which justifies our resistance to the sending of it to a committee professedly so friendly as to justify the impression that it will be reported out at once for passage without amendment. The Senator from Georgia has been Secretary of the Interior in his time, and made one of the ablest and most competent officials who ever adorned that high position. I do not believe that in his wide experience in public or in private affairs he ever encountered a proposed measure containing such a provision.

But it might be said that the Committee on Public Lands has nothing to do with private titles; I concede that, for the sake of the argument; but there are other titles, Mr. President, not ripened yet into titles in fee simple, but titles that are descendable under the statute; titles which are taxable under the laws of California and Wyoming; titles, Mr. President, which have been acquired by citizens of the United States through a careful and religious observance of every requirement of the public law; titles which have been acquired through hardship and suffering and hazard of life and limb, through the expenditure of large sums of money, in the hope of finding treasure; titles recognized in the proclamation of withdrawal by President Taft, and entitled to protection, independent of such recognition, which this bill proposes to wipe out absolutely, without so much as giving the owner a hearing anywhere, except in the future, before the courts where the constitutionality of this measure must necessarily be tested, and which, in turn, involves renewed expense, delay, trouble, anxiety, and possible defeat.

The Senator from Virginia is an eminent lawyer; and I put it to him whether he ever before heard of such a thing as an attempt by a bill to wrest vested property from citizens of the United States, and, by the edict of the Executive, based upon the provisions of the act, to relegate that owner to the remedy of accepting what the Government afterwards sees fit to pay or going into the courts for the establishment of his rights. It is monstrous.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me—

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. SWANSON. This bill provides the same procedure that is provided where steel is commandeered, where land is commandeered, or where any other property is taken by the Government. It is precisely the same method of procedure that Congress has authorized repeatedly, without any objection on the Senator's part, as far as I know. It is drawn as far as possible in such a way as to give to the Navy Department and the War Department all the usual powers to take private property for public use.

What does the bill provide? That the President of the United States—as was provided in the naval bill and, as I understand, in the military bill—can offer these people a certain amount of money for their property and their rights. If they see fit to accept it, it is paid to them. If they do not see fit to accept it, 75 per cent of the amount is paid to them in cash, and they have a right to go to the district court where the land is located, according to the law existing to-day, and have their rights litigated by the court.

I should like to ask the Senator why the people of these oil lands have any higher rights, any higher privileges, than people that have other property? We do not take from them anything that has not been taken from other people. We do not increase their rights, and we do not decrease them, under the law. I have always insisted, and I do not see why anybody else should insist further, that these people should be treated precisely like other citizens who own lands and have claims that the Government wants to take for public use. They should be paid, and this method of procedure is precisely the same method that is provided in other cases.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I must differ from my distinguished friend, much as I respect his legal erudition and his legislative experience. I concede that in times of war the Government may stretch out its hand and, for the existing emergency, seize personal property and occupy real property, and that it is the sole judge of the necessity prompting such action. But I deny that the Government has at any time in all its history, I deny that any State government under it has at any time in all its history, by legislative enactment declared that the absolute title to real estate held in private ownership

shall be vested by proclamation in the Government of the United States or in the State, as the case may be, and I defy contradiction of this assertion. I know that the Government has frequently taken property for its own purposes, but always through processes of condemnation, through a recognition of the right of the citizen to obtain, not the compensation which the President sees fit to offer, but the compensation which a commission or a jury shall determine after a full investigation.

Here, however, for all time, in the absence of any emergency justifying it, we propose in this bill to say by law that the premises of John Smith shall no longer be his premises, but when the proclamation of the President issues he shall cease absolutely to be an owner, and by virtue of the law and the proclamation his title is wiped out as completely as it would have been under the old common law under an act of attainder, the only difference being that the Navy Department, acting for the President, may offer a certain amount of money after it has taken this property without any hearing at all, and then say to the despoiled owner: "Take that or nothing, unless you can get more in the courts. If you deny the justice and equity of the price offered, take 75 per cent of it and litigate the remainder." In other words, he must take 75 per cent and spend it all, it may be, in litigating with the Government over the actual value of the property of which he has been despoiled and in waiting through the weary years that intervene between the institution of the litigation and its final determination in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, all of this land belongs either to the Government or to private individuals. This bill provides that where there is an uncertainty, and where people have spent money that they might not have had a legal, technical right to spend, the President is authorized under the circumstances, even though the Government may have a right to the property, to pay them what it thinks right and proper under the circumstances. If those people see fit not to take that, then they go to the district court where the matter pends, just as they do when land is condemned for the Navy. We have seized land here and put the Government in possession, and afterwards fixed the price, and let them go to court to get the balance if they were not satisfied.

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt there? You were required before doing that to endeavor to come to a private agreement with the owner, failing in which you could take possession by making a deposit and then proceeding in court.

Mr. SWANSON. The Government proposes to do that, not only in this case, but it did it in the case of land in various places where navy yards were needed, where the land had to be taken at once. These wells are being operated frequently to the detriment of the Government. The Government needs the oil. The Government can not wait until the termination of long litigation to seize them and do this. The Government takes the property and leaves it to the courts to determine the title and the amount of value. That is all that is done. It is done in every other case.

Why should these people have any special privileges over anybody else? I can cite cases where it has been done for navy yards. The Government was put in possession and authorized to pay a certain price. If the owners did not accept it, the Government could pay them 75 per cent cash, and they went to the courts, precisely as in this case, and got more if the courts so determined. This is not a special case in that respect.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Senator can not lay his finger upon a single act of Congress—if he can, I will vote to refer this bill to the Naval Affairs Committee—where the title to the real estate taken for navy-yard purposes was by legislative enactment and Executive edict declared to be in the Government of the United States. Every lawyer knows the proceedings to be followed in the exercise of the right of eminent domain: First, the public need which requires the condemnation; second, the attempt to arrive amicably and without litigation at an agreement as to value; third, the payment of that value before taking possession; fourth, failing to agree, then the deposit of a sum assumed by the court to be the fair equivalent of the value in the hands of the court itself for the benefit of the owner, followed by possession; fifth, the appointment of a jury or of a commission in an appropriate proceeding for the purpose of determining the question of value.

The Senator asks why these people should be treated better than other people owning other kinds of real estate. My complaint is that they are not treated as well, that they are treated far worse, that they are having their property confiscated in advance without their day in court; and the Senator overlooks the fact that much of this property is owned in fee simple absolutely, not a possessory right, but a right based upon the solemn transfer by the Government of the United States of its

title to them because of their observance of all preliminary requirements.

Mr. SWANSON. If the Senator will permit me, when the appropriation bill was pending here at the last session, the Government was very anxious to get a naval base at Norfolk, without waiting for the title to be settled. In that appropriation bill, if I understand it correctly, and I think I do, the officers of the Government were authorized to go and take possession of the land, which they did immediately, make an offer to the men that owned the land—

Mr. THOMAS. Exactly.

Mr. SWANSON. If they did not accept the offer, pay them 75 per cent of it—

Mr. THOMAS. Exactly.

Mr. SWANSON. And then, if they were not satisfied—the Government meanwhile being put in possession of the property, and the vested title being put in the Government—then if the people were not satisfied with what was offered they were entitled, precisely as in the case of this bill, to go into court and have a jury, as this bill provides, to determine the title as between themselves and other individuals and what was a fair price.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am familiar with that particular legislation. It was opposed because there seemed to be no provision for ascertaining values in advance and giving the owner his day in court. I suggested during the discussion that, inasmuch as the bill provided for condemnation proceedings "according to law," and inasmuch as the statutes of the State of Virginia made provision for condemnation proceedings, the course to be followed was as required by those statutes. The senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] rose in his seat and made the statement that such was the fact; that these laws did exist; and that under them the proceedings would be instituted. The Senator's illustration is unfortunate for his argument, because it does not support it. On the contrary, it strengthens mine. I contend that never in the history of this country were titles confiscated by an act of the Congress, supplemented with an Executive edict.

Mr. SWANSON. If the Senator will permit me, this bill provides, if I mistake not, precisely as that bill provided—

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator is mistaken.

Mr. SWANSON (continuing). That it should be determined by the district court of the district where the land is located; but, anyway, that is a question that can be determined when the bill comes up on its merits. If it is thought proper to have the amount limited, or that the delay shall come in this matter after the value has been ascertained, whether that should be prior or later, is a very proper thing to discuss when the bill is considered on its merits.

Mr. THOMAS. I agree to that, Mr. President.

Mr. SWANSON. Whether it is wiser to put the title in the Government now or to wait until these condemnation proceedings have been conducted in the district court, and let the value be fixed, and then let the title be vested afterwards, is a question of policy on the part of the Congress; and, so far as that is concerned, it is a matter that is not very material. The Senator will have an opportunity to offer an amendment in that respect. The question here is, To which committee shall this bill be referred to finally dispose of it, perhaps to change the bill entirely by amendment, and to consider the disposition of the measure?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, unfortunately the Senator from Virginia did not honor me with his presence during the first part of my discussion. During his absence I called attention to the fact that among the reasons assigned by him for disposing of this bill according to his motion was the assertion that it ought to go to a friendly committee, presupposing the Naval Affairs Committee to be friendly at least to the naval reserve side of the bill, and that the Committee on Public Lands was unfriendly to it. I wished to and did point out some of the things to which the committee would be friendly, which in my judgment should never disfigure any bill, whether referring to the public lands or otherwise. In saying that I make no possible reflection upon the good faith of the Senator or his capacity to draw the bill. I think that in his zeal he has overlooked a condition here which, when accompanied and supplemented by the friendship of the committee to which he wishes it to go, may result not only in great hardship, but even in the defeat of the bill itself.

It rather grieved me to hear the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] a morning or two ago practically condemn all claimants to the right of possession under locations of any of the premises included within the boundaries of these reserves, forsooth because some scoundrel or scoundrels taking advantage of the letter of the law had defied its spirit

in making spurious locations. Mr. President, you can not possibly exclude the unscrupulous and the adventurer from taking advantage of activities produced by the energies and the expenditures of honest men and seeking to profit by them in the making of spurious locations. You can not exclude scoundrels from any adventure which honest men may have followed and developed to the point of profit. They are bound to use every possible method whereby they can enjoy some of the prosperity and the profits thus ensuing. But it is not right, Mr. President, because such individuals exist and are perniciously active, to condemn everybody connected with the same enterprise or engaged in the same line of business.

I have known professors of the Christian religion occasionally to fall from grace. I pretend to no particular advocacy of Christianity, but I certainly would not condemn an entire denomination because of the scoundrelism of some of its members, however prominent they might be. I have no right to speak for the Committee on Public Lands; but, knowing the men who compose it, I am justified in saying that not one of them wants to do anything to further the fraudulent schemes, the dishonest locations, or the fictitious claims of any man or set of men. But, thank God, they have not reached the point in their opposition where they are willing to include in their general condemnation the men who have honestly and lawfully and conscientiously taken advantage of the opportunities offered by the statutes of their country, and but for whose energies, risks, and expenditures there would be no naval reserves in the West or anywhere else. As the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoor] suggests, the Government would forever and ever have remained ignorant of the tremendous values concealed in the bosom of these desert hills, the outpouring of which is entirely due to the men who have incurred not only the displeasure but the suspicion of the officials of the Government of the United States, or many of them. It is absolutely wrong; it is unjust; it is cruel; and I predict here and now that if this policy continues the further development of the vast public domain of the United States will cease and its progress in settlement and in the opening of its resources will be permanently halted.

A little while ago some adventurous gentlemen, good citizens of my State, risked large sums of money in prospecting for oil in a region which had been condemned by the Geological Survey of the United States. They discovered a magnificent treasure of oil, and within less than 30 days the Government of the United States, through the Executive and by the advice and direction of the departments, withdrew this land from public occupation and development. I once heard a story of a woman who, after retiring, told her husband she thought she heard a burglar. "Well," he said, "my dear, let him hunt, and if he finds anything we will take it away from him." [Laughter.]

The Government of the United States is not a burglar, but it acts nowadays upon the husband's suggestion. It invites its citizens to explore the public domain, and if they find anything it then proceeds to take it away from them. If that policy had been followed in the good old days when Kentucky was a part of the Old Dominion, and in the days that followed our acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase, this magnificent Republic would still be confined in its population and energies to the Atlantic seaboard.

It was not a crime then, nor a disgrace, nor an act of treason or lack of patriotism, for men with their families to blaze the way through the trackless forests of the Mississippi Valley, to penetrate far beyond the fringe of civilization and of settlement, and redeem from the intolerant forces of nature that magnificent section of the United States upon which the Republic to-day depends for victory in this, the greatest war of the centuries. Thank God, there is one committee of the Senate which is still friendly and tolerant of that spirit which settled the West, and which, if left untrammelled, will furnish all the oil that this country and its allies need, even though this war should last for a century, the supply of which now is limited because of the restrictions placed by the Government upon its own resources. Do you wonder, then, that we feel that this measure should not take a course out of the regular order of references, but that it should go to the committee to which it naturally would be referred in the absence of the Senator's motion?

Mr. President, we of the West are very proud of the American Navy, even though we live in the heart of the continent, and many thousands of feet above the level of the sea. We entertain for it the same affection which inspires the distinguished member of the Naval Affairs Committee. We differ as to details, perhaps; but, nevertheless, our regard for this tremendous arm of the service is quite as extensive and as

enthusiastic as that which prevails elsewhere. Within the past two or three years I have undertaken the pleasant task of vindicating the Secretary of the Navy from many of the aspersions cast upon him and at times when but few, if any, voices were heard from the members of the Naval Affairs Committee in his behalf. I mention this now merely to emphasize my assertion that I am prompted by no feeling of prejudice or disregard of the rights or interests of the Navy in asking that this motion be rejected.

I come now to another phase of the discussion.

Mr. President, this last naval reserve, if I remember the phraseology of the order, was created without any reservations whatever. This bill, if it becomes a law, will not only practically destroy by confiscation the possessory and fee-simple titles of individuals, leaving them afterwards to determine by court proceedings what they ought to get, but it will also destroy the interests which the public still have by virtue of express law in these reserves, without making any compensation whatever to them.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I think he is mistaken as to the main purposes of this bill.

Mr. THOMAS. I think not.

Mr. SWANSON. As I understand the bill, there might be an amendment to section 1 making an exception so far as claimants are concerned; but section 5 of the bill seems to entirely eliminate the impression that the Senator has in reference to the bill. Section 4 authorizes the President to compromise with all claimants in this naval reserve. Section 5 provides that in case of disagreement as to title or value the Attorney General is directed to start condemnation proceedings in the district court.

Mr. THOMAS. That is a conflict in terms. The bill says that upon proclamation of the President the Government shall become the absolute owner of everything personal and real upon these reserves.

Mr. SWANSON. And it becomes subject to condemnation proceedings; but an amendment could be inserted, and I would not object to it, providing that they shall lose the title except where there are disputed private claims. I have no objection to an amendment of that kind being put in, and letting the condemnation proceed as in other cases, if it is not already in the bill. I have always stated that these people were entitled to the same privileges and the same rights, no more and no less, that belonged to other people.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the Senator's contention is perfectly sincere. Unfortunately there is a vast difference between his contention and his bill.

Mr. SWANSON. There would be no trouble whatever except where there are private claims. An amendment could be made to the first section, and then those people would have the benefit of condemnation proceedings under section 5 precisely as they do in other cases.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, of course an amendment of that kind would put a slight sugar coating upon the pill, but it would be extremely bitter nevertheless. The United States is a great country. We all love it. We love to speak well of it, but as a debtor it is one of the most dishonest institutions in the world. The Government does not pay its honest debts to its citizens, and every man and every woman within the sound of my voice knows that to be true. We can pass pension bills ad libitum, because the beneficiaries vote; we can erect public buildings in every little crossroads in the country, and by that means we can make capital for the next election; but when it comes to paying the claims of honest creditors the Government fights harder and longer than anybody. Even after the Court of Claims gives judgment for the citizen he must still run the gauntlet of the Committee on Claims and then of the Congress. He starts with abundant and rosy hopes, and he generally ends by burial in the paupers' graveyard.

It is all well enough to relegate these poor fellows to the tender mercies of a condemnation court. Of course, we will take that if we can get nothing better; but I protest, Mr. President, that it is not right to compel the citizens of the United States to follow such a course and then be dependent upon the charity of the Government as to what amount may be paid; and, as suggested by the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoor], many of these claimants have practically spent all the money that they had and all that they could beg, borrow, or steal in the effort to establish their claims and protect their reputations against the prejudices and charges of wrongdoing which the Government seems to make or to entertain.

Mr. SWANSON. I will state the information I have from the papers is vastly different from that.

Mr. THOMAS. I have no doubt of it.

Mr. SWANSON. The information I have is that they spent in all about \$3,000,000, and have about \$7,000,000 already of the aggregate claims there.

Mr. THOMAS. You can not judge a general situation by one or two instances. In the Cripple Creek mining district, in my State, there are 19,000 locations of so-called mines, and out of them less than 15 that ever paid a dividend. There are ownerships by a fee-simple title, ownerships by location and the observance of the requirements of the laws of the United States, but the vast majority of these other claims are held in and by virtue of that hope for values which is the constant inspiration of the prospector and of the miner, without which we would have no mining industry in this country. There are two or three owners of claims within the naval reserves who have made some money, most of which is impounded by the Government. But how about the vast army which up to this time have not been successful, many of whom would have secured oil long since but for governmental interference?

Mr. President, this is in some degree a digression, prompted by the Senator's criticism. My purpose, if I can, is to present the reasons why the Committee on Public Lands should have control of this bill and why the motion of the Senator from Virginia should be denied, and in doing that to draw attention to the contents of the bill which actually invoke the jurisdiction of that committee or at least fall under the purposes for which it was organized.

In the first place, let me say that these reservations are permanent, at least the one in Wyoming is permanent, if I remember the phraseology of the President's proclamation; but under the provisions of the only existing law on the subject, the Pickett Act, the President is authorized in his discretion to "temporarily withdraw from settlement, location, sale, or entry any of the public lands of the United States."

There is no executive power since the passage of that act to create a permanent reserve upon the public domain for any purpose upon earth. But by section 2—and I am indebted to my colleague for calling my attention to this—it is provided that "the lands withdrawn under the provisions of this act shall at all times be open to exploration, discovery, occupation, and purchase under the mining laws of the United States, so far as the same applies to minerals other than coal, oil, gas, and phosphate." In other words, under the law under which the last reserve was created, and I think all of them—

Mr. SMOOT. All of them.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator from Utah says all of them—any citizen of the United States may go upon them and prospect for gold, silver, lead, cinnabar, zinc, copper, and no man has the legal right to say him nay. Upon these naval reserves that right exists, yet this bill proposes to destroy, without compensation, that right which inheres to-day in every man who claims an allegiance to this Government.

How can it be contended, in the face of such a condition, that the Committee on Public Lands should not have control of this bill? I am glad they are friendly to the prospector. To paraphrase the argument of my distinguished friend from Virginia, let me say the bill should go to a friendly committee, and friendliness to him is more important in this matter than any other consideration, for I must contend that there is no emergent condition confronting the Navy; that these reserves are not designed for immediate consumption; and hence there is no necessity for such drastic legislation.

Mr. President, I have talked longer against this motion than I expected when I took the floor. I believe, however, that its importance fully justifies the length of the discussion. It is a vastly important question, Mr. President, a bill which should not be treated in an extraordinary way in the absence of extraordinary conditions or extraordinary reasons.

The Senator from Virginia, of course, does not mean it, for he is incapable of doing such a thing intentionally, but nevertheless this motion I regard as a practical affront to the Committee on Public Lands. It is aimed directly at their jurisdiction and because of an assumed friendliness in some other committee it is to be taken from them and placed in alien hands; that is to say, in the hands of an alien committee. I do not know what vote the Senate will take upon it, but I believe that if the motion of the Senator from Virginia prevails we will create a precedent that will return again and again to plague us.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, yesterday the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] used this language in the debate on his motion. I quote from the RECORD of yesterday's proceedings:

The navy yard at Puget Sound was once public land subject to entry, and was set aside.

I am informed on the best of authority that the land embraced in the Puget Sound Navy Yard was not public land when that

navy yard was established, and never was, except at a remote time, and that it was entered by entrymen, and became in that manner private land—privately owned land—long before that time the Puget Sound Navy Yard was instituted. The land for that navy yard was acquired by purchase or condemnation. Some of it had to be condemned. I am informed by the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] that those are the facts. So I beg to correct the unintentional mistake that the distinguished Senator from Virginia made.

Mr. SWANSON. The Senator is entirely mistaken about any mistake on my part. Of course it was once public land. The whole of the land in the Northwestern Territory belonged to the United States Government. It was afterwards segregated from the public land and ceased to be subject to public entry, but after it ceased to be subject to public entry it was no longer public land subject to the jurisdiction of the Public Lands Committee. My contention was that if the Senator's position is correct about this, if it had ever been public land what is no longer public land is subject to the Public Lands Committee, that if it has ever been public land the Public Lands Committee ought to take jurisdiction for all future time of anything affecting it.

Mr. MYERS. The mistake of the Senator from Virginia consisted in using this language, "and was set aside." Here is the language:

The navy yard at Puget Sound was once public land subject to entry, and was set aside.

It never was set aside, I am informed. It passed into private ownership through entry under the land laws of the United States, and at the time the Puget Sound Navy Yard was established the land was privately owned, and it was acquired by the Government of the United States through purchase and condemnation.

Mr. SWANSON. Consequently the Senator thinks that the Naval Committee ought to have jurisdiction of land that was once public land, against private ownership, if it wants it for naval purposes. The Naval Committee ought to have jurisdiction, ought it not?

Mr. MYERS. In the case of a navy yard that has been once established by law and is being devoted to the exclusive purposes of the Navy, I think the Naval Committee ought to have charge.

Mr. SWANSON. That is precisely the case here. This was private land. The claimant entered upon this public domain and got possession of it as private land, and we ask to continue that private land in the naval reserve precisely as was done at Puget Sound.

Mr. MYERS. These possessory interests are not patented. There is no patented land.

Mr. SWANSON. They claim that they ought to be patented. They have no title—

Mr. MYERS. No; they have not.

Mr. SWANSON. If the Senator will permit me, they have no title unless it passes from the Government to themselves. This is private land that we are trying to take. We do not want to condemn public land, and the Senator has admitted that in the case of the Puget Sound Navy Yard, where it got into the possession of private individuals and the Navy wanted it, it ought to go to the Naval Committee. That is this case.

Mr. MYERS. Is any of the land in the oil reserve in California patented land?

Mr. SWANSON. There have been patents issued to some, and some of it is not patented. Some patents have been issued to the Southern Pacific Railroad, and other people have gotten patents.

Mr. MYERS. I do not understand that the Senator's bill intends to take away lands that are patented to the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Mr. SWANSON. We do; we condemn it. We take land for a navy yard or for any purpose. It seems to me the Senator admits that the Naval Committee has jurisdiction of this matter if he takes that position.

Mr. MYERS. No; I do not. I will ask the Senator whether most of the land in this reserve is patented land or unpatented land.

Mr. SWANSON. About 9,000 acres, I understand, are in contest as to whether a patent ought or ought not to issue.

Mr. MYERS. How much of it is patented land which is admitted beyond dispute to be properly patented and properly owned by the patentee?

Mr. SWANSON. I could not state the exact amount.

Mr. MYERS. There is none at all that I know of.

Mr. SWANSON. There are, I understand, thousands and thousands of acres of private land that the Public Lands Committee has nothing whatever to do with, that are not public

lands, that are not governmental lands, and it is the desire to have them condemned for naval purposes. What jurisdiction have you of private lands to determine whether the Navy should have them I have never been able to understand.

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt the Senator for a moment?

Mr. MYERS. Certainly.

Mr. THOMAS. There are in the naval reserve in California lands which are in private ownership under patent. There are also locations which are claimed to have been made by a strict observance of all of the legal requirements which are not patented, and which are, therefore, subject to entry. There are a few locations unpatented in the Wyoming reserve, but there is no patented land in that reserve.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. MYERS. With pleasure.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Virginia wanted to know what right the Public Lands Committee of the Senate had to deal with private lands as provided for in the bill. Section 4 authorizes the President to agree with any claimant or owner of any property taken under this act upon a division of land or the proceeds of operation upon any exchange of land without the naval petroleum reserve for lands within the reserve. In other words, the section provides that the actual owners as well as the actual claimants of lands within this reserve may select lands from the public lands.

Mr. SWANSON. If the Senator will permit me, in the first speech making this motion, I said there is but one thing in this bill which even by a remote construction the Public Lands Committee could get jurisdiction, and it was the provision which permitted an exchange of land inside the naval reserve where the President could satisfy claimants outside of the naval reserve upon lands which were public. In that phase of it I think that the Public Lands Committee and the Naval Committee would have equal jurisdiction. The exchange of lands inside the naval reserve the Naval Committee, I think, has jurisdiction of, but lands outside of the naval reserve the Committee on Public Lands has jurisdiction of. The committee could then probably take jurisdiction if that was all there was in the bill. But ninety-nine one-hundredths of the bill affects entirely the naval reserve. If the Senator takes that part which gives jurisdiction to the Committee on Public Lands I am willing to amend the bill and leave that out, so that you can consider the phase in connection with the exchange. I will offer an amendment to eliminate from the bill the provision that applies to an exchange of public lands. I am very anxious that you shall not have the least excuse for jurisdiction.

Mr. THOMAS. Does the Senator say he will offer it?

Mr. SWANSON. I say I will be very glad to eliminate it, so as not to give any idea that in the slightest way your jurisdiction was infringed upon.

Mr. THOMAS. Then the Senator consents to eliminate everything except the enacting clause?

Mr. SWANSON. No; because that is about what the Senator wants us to do.

Mr. THOMAS. Exactly.

Mr. SWANSON. Certainly that is what he wants done. They have been trying for years to keep the Navy from having this land for the proper use of the American Navy. I do not mean that the Senator is trying to do it; but there was a fight before he came here, and the question has been fought over ever since 1910, when the lands were withdrawn, whether they should be saved for the Navy or used for other purposes. I can understand well that the Senator and those that take his view of the case would be delighted to have all eliminated except the enacting clause.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator will permit me, I will say that is true. It is true, because I think I know better than the Senator from Virginia that the Navy does not need this reserve, or any of it.

Mr. SWANSON. So far as that is concerned, the Navy today—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHAFROTH in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana further yield?

Mr. MYERS. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. I thought the Senator from Montana yielded to me.

Mr. SWANSON. No; he yielded to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. SMOOT. No; the Senator from Montana yielded to me, and the Senator from Virginia interrupted before I concluded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To whom did the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MYERS. I do not remember, Mr. President; it was so long ago.

Mr. SWANSON. As the Senator from Utah is so impatient that he can not wait for others, I shall be glad to yield to him.

Mr. MYERS. I yield now to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. I simply wanted to conclude the statement I had started to make when the Senator from Virginia interrupted without asking permission through the Chair.

Mr. SWANSON. If the Senator will permit me, the Senator from Montana yielded to me first and he and I were discussing the Puget Sound Navy Yard when the Senator from Utah injected himself into the debate.

Mr. SMOOT. I addressed the Chair, and I assumed that the Senator from Montana had yielded to me.

Mr. MYERS. I am yielding to the Senator from Utah, and when he finishes his remarks I would like to have the floor a little while myself.

Mr. SMOOT. All I was going to add to what I said before was this, that if the position taken by the Senator from Virginia is correct, then the Public Lands Committee had no jurisdiction whatever over the Walsh bill unless lands affected were eliminated from a reserve. That bill was sent to the Public Lands Committee. The Senate acted upon it, the report was made, and not a word was said about the lands that were in reserves that were legislated upon under that bill. That is what I wanted to call the attention of the Senator from Montana to.

Mr. SWANSON. The Senator will take that as a precedent.

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

Mr. MYERS. I yield.

Mr. SWANSON. When the Naval Committee made objection to disposing of the naval provision in that bill, it was gladly eliminated, showing that they thought the Navy ought to be considered in the disposition of the naval reserve. Now, if the Senator will take that bill as a precedent, the precedent is still stronger for the Naval Committee having jurisdiction of this measure, because that was eliminated from the bill, expecting this bill to follow.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator that there was no objection to the elimination from the Walsh bill, and the question as to where it should be referred never was questioned when referred to the Public Lands Committee.

Another thing I want to call the Senator's attention to is that the Public Lands Committee have reported time and again legislation affecting these very reserves. I want to say also, and I say it without a question of doubt in my mind, that the legislation would have been passed if the Navy Department and the Interior Department had not been at loggerheads over the question of the character of the legislation. The Public Lands Committee have always been friendly to legislation of this character. The statement which was made by the Senator from Virginia that the Public Lands Committee—and he did not say any particular member of it, but the committee—wanted to strike out all after the enacting clause of this bill does not apply to the majority of that committee. I am quite certain, as I said yesterday, if the bill was referred to the Public Lands Committee the committee would report the bill favorably to the Senate.

Mr. SWANSON. If the Senator will permit me, last year—I can not say whether by resolution or how it was done—the Naval Committee was requested for two weeks to make a full investigation of this matter, looking into the right and title of claimants in this naval reserve, and if I mistake not that committee was invoked by western Senators, members of the Committee on Public Lands, to see what action should be taken. Did they say we had no jurisdiction? Why did they ask us to investigate it if we had no jurisdiction?

Mr. SMOOT. I think it will be found that the resolution was introduced by a member of the Naval Committee and referred to that committee. It was never discussed in the Senate, and it referred only to titles of lands within the reserve. The question of the disposition of the land never was referred to the committee. If that had been in the resolution I have no doubt but what there would have been a question raised on the floor of the Senate as to its reference.

Mr. SWANSON. I think it referred to a bill introduced by a member of the Public Lands Committee.

Mr. SMOOT. If I remember it aright it was introduced by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN]. I am only stating now from my memory, but as I remember it it was introduced by the Senator from Nevada, and he, as a member of the Naval Committee, asked that it be referred to that committee, and nobody objected because it had no reference to the disposition of the lands. But this bill is for the disposition of the land, and whenever it comes to the disposition of public lands the measure ought to go to the Public Lands Committee or that com-

mittee ought to be discharged from the further consideration of public-land questions.

Mr. SWANSON. The Senator is entirely mistaken. These lands have been set aside for the exclusive use and benefit of the Navy by proclamation. This is a bill to allow the Navy to do what is its right as to refining oil, as to storing it, and as to what disposition shall be made of it, as the Navy sees proper. Does the Senator think the Committee on Public Lands knows better than the Naval Committee the amount of oil needed by the Navy, the amount for refining and for stores, and for everything that appertains to the Navy? These lands were set aside for the exclusive use and benefit of the Navy in 1912, and all we ask is that the Naval Committee may investigate and report as to the operation, as to the refining, and as to the storing and the disposition to make of it. As I stated, the only thing in which it affects the public lands outside of that is the privilege given the President to exchange lands of claimants in the Naval Reserve for lands outside, and I will ask that that be excluded, so that you can not have the slightest idea of any intrusion on your rights.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President—

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

Mr. MYERS. I yield to the Senator from Utah, and then I shall decline to yield further.

Mr. SMOOT. I wish to call the Senator's attention to the fact that these lands were withdrawn by a proclamation of the President for a naval reserve based upon what is known as the Pickett Act, and that authorized the President of the United States to only withdraw lands temporarily.

Mr. SWANSON. What did temporarily mean?

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I decline to yield further. I demand the floor for myself.

Mr. SWANSON. If it means that the President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is entitled to the floor and refuses to yield.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I ask not to be interrupted during the remainder of my brief remarks. I am always glad to give a liberal latitude to other Senators for interjecting their speeches into the body of my speech, in order that their speeches may be read by the public, but I do not care to go too far in that direction, and I decline to yield further. I started out to show that the Senator from Virginia was mistaken, and I ask not to be interrupted until I have completed my exposé of his mistake. The Senator on yesterday said:

The navy yard at Puget Sound was once public land subject to entry and was set aside.

There never was an acre of the Puget Sound Navy Yard set aside. At the time the Puget Sound Navy Yard was established there was not an acre of unpatented land embraced within its boundaries; every acre was patented land, and every acre was acquired by the United States Government by purchase or condemnation. That is my information from the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES], who is acquainted with the facts.

As to this reserve in the State of Wyoming, embracing the land affected by the Senator's bill, there is not an acre of patented land. In California there is some land patented to the Southern Pacific Railroad, but the greater part by far of the land affected in the State of California is unpatented land. So there is no analogy whatever in the two cases, and the Senator from Virginia was clearly mistaken.

Now, this withdrawal of which so much has been said is based on the Pickett Act, and I will read the Pickett Act:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the President may, at any time in his discretion, temporarily withdraw from settlement, location, sale, or entry any of the public lands of the United States, including the District of Alaska, and reserve the same for water-power sites, irrigation, classification of lands, or other public purposes to be specified in the orders of withdrawals, and such withdrawals or reservations shall remain in force until revoked by him or by an act of Congress.

That is the first section of the act. It provides for the temporary withdrawal—only temporary—from settlement, location, sale, or entry of any of the public lands of the United States, and for reserving the same for water-power sites, irrigation, classification of lands, or other public purposes. Does that withdrawal make them cease to be public lands of the United States? There have been thousands and thousands of acres withdrawn from the public domain by executive order for water-power sites. Would any Senator claim that those lands withdrawn for water-power sites cease to be public lands of the United States; that the title is no longer in the United States; that the disposition and the use of the land is no longer under the control of the United States? Thousands of acres were withdrawn for forest reserves and other purposes, but they are still public lands of the United States. If the contention of the Senator from Virginia is correct—

Mr. SWANSON. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. MYERS. Yes; I will yield for a question.

Mr. SWANSON. Did the Committee on Commerce take possession of the water-power bills?

Mr. MYERS. On navigable streams, but scarcely one of them runs through the public domain. The Senate Committee on Public Lands has taken charge of all bills that proposed legislation pertaining to the development of water power on the public lands of the United States. If the contention of the Senator from Virginia is correct, then that legislation, I suppose, would have gone to the Senate Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

Mr. SWANSON. I think the Senator is mistaken about the fact. As I understand it, where all navigable rivers were concerned the bills went to the Committee on Commerce that had jurisdiction of the subject. If the same analysis applies on lands belonging to the Navy, a measure affecting the Navy ought to go to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. MYERS. There are no navigable streams of any consequence running through public lands. If there be any at all, the proportion is negligible; it is inconsequential. Then, I suppose the Senator would have legislation for the development of water power on nonnavigable streams go to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation and leave the Committee on Public Lands without any jurisdiction over legislation for the development of water power on public lands. All the legislation for the development of water power on the public domain of the country has gone to the Senate Committee on Public Lands.

Furthermore, section 2 of the Pickett Act says—

Mr. POINDEXTER. May I ask the Senator just a question?

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

Mr. MYERS. With pleasure.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I ask it to indicate a reason why such bills as he has referred to have been sent to the Public Lands Committee. Is it not a fact that there has been no committee on water power? If there had been a committee on water power, water-power bills would naturally have gone to that committee.

Mr. MYERS. That might be; and if we had other committees not now in existence a great many other bills might go to other committees than the committees to which they go; but bills for development of water power on public lands have all gone to the Committee on Public Lands, because it was clearly the proper committee under the rules of the Senate and according to the committees as they are now organized and exist.

Section 2 of the Pickett Act provides:

That all lands withdrawn under the provisions of this act shall at all times be open to exploration, discovery, occupation, and purchase under the mining laws of the United States, so far as the same apply to minerals other than coal, oil, gas, and phosphates—

Showing that the Congress in enacting that law had in mind the plain and specific intent to retain within the Government of the United States the control of those lands and the granting of any privileges or rights or concessions in them; retained in the Federal Government the right to say what might and what might not be done with them and the right to preserve the interests of the public in them as a part of the public domain of the country.

#### SUSPENSION OF ORDER OF FUEL ADMINISTRATOR.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 4 o'clock having arrived, under the order of the Senate the consideration of the resolution submitted by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], relative to the suspension for five days of the order of the Fuel Administrator, will now be resumed.

Mr. REED obtained the floor.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator from Missouri yield to me simply to have a dispatch read?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. I submit, and ask to have read, a telegram, which I have just received, touching the question under consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

Hon. J. H. GALLINGER,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Our mills in your State have substantial Government orders. Garfield drastic order seriously affects the ability of the company to make deliveries of cloth to the Army. We strenuously oppose the order and appeal to you to remedy this national catastrophe.

Wm. M. Wood,  
President American Woolen Co.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum is suggested, and the Secretary will call the roll.

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

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Norris	Smoot
Bankhead	Johnson, Cal.	Overman	Sterling
Beckham	Johnson, S. Dak.	Owen	Stone
Borah	Jones, N. Mex.	Polindexter	Sutherland
Brandagee	Jones, Wash.	Pomerene	Swanson
Calder	Kellogg	Ransdell	Thomas
Culberson	Kirby	Reed	Tillman
Cummins	Knox	Robinson	Townsend
Curtis	La Follette	Shafroth	Trammell
Fernald	Lewis	Sheppard	Underwood
Gallinger	McCumber	Sherman	Vardaman
Gerry	McKellar	Shields	Watson
Gore	McLean	Simmons	Weeks
Gronna	McNary	Smith, Ariz.	Wolcott
Hale	Martin	Smith, Ga.	
Harding	Myers	Smith, Md.	
Hardwick	New	Smith, S. C.	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty-five Senators having responded to their names, there is a quorum present. The Senator from Missouri will proceed.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, pursuant to the announcement made to the Senate a short while ago, the subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures procured the attendance of Dr. Garfield for the purpose of learning his reasons for the issuance of the order, now under consideration, touching the closing of factories. It is due to Dr. Garfield that I advise the Senate that he came immediately upon request and in the most courteous manner answered the inquiries of the committee. I shall endeavor, and I hope without interruption, to present a fair epitome of the statement made by Dr. Garfield. I shall not object to interruption as soon as I have presented that digest of his statement. The testimony of Dr. Garfield is being transcribed, but only a small portion has been delivered, and so I am obliged to speak from memory. If in any respect I vary from an accurate statement, my associates upon the committee will correct me. I apologize to the Senate for making an oral report, but time presses, and there has been no opportunity to prepare a written report.

In substance, Dr. Garfield stated that the order as it appeared in the newspapers was substantially correct, but he produced a typewritten document, which he furnished to the Senate as the exact order so far as it has been perfected. The doctor stated that the order which had been given to the newspapers was in the nature of a brief of a more detailed order that is being prepared, but that it contained the substance of the completed order, with the exception that there should be added to the order the further statement that the various classes of consumers who are to be entitled to preference and who are indicated by what we call the initialed paragraphs of the order are all to stand upon the same level; that is, there are to be no priorities among those named in the initialed classes, to wit:

- (a) Of railroads.
- (b) Of domestic consumers, hospitals, charitable institutions, and Army and Navy cantonments.
- (c) Of public utilities, telephone and telegraph plants.
- (d) Of ships and vessels for bunker purposes.
- (e) Of the United States for strictly governmental purposes, not including orders from or for factories or plants working on contracts for the United States.
- (f) Of municipal, county, or State governments for necessary public uses.
- (g) Of manufacturers of perishable food or of food for necessary immediate consumption.

The doctor stated that all of those classes stand upon the same level; that there are to be no priorities among them. He further stated that there were to be certain exceptions of industries from the order; that the only one absolutely determined on as yet was that shipbuilding was not to be taken as within the order requiring a shutting down.

Mr. ROBINSON. And airplane construction.

Mr. REED. I thank the Senator from Arkansas—and airplane construction; but that the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are each preparing an additional list of excepted industries. He further suggested that in a public hearing he had rather not be more specific, but indicated that the industries which were to be excepted were those which, in the opinion of the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, were immediately connected with the production of war supplies. Otherwise the order is to stand as presented.

Mr. VARDAMAN. He also stated that he reserved the right to enlarge the list.

Mr. REED. Oh, yes; he stated that the right was reserved to enlarge the list. I thank the Senator from Mississippi for the correction.

Dr. Garfield further stated that the order to close down would apply to factories possessing coal as well as to factories

which do not possess coal, and that it was the policy of the administration to procure the closing down also of those industries which were operated by water power. He stated that he did not have authority under the terms of the law to compel that, but I think I can say that he said, or practically said, that it was the purpose to procure the closing down of all water-power factories; that that is the policy which is to be pursued.

The reason assigned was that if factory A happened to have a supply of coal on hand sufficient to operate for some time and factory B was dependent upon a supply of coal that was in transit and factory B was prevented from getting its coal by reason of this governmental order, it would be unjust to factory B to allow factory A to continue to operate; and that the same principle, namely, that it is unjust to allow one factory to operate that has the ability to operate while the Government takes an action with reference to coal supplies that stops other factories from operating, ought to apply to factories operated by water power as well as to those operated by steam obtained from coal.

The reasons assigned for the order were: (a)—I am stating them by paragraphs, not meaning that he stated them in the exact numerical order, but simply for the purpose of clarity.

(a) To prevent an increase of congestion at the ports or on the railroads leading to the ports of the country.

(b) To decrease congestion on other railroads in other parts of the country.

(c) To prevent inequalities between those factories which have coal and those factories which have no coal. I have already covered that.

(d) To recover from the coal shortage; that is, to permit—

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question there?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. I desire to ask the Senator to restate the reason for closing so as to equalize opportunities in business?

Mr. REED. Well, that is my language, not the doctor's; I am trying to express his idea. It was:

(c) To prevent inequalities between those factories which have coal and those factories which have no coal.

(d) To recover from the coal shortage; that is, to permit coal production to go on and to restrict to a large extent coal consumption by stopping the factories. This is to be accomplished by continuing the work of the mines and by diverting the coal procured from the mines and the coal in transit to the preferential consumers in the order which I have already read to the Senate.

4. It is not proposed to take the coal from the factories now possessing coal and to use that coal to supply domestic wants. Neither is it proposed to take the coal from factories not in the preferential list and use it to keep the factories in the preferential classes running, but to allow the coal that is in the closed factories to remain unused; that is to say, the factories are to be stopped and the coal kept on hand.

5. Dr. Garfield bases his authority for this action upon section 1 and section 25 of the so-called Lever bill, which is now a law.

On inquiry, the doctor said he could not tell us how many factories at present were supplied with coal or how much coal was on hand in these factories; the information was lacking.

That, I think, is a fair statement of the testimony, without the argument, which it is impossible for me to reproduce from memory.

I will say now that, if any of my associates on the committee think there is any part of this statement that ought to be corrected or changed, I shall be glad to have their suggestions at this time; I am trying to make the recital as fair as I can.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. REED. Certainly; I am glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I shall not attempt to say that the Senator has not made a correct statement, and doubtless as full a statement as he contemplated making. I believe that there are some observations made by Dr. Garfield during the investigation which will be of value to the Senate; but, so far as the statement made by the Senator from Missouri is concerned, I think no reasonable objection can be made to it. There were, however, questions discussed to which the Senator has not adverted, which, doubtless, in the Senator's mind are not material, and I do not think it would serve any useful purpose for me to refer to them now; but, with the consent of the Senate, a little later I believe I shall ask the privilege of referring

to some arguments presented by Dr. Garfield, which have not been referred to by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I have stated that there was some argument, back and forth, that I did not undertake to reproduce.

I may be permitted now, speaking for myself, to try and bring together the substantive statements of Dr. Garfield, and I want to do it—

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, before he begins another phase of the discussion, I think it but just to Dr. Garfield to say that, in response to a question propounded by me, he said that the purpose of this order was—first, to provide coal to prevent the poor men, women, and children of this country from freezing; and, second, to supply with coal our ships which are needed to carry freight to our allies across the water, but which are now lying in port and kept there because of a lack of coal. Those were the two cardinal purposes to be subserved.

Now, as to the argument, of course we indulged in a good deal of suggestion one way and another, but I think the Senator from Missouri has made a very candid and a rather full statement of the substance of what Dr. Garfield said.

Mr. REED. I endeavored to cover the points made by the Senator from Mississippi; he has, however, covered the subject better than I did. The purpose, Dr. Garfield says, is to clear the congestion at the great docks of the country. In substance, he was asked whether that could not be accomplished by merely stopping the shipment of goods to the great docks of the country without stopping the plants manufacturing the goods. I hesitate to try to give his answer to that. Perhaps one of my associates on the committee can do it better than I can; I confess that I did not get a reason that seemed to me to be a convincing one.

We inquired why the factories which had coal could not be permitted to run, and how stopping a factory not in the preferred list from using coal now in its bins increased the coal of those in the preferred list? The doctor, however, insisted that, as I have stated, if factory A had coal and factory B did not have coal and the Government by this order stopped the coal going to factory B, it was unjust to factory B to let factory A run; that all factories ought to shut down because some would be out of coal.

Inquiry was then made whether that was not making the general welfare of the country and the welfare of millions of wage earners subordinate to the financial or trade race between the owners of mills, some of whom happen to have coal while others have not. Dr. Garfield insisted—I think I can say he stoutly insisted—that that inequality ought not to be permitted. So far as I am concerned, and speaking for myself, I think the position most unsound.

There were, according to the census of 1914, 275,791 factories in the United States that were reported. I presume it is safe to say that that number is now considerably over 300,000.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, had the Senator concluded his statement of all the reasons that were given by the Fuel Administrator?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. I did not know the Senator had concluded.

Mr. REED. Yes; I had concluded that.

The total number of employees in factories in 1914 was 8,265,426. I think it perfectly safe to say that the number to-day is not less than 11,000,000. I base that statement upon other figures obtained at other times and from other investigations. If that is so, the total number of people dependent upon these factories, estimating 5 to an employee, is 55,000,000. If the number of factories to be affected by this order is one-half of the total factories—and I am confident the proportion is much greater—then there will be directly affected by this order as to their livelihood or income approximately 30,000,000 people. I am referring now to the wage earners in the factories. If the wage earners who are directly affected are 5,000,000 in number, and if they earn \$3 a day each, and if they are put out of work for 15 days, that is a loss of work equal to one day for 75,000,000 people, which, at \$3 a day, will make a loss in wages alone of \$225,000,000. The value of the product compared with wages in 1914 was approximately 6 to 1; and if we apply that ratio, we have a loss in the value of the product of these factories which would amount to \$1,350,000,000.

But this applies only to the wages of the men in the factories for the total period of time—15 days. There is consumed in the manufacture an enormous amount of raw materials. Out of the \$24,000,000,000 of manufactured product in 1914 the raw materials were worth \$14,000,000,000. The very large number of men employed in producing those raw materials I am unable at this time to estimate; but the wage loss alone by virtue of the stoppage of the industries of this country under this order,

according to the best estimate I am able to make on short notice, will be not less than one and a half to one and three-quarter billion dollars.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. GALLINGER. In view of that enormous loss to the wage earners of the country, what condition are these people to be in to purchase coal to keep them warm, admitting that there is coal to be bought?

Mr. REED. There are some questions that the Senator can ask me that I am unable to answer, and that is one of them.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. VARDAMAN. In answer to that question, the Fuel Administrator said that as this measure was a war measure and was in the interest of the United States and all of its people, he indulged the hope that the losses would not all fall upon the laboring men who were put out of employment for the five days, and that the factories would bear a part of this loss or give them wages during the time of their enforced idleness.

Mr. REED. Yes; he said more than that—that he thought it was the duty of the factory owner to keep up the wages as part of his sacrifice. I called his attention to the fact that even if the factory owner paid the wages of the men, thus preserving them from direct loss, still the production of the country would be decreased and the economic loss to the country would be equal to the total value of the goods that would have been produced, less the cost of production. Attention was also called to the fact that those products were essential to the economic welfare of this country, and that upon our economic condition depended our ability to carry on the war; that it is a war, as we sometimes have been told of coal, sometimes of steel, sometimes of ships, and more frequently of money; but, as a matter of fact, it is a war of resources; that when we shall have stopped millions of men from working and hundreds of thousands of factories from running we will have inevitably reduced the aggregate of our national resources. Attention was called to the thought the products of these factories are probably worth hundreds of times the value of the coal that may be saved.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to his colleague?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. STONE. The Senator from New Hampshire asked how this order would help the working people, if their wages were cut off, in securing coal to warm their homes, if there was any coal to be had. It is the last point in the Senator's interrogatory that struck me as a point that ought to be thought of at this juncture—if there is any coal to be had.

As I understand, the purpose here is to provide coal. One trouble, as we are told daily, is that there is not a sufficient amount of coal to be had. Now, shutting off wages is one very serious interference with procuring coal, undoubtedly; but, on the other hand, if the supply of coal that may be utilized is vastly increased, I think the one at least should be set off against the other.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, there is wisdom in what both of the Senators have said, but here seems to me to be the difficulty: It is not proposed by this order to produce a single pound more coal than is now being produced. It is not proposed to take the coal now on hand in the factories not in the preferential list and use them to run the factories in the preferred list. Neither is it proposed to turn these coals over to heat the homes of the people. It is only proposed to let these coals lie idle and deprive hundreds of thousands of people of work.

I stated in substance to Dr. Garfield that the order could be so limited as to give every preference in the distribution of coal desired, so that the coals would go to the exact places where the fuel administrator proposes to send them, thus giving to the householder all the coal that he will get under this order, giving to the munition factory all the coal it will get under this order, and giving to the railroad all the coal it will get under this order, and yet no single factory burning coal be required to shut down. That such a modification would save the closing of the hundreds of thousands of factories that have coal, and I asked him why these factories should be compelled to shut down. I especially asked why we should shut down the water mills? Why should the whole business of the country be halted, and all the wage earners be turned out of employment, because some factories may be out of coal?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President—

Mr. REED. Just a moment. I make for the present no quarrel with the proposition of giving preferences in the distribution of coal, but I can not see why the factory that has coal should not continue to operate, in view of the fact that it is not proposed to take that coal and distribute it to other factories or among freezing people. Above all I can not see why, for the purpose of preserving theoretical equality in the race for profits between manufacturing plants, we should stop the water mill because the coal is exhausted in some particular coal-consuming plant.

The Senator from Nebraska has risen. I yield. I was about through.

Mr. NORRIS. I wanted to ask the Senator whether Dr. Garfield gave any information, or, if he did not, whether the Senator has any information that he can give to the Senate, as to what proportion of the mills and factories affected have coal now, so that they could run?

Mr. REED. The Senator was not here when I made the statement that Dr. Garfield had stated to us that he did not have that information, either as to the number of factories or as to the amount of coal on hand.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. POMERENE. What reason, if any, was given for having this order go into effect on only 24 hours' notice?

Mr. REED. We did not ask the question.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, Dr. Garfield stated that this matter had been under consideration for several days or weeks; that the matter had been carefully worked out by himself in conjunction with other departments, and I presume he thought it was right and proper.

Mr. REED. I can throw a little light on that, Mr. President, because Dr. Garfield said that the reason the excepted factories were not specified in the order, and the reason he did not want to give them out now, was that the Fuel Administrator would be besieged by others seeking to be excepted. I think the fair inference is that they gave out the order on short notice because they wanted to get it into execution very promptly.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I should like to inquire if Dr. Garfield was interrogated as to the power which he possessed under the provisions of the Lever law, to which he referred, to shut down the operation of factories running by water power?

Mr. REED. In answer to the Senator I would say that he was asked, and he stated that he thought the power was contained in sections 1 and 25 of the Lever bill; but we did not go into any legal argument.

We knew that the Senate was practically waiting, and therefore we simply took his statement as to where he found his power, without further argument.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator from Missouri will pardon me, he misunderstood the Senator from Colorado. Dr. Garfield was asked about the power to interfere with the operation of a water mill, or a mill operated by water power, and he said he had no authority under that act, but that he was going to appeal to them upon grounds of patriotism.

Mr. REED. Did the Senator from Colorado limit his question to water mills?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. REED. I did not so understand, and am obliged for the correction.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator will permit me, I have not read the law for some time; but if my recollection serves me correctly, I do not think there is a word or a phrase in it to justify an order like this in its application to mills run by water power, because such an order can conserve nothing.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri whether any statement was made by the Fuel Administrator as to whether plants using natural gas were included in these regulations, and also plants using hydroelectric power?

Mr. REED. The questions were not asked him, but I take it that if it is intended as a matter of policy to, in effect, apply this order to water mills, it probably would include natural gas, hydroelectric power, and everything else.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

Mr. REED. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KNOX. I wish to ask the Senator from Missouri specifically whether or not Dr. Garfield indicated the language in section 1 and the language in section 25 upon which he relied

for authority to issue a notice to prevent manufacturers from burning coal that is already within their bins?

Mr. REED. I ought to say, in fairness to Dr. Garfield, that we were approaching the end of our inquiries. We found it necessary to come to the Senate. I therefore asked him to indicate the sections on which he relied. He said that he thought the power was lodged in section 25 and also in section 1, a part of which he read. I think I said to him in substance: "We have not time, Doctor, to go into the legal argument. I want to know the clauses of the bill on which you rely"; and he stood upon that statement.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator from Missouri will pardon me, we find the authority upon which Dr. Garfield relies in the last three lines of section 1:

The President is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as are essential effectively to carry out the provisions of this act.

It is a general power.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I only wish now to indicate that so far as I am concerned I have examined this act with a very great deal of care since this resolution was introduced this morning. I find nothing, especially nothing in the lines that have just been read, that indicates that this act ever contemplated that an individual was to be prevented from using his own property for his own purposes. As to section 25, I have read and reread that, and I find that the regulations which the President is authorized to make there and which apply to distributors and salesmen of coal, extend only to the production and the sale and the shipment and the distribution and the apportionment and the storage thereof.

I should like to ask just one further question, and that is, Did the doctor indicate that he had consulted the Attorney General or anyone else in connection with the making of this order?

Mr. REED. We did not ask that question. The Senator will understand that we were hurrying. We did not ask him whom he had consulted. I think I might say that we did not think it best, perhaps, to go outside of an inquiry with reference to what the Fuel Administrator had done in his own name.

Mr. KNOX. For myself, I rather think that a million German soldiers turned loose in this country would not create the havoc that this order will create if enforced.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to ask him a question before he yields the floor?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. McCUMBER. I want to know whether it is the Senator's opinion that Mr. Garfield could not be induced to modify that portion of the order which prevents competing industries, we will say, from carrying on their business where they have the coal or the water power to carry on their business?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the only answer I can make to that is that the principal part of the examination centered around that question. I think the most of the time was consumed in a sort of an argument between the members of the committee and Dr. Garfield upon that question. I think I can say, in all fairness to him, and I think he would desire me to say, that he very stoutly maintained that all ought to close if one was required to close.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri if an analogy to that proposition would not be found if the Food Administrator to-night should issue an order that nobody living east of the Mississippi River should eat anything for the next week? Would not that be about the same method of curing the evil?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, in all matters concerning the Food Administration, I beg to be excused from even the appearance of criticism by indulging in what might be regarded as the odium of comparison. [Laughter.]

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President—

Mr. REED. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. HARDWICK. Is it the opinion of the Senator from Missouri that if we pass this resolution it will do any good?

Mr. REED. I hope the Senator from Georgia will pardon me for not answering that question. Let me conclude and yield the floor to others.

I was speaking of the extent of an order of this kind. The capital invested in manufacturing industries in 1914 was nearly \$23,000,000,000. I think it is safe to say that that has been enormously increased since then. The yearly value of the products was then over \$24,000,000,000. I think it safe to say that figure can be now multiplied by three or four. The value of the raw materials then consumed in manufacturing was over \$14,000,000,000. That, I think, has been correspondingly increased. These figures have relation to the matter under discussion only in the sense that the greater the industry and the

greater the values, the greater is the disturbance resulting from stopping them for any period of time, however short.

I have this one thing that I want to make plain to the Senate as my personal view. I am speaking and have been speaking, of course, merely for myself and not for other members of the committee. If it were proposed to stop delivering coal to factories generally in order that certain preferential factories might be served, that might be or might not be wise, but let us assume it to be wise; and if it were proposed to stop the delivery of coal to any factory until the people had enough coal to keep them from suffering, that might be wise, and I think if the necessity existed it would be very proper. But it is now proposed to take all the coal that is being produced, all of the coal that is in transit, and devote it to these specially favored industries. For the moment I am assuming them to be the right industries. Thus far I make no quarrel with this order. Let that part of the order go without criticism from me, at this time at least.

But I can find no justification in stopping all the industries of the country in order to catch up with coal production when you are not going to produce a single pound more coal, and when it is not proposed to devote the coal that is on hand to any of the needs or wants that we have spoken of as imperative. I can see no justification for not allowing the factories to go on and use the coal they have on hand and keep their people employed. Some of them happily may run on and never have to stop a day, for the coal supply may be abundant before their stocks are exhausted. All factories ought to be permitted to run and produce; and certainly water mills ought to be allowed to run.

I say that in my judgment—and I am trying to speak with great moderation, as you can observe—there is no justification in turning millions of people out of employment, and in stopping the creation of those things that are necessary not only to the progress of the war but to the happiness of the country simply because some individual manufacturers may under this order find themselves without coal, and hence their competitors may gain a little advantage. That is sacrificing all of the people of the country for the benefit of a few manufacturers. That is sacrificing the interests of millions of laborers in order to preserve the equality in the financial race between factories with coal and factories without coal. I can not find justification for that kind of a proceeding.

Mr. BORAH. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. REED. I yield. I am yielding the floor, but I will answer the question.

Mr. BORAH. I do not care to discuss it, but I should like to ask the question, has the Senator any doubt as a lawyer outside of the question of power plants and power mills, that the matter has passed out of our hands and beyond our control, assuming that the Lever law is constitutional?

Mr. REED. I do not find in this bill in a hasty reading any authority to stop a factory running that is employing its own coal. I only read the opening section to which attention was called. It provides—

That by reason of the existence of a state of war it is essential to the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, and for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy to assure an adequate supply and equitable distribution and to facilitate the movement of foods, feeds, fuel, including fuel oil and natural gas, and fertilizer and fertilizer ingredients—

And so forth.

Then follows these lines:

The President is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as are essential effectively to carry out the provisions of this act.

The Senator, I think, will agree that the last clause, that "the President is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as are essential effectively to carry out the provisions of this act," means no more than that where Congress has granted a specific power or made a specific provision the President can carry that provision out. It does not give him a general roving commission to make such rules and orders and regulations touching the whole subject matter as he may desire.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

Mr. REED. Just let me finish the statement. Therefore, we must find within the act itself the authority to close the factories, and when we have found that authority, if we can find it, the President has authority to issue the necessary orders to carry out that power. Now, when we come to section 25, which is the section Dr. Garfield referred to, it seems to me that it is limited solely to the question of the production and distribution of coal. After the coal—

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President—

Mr. REED. In just a moment. After the coal has reached the factory, it is the personal property of the proprietor of the

factory. True, the Government probably possesses the power to commandeer and take the coal for the public use in the prosecution of the war. But this order does not propose to take the coal. It undertakes to say to the proprietor of the factory in which there may be lodged some coal, "You shall not run your factory." I confess, although my reading has been somewhat hasty of the act, I do not find that authority in it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President—

Mr. REED. I believe the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] wanted the floor.

Mr. THOMAS. I thought the Senator from Idaho had completed his statement.

Mr. REED. I did not permit him.

Mr. BORAH. I wish to call the Senator's attention to the language. If the Senator will refer back to the debate, he will recall the fact that it was the intention at the time, expressed many times on the floor, to lodge this matter completely and absolutely within the discretion of the President of the United States. When you examine the language you will find it has been lodged there, if language can lodge it.

Mr. REED. I would be glad to have the Senator call my attention to it.

Mr. BORAH. In the first place, "the President is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as are essential effectively to carry out the provisions of this act."

Mr. REED. What are the provisions of the act?

Mr. BORAH. Let us see and find out:

That the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered, whenever and wherever in his judgment necessary for the efficient prosecution of the war, to fix the price of coal and coke, wherever and whenever sold, either by producer or dealer, to establish rules for the regulation of and to regulate the method of production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment, or storage thereof among dealers and consumers, domestic or foreign; said authority and power may be exercised by him in each case through the agency of the Federal Trade Commission during the war, or for such part of said time as in his judgment may be necessary.

Mr. REED. Do you find the words there "to regulate the consumption of coal"?

Mr. BORAH. In the first place, you must read this in connection with the provision in section 1:

The President is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as are essential effectively to carry out the provisions of this act.

Mr. REED. I know the Senator's view in regard to this legislation; and my own view was that it was very loose legislation. I did not vote for it.

Mr. BORAH. What I contend is—

Mr. REED. But let me call the attention of the Senator, as a lawyer, to the fact that the language that "the President is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as are essential effectively to carry out the provisions of this act" has no vitality except there be found in the law some express provision of a substantial character. When that has been found the President may issue regulations essential to carrying it into effect.

Mr. BORAH. The President is given power to regulate the distribution and apportionment of coal among producers and consumers.

Mr. REED. That is not what they are doing. They are saying to the man who has obtained his coal in the open market and who now has it in his own mill yard, "You can not burn that coal to run your factory."

Mr. BORAH. Precisely; but the President has not gone as far as he might have gone, and we can not complain. I imagine under this law the President may go into a factory which has an amount of coal and compel it to distribute that coal among his fellow factory owners or even among his employees.

Mr. REED. That is not what he is attempting to do. The President I do not think has the power to seize the body of coal in the country and take it over and distribute it as he sees fit. But, however that may be, that is not what is being attempted. The man who has the coal is bluntly told, "You shall not put under your boiler and use to turn the spindles of your factory the coal you own and possess in your own right."

Mr. BORAH. It is in the judgment and the discretion of the President as to the proper use and distribution of the coal.

Mr. REED. The word "use" is not in the law in the sense employed by the Senator.

Mr. BORAH. We have lodged the matter by our own volition, after weeks and weeks of debate, absolutely in the judgment and discretion of the Chief Executive. The time for the Congress to have considered this matter that we are now considering was when we passed the law.

Mr. THOMAS. I wish to ask a question.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. REED. The Senator from Colorado wants to ask me a question. I want to yield the floor.

Mr. THOMAS. I wish to ask the Senator a question, and in doing that I wish to direct the attention of the Senator to the first part of section 25, which the Senator from Idaho did not read. I will read it:

Said authority and power may be exercised by him in each case through the agency of the Federal Trade Commission during the war or for such part of said time as in his judgment may be necessary.

Now, the question which I wish to ask the Senator is whether in his opinion this tremendous power can be exercised under any provision of the act except through the agency of the Federal Trade Commission, which in the law does not appear at all.

Mr. REED. In normal times, when the law of the land is regarded as worthy of a decent respect and the Constitution is held to be a vital instrument, I would say that a court would be very likely to take the view indicated by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

Mr. REED. I hope I will be permitted to yield the floor. I do not want to deprive others of it longer.

Mr. LEWIS. If the Senator from Idaho and the Senator from Missouri will indulge me a moment, it happens to be that upon that particular phase of the bill referred to by the Senator I was conducting the advocacy, and the eminent Senator from Missouri, the junior Senator, for constitutional reasons, as he then saw it, opposed it. I wish to ask both Senators if the power is in the act vesting in the hands of the President complete discretion as to the conduct and control of these industries and he makes the order, what jurisdiction has this body over that order under the law or under any law when the Executive has made the order? Is it not true we are perfectly powerless and the only act we could do that could overturn it would be to repeal the law that vested him with the power?

Mr. BORAH. Precisely.

Mr. REED. I do not care to further discuss the legal questions. At this hour I think it is fruitless. At 5 o'clock to-night factories begin closing and their employees do not know whether they can go to work to-morrow morning or not. I do not care to discuss the question whether we are powerless or not, and I do not care at this time to go further into this matter. I think I have wearied the Senate already. Except I wish to say this, that I hope we have not at least deprived ourselves of the right of petition or request, and that, it seems to me, is about as far this resolution goes.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico obtained the floor.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I will yield to the Senator from Idaho if he desires to ask any question of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BORAH. No; I prefer to hear from the Senator. I understand the Senator is a member of the subcommittee.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I regret exceedingly that not only the members of this committee but the other Senators as well have not had an opportunity to fully consider the course which the Senate is asked to take at this time. I have not had an extended opportunity of judging the course of procedure of this body, but so far as my information goes the action requested to be taken is unprecedented in the history of our country.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The order is also unprecedented.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I agree with the statement injected by the Senator from Nebraska, that not only the action suggested is unprecedented but the thing which suggests the action is also unprecedented and the situation confronting this country is unprecedented. We behold this spectacle: Our country engaged in the greatest war of the ages; so engaged in pursuance of a resolution of this Congress, which pledged the full resources of the country to its prosecution. We have appropriated something like \$20,000,000,000, to be used, either directly or indirectly, for the prosecution of the war. We have committed to the Executive of this country not only the expenditure of this vast sum of money but we have committed to him the lives of our sons and brothers. The Chief Executive is endeavoring to prosecute the war. In that prosecution he proposes to issue an order which affects to a very great extent the industries of the country. The order would not be issued unless in the opinion of this Executive, the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, it was absolutely vital to the successful conduct of the war. This step has been taken by this Commander in Chief. The proposition now is that the Senate that com-

mitted to the hands of its Chief Executive this great power is requesting the Chief Executive not to exercise it.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is an erroneous statement. We have asked him to defer it for five days.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I, of course, modify the remark which I made to the extent suggested by the Senator from Nebraska. It is a request to suspend the order, it is true, only for five days, but nevertheless it is a request from this body to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy to suspend an action which that Commander in Chief feels is necessary for the prosecution of the war.

I ask you, Senators, if ever in the history of this great country of ours such a request has emanated from this body. If it has I have no recollection or information concerning it. Then if this request is an unprecedented thing, does it not behoove us to give thorough consideration to the effect of what we are called upon to do? Can we in a matter of such grave import stay the hands of the Chief Executive? Shall we say to our enemies that the power and the authority to conduct this war is put into hands which are not competent to conduct it?

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] nods his head as if he considered that was not the issue, but it is the issue in the opinion of those in control of administering this law. The situation is so acute that there is necessity for immediate action, and to defer the order for the five days may, and undoubtedly will, bring suffering and hardship to hundreds of thousands of mothers and children in this country who are suffering for the want of coal.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The author of this resolution had not the slightest intention to reflect upon the ability or upon the wisdom of those who framed this remarkable order. What he sought in the resolution to do was to give five days' opportunity for common counsel, something that is recognized by this administration as being highly important in great matters of state.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, on the question of five days' delay, I should like to appeal to those who want to think over this question for five days, whether proper consideration is being given to the domestic conditions in this country? Not only are the women and children and families in this country suffering for the want of coal, but the ships of this country are tied up in the harbors for the want of coal; ships which should be under steam to-day carrying across the Atlantic sustenance to our boys who are in the trenches.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I yield.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The fuel administrator, or the President who stands back of the fuel administrator, has the power, under the law, to commandeer coal, to take it, and to convey it to the ships that are in the harbors waiting for transfer to Europe, and it ought to have been done, I will say very frankly, weeks ago.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I yield to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I judge from the argument of the Senator from New Mexico that the Senator is of the opinion that this is such an order as the fuel administrator had the authority to make under the direction of the President, under and by virtue of the Lever law?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I intend to reach that point in just a few moments.

Mr. BORAH. I assume that for the reason that the Senator was proceeding upon the theory that this was a valid and legal order. If it is, and the fuel administrator had authority to make it, is there any considerable danger that the mere request upon the part of the Senate will change the program?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I intended to reach that point in the course of the discussion of the things proposed to be done by this order. If, however, the Senator from Idaho will permit a short answer, I might reply in this way: If the order is illegal, does the Senator want to establish the custom of the Senate passing upon the legality of things sought to be done by the executive department of this Government, and whenever, in the opinion of the Senate, the executive department of this Government is exceeding its powers, would the Senator request the executive department to cease from such act?

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I think the Senator perhaps came to a wrong conclusion as to my attitude in regard to this matter. I never want to belong to this body after it has delegated away its lawmaking capacity and has reduced itself to a mere petitioning body. In my humble judgment, we have delegated this power to the President if the Lever law is constitutional at all; and, having delegated it to the President of the United States, I do not myself care to indulge in a mere petitioning of the President not to exercise the power which we have granted him.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I might add, Mr. President, that the Constitution of the United States has put the duty of deciding whether or not the executive department is proceeding in accordance with law upon the courts, or upon another coordinate branch of the Government; and if the Executive is exceeding legal authority, the tribunals of the country, which have been established by our Constitution, ought to be permitted to decide that question in the same way and to the same extent that they have done ever since the adoption of the Constitution.

Mr. President, the thing which the Senate is requested to do is to stay the hand of the Chief Executive. The Chief Executive has issued an order, which has been designated as unprecedented. As I have stated, the times are unprecedented; the situation with which we must deal is different from anything which has heretofore existed in the history of the country; but I appeal to you to consider the conditions which the Chief Executive seeks to alleviate by means of this order.

There are several preferred classes who may get coal. It is admitted by the Senator from Missouri, the chairman of the committee, that it is necessary to furnish coal to these preferred classes; he makes no war upon that effort. It is admitted that these things must be done.

Dr. Garfield stated that the situation was acute; and to my mind that furnishes the reason why this order is promulgated, without calling upon all the country to give their views as to whether or not it should be done. The statement stands uncontradicted upon the record that the situation is acute, and the suggestion has been made by a Senator, who was present at the hearing, that that was the reason for promulgating the order at this time.

The situation is acute with reference to what? With reference to furnishing coal for the railroads; with reference to furnishing coal for the families, to the charitable institutions with human inmates; for carrying on the industries which are necessary to be carried on for the conduct of the war; and to furnish bunker coal to the ships. For these purposes the situation is acute. It being acute, I appeal to Senators whether or not the man who shoulders the responsibility for the conduct of the war is not justified in using any means within his power to relieve this most distressing situation. That is recognized. It is said here that no interference should be made with that purpose, and it comes down to this, that because the President has said that those factories which have coal shall not burn the coal while other factories can not get coal, the Senate should request a suspension of this entire order. That is the only thing presented here by the Senator from Missouri to which he seriously objects.

Now, I desire to analyze the question as to whether, in order to stop that act, the Senate should go to the extreme extent of calling upon the Executive to suspend an Executive order. The reason that provision in the order was presented to the committee in this way—and not one reason alone was to be considered as sufficient, but the whole situation was called before us to justify the act—the docks of the country and the railroads of the country are congested with freight, and in order to relieve that congestion it is necessary to stop the supply at the source.

That is only one thing to be considered. In the next place, there is a shortage of coal in this country to the extent of 35,000,000 tons. The evidence, not given to-day by Dr. Garfield, but heretofore given to the Committee on Manufactures, was that the total production of coal in this country had increased 10 per cent, while the demand for coal had increased 20 per cent, and as a result, according to his last statement, there is to-day an absolute shortage of 35,000,000 tons of coal. The administrator has come to the conclusion that, in order to put the households of the country and the industries of the country in running order, and running upon such a basis that there shall be no suffering, industry must be arrested for five days, and then, subsequently, a holiday be observed in each week for a number of weeks. That is the remedy which he proposes. It is agreed that that remedy applied to the factory which now has no coal is justified. The only thing claimed to be unjust is calling upon the factory which has coal to stop running at this time.

If Senators will consider for a moment the question in its broader aspect, it seems to me that this order can not be seriously criticized. If it is necessary to arrest industry in order to catch up with the supply of coal, is it not also necessary that the burden of doing this thing should be placed as equally as possible upon all of the industries of the country—I mean upon those not immediately essential to the carrying on of the war? If that were done, if they were all shut down at the same time, the burden would be equal.

But it is said some of them have coal and ought to be permitted to continue. The time must come when those who now have coal will not have it, and if you are going to treat them in the same way and make them bear the same burden, no one would suggest that the time would not come when they should be required to shut down for an equal length of time. So, then, the only question presented here is, Shall the factories which have coal shut down now, or shall they be required to shut down, one to-morrow, another next week, and another next month, until the burden has been distributed around?

That is all Senators, that is involved in this whole discussion—what is the right time to require these factories to be closed? Shall they be required to close all at once or shall they be required to close from day to day as their coal is consumed? That is the only question here about which there is any dispute; and for such a relatively small hardship as that, I appeal to you, is the Senate justified in making a request to the Commander in Chief of the Army to revoke or suspend an order so vitally necessary in its essentials?

Something has been said here about industries carried on by means of waterpower, and it has been suggested that there is no use shutting them down. It is admitted that there is no law governing them, and only a patriotic appeal is made to those concerned to shut down. If they do not want to shut down, they will not do so; but the President has said in this order that they ought to shut down; that they ought to shut down in the interest of fairness; that they ought to shut down to stop at the source of this congestion of the railroads and the docks. If those are not deemed sufficient reasons, let any man running an industry carried on by water power exercise his right not to follow the request of the Chief Executive.

But when the country realizes and when the other manufacturing interests of this country realize that this water-power man has been requested to do a patriotic thing, that it has been necessary to close down the industries of this country in the preservation of the lives of the people of the country and of our boys in the trenches, if that water-power man wants to disregard that request he will be given a place in history not far removed from that of Benedict Arnold. And so with this man who has coal in his bin, who asserts his right to consume that coal against the judgment of our commander, on whom we have imposed the responsibility of action in this crisis. If he chooses to disregard the order, I apprehend that he will find his surroundings decidedly uncomfortable, at least in the community where he has his factory.

Senators, the provisions of the order to which objection is made are so slight compared with the evils that will result from the passage of this resolution that I appeal to you to hesitate and give calm consideration. We are conducting this war; and admitting that upon the question of legality, admitting that upon the question of shutting down these factories that have coal there might be an honest difference of opinion, admitting that honest minds might differ, what should we do? My judgment is that every patriotic citizen of this country—every Senator, at least—should resolve the doubt in favor of those who are charged with the responsibility.

I believe in holding up the hands of those who are trying to do things. They are serving you and they are serving me. They are trying to preserve this Republic, so that we and our children may live under the benign influences of a democracy. I appeal to you to put no obstacles in the way. Be patriotic to-day; trust those in whom you have reposed your power; and do not let this Senate give aid and comfort to the enemy by saying that we have placed the authority to carry on this war in incompetent hands.

Mr. RANDELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. RANDELL. I should like to read a telegram just received from New Orleans which is very pertinent. It is as follows:

JANUARY 17, 1918.

Senator JOSEPH E. RANDELL,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The large number of sawmills in Louisiana request that you obtain an immediate ruling from Administrator Garfield as to whether the shut-down order of yesterday is applicable to them. They point out

that they do not use coal for fuel in their plants, but use the refuse wood from their own cut, and further point out that they are actual producers of fuel, and that practically the entire population of the various sawmill towns is dependent for its fuel upon the continued operation of the mills. To shut down these mills, instead of increasing the fuel supply, would materially decrease the fuel supply. Moreover, I doubt whether a sawmill is, strictly speaking, a manufacturing plant within the meaning of the order. Besides this, these mills are now producing ship lumbers and other lumber used for the production of ships, and to shut them down will seriously retard the shipbuilding program in this section. I shall appreciate your taking the matter up promptly and using your influence to exempt them from the order.

J. BLANC MONROE.

I will ask the Senator if that matter was discussed with Dr. Garfield; and if so, what he said on the subject; and if it was not discussed, what is the opinion of the Senator on that subject?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I confess that I have not had an opportunity—

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. If the Senator will permit me first to answer the Senator from Louisiana, I shall be glad then to yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. SHIELDS. The telegram I have is on the same line, and the Senator can answer both questions at once.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Very well; then I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SHIELDS. I have a telegram from one of the largest manufacturing institutions in my State along the line of that presented by the Senator from Louisiana, and I should like, if possible, to have the Senator from New Mexico state whether or not Dr. Garfield gave any explanation of his order as applicable to this plant.

The telegram is as follows:

NASHVILLE, TENN., January 17, 1918.

Senator JOHN K. SHIELDS,  
Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Garfield's order closing down all manufacturing plants except food-producing plants puts us in an awkward position. We are bag manufacturers, making bags for flour and corn meal—food products. We are under contract with mills in Northeast, Middle, and Southern States. How can flour mills run if bag factories are closed down? Our plant is equipped to run with hydroelectric power and not steam. We use coal for heating purposes only, employing between five and six hundred operatives—many families. These people will consume more fuel in daytime than we use in heating. Won't you use your good offices to have us and all bag factories exempted from the order? Kindly wire us, our expense, result.

MORGAN & HAMILTON Co.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I have not studied this order sufficiently to give an opinion as to whether or not the industries referred to by either of the two Senators are included within its provisions, but I want to say this: The fact that these telegrams are read here, and the fact that other Senators are receiving a large number of similar telegrams, would indicate the utter hopelessness of the Food Administration giving a hearing to all of these industries before taking action. The women and children will be suffering still. The food and munitions will remain in the harbors. So, even if they are affected, I want to know if the Senators present believe that that is sufficient ground for withholding action upon the great question? It is simply an argument, to a greater or lesser extent, that the industries of this country shall go on as usual.

I want to say here and now that the industries of this country can not go on as usual if this war is to be successfully prosecuted. The \$20,000,000,000 which we are proposing to put into it is equivalent to one-half the total production of the country before the war; and to change that energy and the requisite capital to make it effective will require a shifting such as this country has never fully realized. When an argument is made that business shall go on as usual I am not impressed. I know not how to weigh dollars against humanity.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I do.

Mr. SHEPPARD. If the Senator will pardon me, I think I could suggest a pertinent answer to those telegrams.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I shall be very much obliged to the Senator if he will do so.

Mr. SHEPPARD. If I should consult my own safety or my own convenience I would much rather be in Tennessee or Louisiana, or elsewhere in America, with my factory shut down, than in the trenches with my throat cut.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I thank the Senator for the observation. I quite agree with him. That is a very patriotic attitude, and one which I hope I share with him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon the passage of the resolution.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Upon that I ask for the yeas and nays. The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, just a moment before the roll is called. I wish to ask the Senator having the resolution in charge whether he will not change the wording so as to read "President of the United States" instead of "Fuel Administrator of the United States"? I think it is very much more becoming for the Senate of the United States to ask this from the President than to ask it from an employee of the Government.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I considered that matter somewhat, and I find a division of counsel; but inasmuch as the Fuel Administrator made the order, I think it would be better to let the resolution stand as it is. The wording is not very important.

Mr. SMOOT. I am not going to take any of the time of the Senate to discuss it now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon the passage of the resolution.

Mr. GALLINGER and Mr. REED called for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On that question the yeas and nays have been ordered. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. FRANCE] and vote "yea."

Mr. WEEKS (when Mr. LODGE's name was called). My colleague [Mr. LODGE] is necessarily absent from the Senate. He has a general pair with the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH]. If my colleague were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. OVERMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. Not knowing how he would vote on this question I withhold my vote.

Mr. REED (when his name was called). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH]. I feel, as a result of a conversation with his colleague, that I am released from that pair on this question. I therefore vote "yea."

Mr. SAULSBURY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT]. I think I might be permitted to vote under my agreement with him; but out of precaution I transfer the pair to the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] and vote "yea."

Mr. SHERMAN (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PAGE] and vote "yea."

Mr. SIMMONS (when his name was called). I wish to inquire whether the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has voted.

Mr. SIMMONS. I vote "nay."

Mr. SMITH of Maryland (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] and vote "yea."

Mr. TOWNSEND (when the name of Mr. SMITH of Michigan was called). The senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] is unavoidably absent. He is paired with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. I do not know how the senior Senator from Michigan would vote on this question, but I am quite sure he would permit the Senator from Missouri to vote, and I so informed him.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] to the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] and vote "yea."

Mr. WEEKS (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES] to the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] and vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LEWIS. I desire to announce the absence of the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON] on important public business, and to say that he is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN].

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK]; and

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

The result was announced—yeas 50, nays 19, as follows:

## YEAS—50.

Bankhead	Hitchcock	Owen	Sutherland
Beckham	Johnson, Cal.	Poindexter	Swanson
Brandagee	Jones, Wash.	Pomerene	Thomas
Chalder	Kellogg	Reed	Tilman
Cummins	Knox	Saulsbury	Townsend
Curtis	McCumber	Sherman	Underwood
Fernald	McKellar	Shields	Vardaman
Frelinghuysen	McLean	Smith, Ga.	Wadsworth
Gallinger	McNary	Smith, Md.	Watson
Gerry	Martin	Smith, S. C.	Weeks
Gore	Nelson	Smoot	Wolcott
Hale	New	St. Clair	
Harding	Norris	Stone	

## NAYS—19.

Ashurst	Hardwick	Lewis	Robinson
Borah	Johnson, S. Dak.	Myers	Shafroth
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Phelan	Sheppard
Fletcher	Kirby	Pittman	Simmons
Gronna	La Follette	Ransdell	

## NOT VOTING—23.

Broussard	Hollis	Lodge	Thompson
Colt	Hughes	Overman	Trammell
Culberson	James	Page	Walsh
Dillingham	Kendrick	Penrose	Warren
Fall	Kenyon	Smith, Ariz.	Williams
France	King	Smith, Mich.	

So the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. POMERENE. I have received a number of telegrams during the afternoon bearing on this subject. I send two to the desk. I shall not ask to have them read, but I ask that they be incorporated in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the telegrams will be printed in the Record.

The telegrams are as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO, January 17, 1918.

Senator POMERENE,  
Washington, D. C.:

One-third of our factories are operated by natural gas, of which there is abundance. Nothing could be gained by closing these factories, but great hardship would be suffered by the employees. Can you not secure a ruling from the Fuel Board committing factories operated exclusively by natural gas to continue? Am wiring Mr. Garfield.  
SUPERIOR GAS ENGINE CO.,  
P. J. SHOUVLIN.

CANTON, OHIO, January 17, 1918.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,  
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Our furnaces running almost entirely on very large orders for Army, Navy, and medical supply departments. To draw our fires would cause great ruin to muffles and furnaces by cooling down and heat must be kept up to prevent freezing of sprinkler system and keeping them up. No additional fuel will be consumed in utilizing the heat by producing goods solely for Government. Is it possible to have some modification to fuel order? Wire quick.  
THE REPUBLIC STAMPING & ENAMELING CO.

## CONSIDERATION OF SHIPPING BILLS.

Mr. BANKHEAD. It is important that we should have a short executive session, as many nominations are to be referred.

Mr. FLETCHER. Will the Senator from Alabama withhold his motion for a moment?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Very well.

Mr. FLETCHER. I simply wish to call the attention of the Senate to three bills on the calendar, the bill (S. 3387) to authorize and empower the President to create military zones around shipyards where vessels are under construction for the United States; the bill (S. 3388) to amend the emergency shipping fund provisions of the urgent deficiency appropriation act approved June 30, 1917, so as to empower the President and his designated agents to take over certain transportation systems for the transportation of shipyard and plant employees, and for other purposes; and the bill (S. 3389) to authorize and empower the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, to purchase, lease, requisition, or otherwise acquire improved or unimproved land, houses, buildings, and for other purposes.

These bills have been reported favorably by the Committee on Commerce and it is quite important, as developments have demonstrated, that action should be taken on these bills. I do not think it will require a great deal of time to dispose of them. I wish to give notice that I shall ask the Senate to take them up at the very first opportunity.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After eight minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

## ARRAIGNMENT OF THE KAISER.

By order of the Senate the following matter was ordered to be printed in the Record in brevity:

WILLIAM II, WE INDICT YOU, EVEN IN THE PURPLE.

[An Arraignment, by Siegfried Balder.]

For years you prepared the world war with deliberate premeditation. In the summer of 1914, without the least provocation, you ruthlessly created the pretext. You threw to the winds all warnings, and those who by their counsels wished to hold you back from war you drove from you. In a breach of solemn treaties you burst without excuse into a peaceful country whose neutrality you were bound to observe and protect. After driving your people into the war, you did them desperate injury in a military way, as well as by perverse disciplinary measures, especially by the choice of incompetent generals, who were known to be incompetent. You conduct the war in the most barbarous fashion, infringing upon the obligations and principles of international law. To your people and their representatives who trustfully looked up to you and your Government you have lied and you still lie on and on concerning the actual events before the war and after it began concerning your own intentions as well as the causes, purpose, and goal of the war. You constantly infringe upon the rights, the laws, and the constitutional liberties of your people. You disrupt family ties, destroy business and its interchanges and intercourse, and the best men of your people who know the truth and speak it you put behind the bars. You continue to prevent the making of peace because you are too cowardly to take your guilt upon your own head and to assume the consequences of your deeds.

Never has a more ruthless crime cried to heaven for revenge!

Millions of young men in the flush of their youth and millions of men once content with their peaceful occupations lie mutilated beyond recognition upon the battle fields of Europe; thousands lie on the bottom of the sea. You murdered them!

Millions of widows, millions of poor orphans weep for their provider, for husband or father to protect them from danger and want, to bring them up, to comfort them, to counsel them.

Millions of girls pine away in grief and sorrow because their sweethearts have fallen on the battle fields of Flanders and Poland.

Millions of cripples, robbed of an arm, a leg, or even of the blessed light of day, are doomed to lifelong existence in wretchedness, a burden alike to themselves and to their fellows. You robbed them of fortune, strength, health, and happiness!

Whole countryside cry for expiation, their acres blasted, the fostering earth gaping with wounds from shells beyond reckoning, the toil and energy of generations destroyed. Cities and villages, once the homes of busy, happy people, now lie in smoke-blackened ruins and accuse you before Heaven.

Sanctimonious hypocrite that you are, you have blasphemed the Almighty and have called upon Him to bear witness to your lies and to be the advocate of your misdeeds!

Your hapless people are starving, yet you command that they be hewn down if their complaints reach your ears.

The men of your people are forced to live in gruesome wreckage, in pits and shell craters, to freeze to death in the snows of inhospitable mountains, and to bleed their lives slowly away on barbed-wire obstacles, more pitiable than the most wretched galley slaves of antiquity. Thousands are driven forward into a hell of shrapnel and machine-gun fire in order to occupy a useless stretch of trenches in a country which does not concern us, and which we do not wish to possess. Thousands fall and thousands are shoved in after them.

Germany's civilization you have annihilated; Germany's honor you have trampled in the dust. All the people who once loved and respected us turn from us with abhorrence and decline to have anything to do with men who break treaties, who outrage civilization, who commit murder.

For 28 months this state of gruesome horror has continued, conjured up by you. When will you put an end to it? What have you to reply? Answer.

## THE ACCUSED AND HIS ENVIRONMENT.

From your youth you have known no interests except hunting and fighting—murder of beast and murder of man. Millions of your subjects have never seen you—either in person or in likeness—except in the garb of a hunter or of a warrior. Dressed as a hunter you went afield to slaughter en masse the animals which were beaten up for you to kill. Your blood-thirsty recreation was slaying stags and does in herds, shooting down more than a thousand helpless pheasants in one day—in company with your friend Franz Ferdinand of Austria.

When one of the authors of these lines saw you for the first time, in the summer of 1888, a few months after you ascended

the throne, you were inspecting your booty of stags and wild boars. Your sacrifice lay arranged in lines and columns like soldiers, and with dark mien, using the Prussian goose step, you were reviewing them, fixing each object with your eye, as if to say: "Behold, thus will I slay mine enemies."

We saw you often, but whether on festive or on sad occasions it was always in the character of a Roman Cæsar.

The whole of all your mind can note  
Is how he coughs or clears his throat.

"Hoc volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas"; "Nemo me impune lacessit"; "Regis voluntas suprema lex." ("This is my wish; thus do I command; my will, not the dictates of reason." "Wha daur meddle wi' me?" "The will of the King is the supreme law.") These were the pronouncements of more sovereign natures; they did not come from your puny brain; but that you should borrow them for your own use speaks volumes for him who can read men's hearts. A strutting turkey cock, stuck full of false feathers to make him look like an emperor.

The swearing in of recruits, the dedication of regimental standards, the launching of war ships, receptions to generals, the celebration of the anniversaries of battles, the unveiling of monuments to your soldier forefathers—on such occasions you made lofty addresses on the duties of soldiers and the rights of commanders, on the destruction of your enemies, battles and flashing swords, and the splendid achievements of your glorious ancestors. The achievements of the Hohenzollern, however, have been won on bloody battle fields, not in the peaceful workshops of the citizen, the scholar, or the artist.

Officers were your tutors, your advisers, your companions in recreation and pleasure.

While all other civilized nations watch jealously to see that the sword never arrogates to itself preponderance in the State, but remains a voiceless tool of the civil government—to be used only in case of direst necessity—with you the sword was always dictator in all branches of the Government. We laughed when in England and France bankers, merchants, and journalists were appointed ministers of war and navy; we ought rather to have wept that our chancellors, secretaries of state, ministers, diplomats, and presidents of Government boards were chosen by you from the ranks of generals and families of generals.

The best of your thought and effort was directed toward increasing the army and navy without regard to national welfare, or to the economic and political situation. It was always Germany which led the way in this respect; our neighbors followed suit only with the greatest reluctance and under compulsion. Their distrust was justified, for against whom could our gigantic preparations by land and sea be directed except themselves?

Besides the generals there grew branches of a still worse kind from the poisonous tree of militarism, who had their say in your Government—the army supply houses. At their head the firm of Krupp, with which for many years you have been associated, not only in personal friendship but even—strange to say—through financial debit and credit. It was because of this connection, and not on account of the quality of their cannon, which others could make as well, that this firm was everywhere given preference. Your purple protected the firm even against the processes of the law. Have you forgotten the lawsuit that attracted so much attention a few years ago, which arose because the Krupps had themselves informed by imperial officials through improper means concerning the bids of other firms in order to be able to underbid them—or as might also be said, in order not to underbid their competitors any more than was necessary in order to get the contract? The civil judges found the officers of the firm guilty and imposed a prison sentence upon them. The military tribunal, however, freed those convicted of the same crime who came under their jurisdiction because of their military rank. Was this "judicial conviction" or "loyalty to the supreme war lord"?

It has probably not escaped you either that the Krupps, the principal support of your military propaganda by land and sea, as they were likewise the leading agency in poisoning and bribing our "well-disposed" press and public opinion, were delivering weapons to our "enemies" cheaper even than to our German fatherland from sheer unselfish and exalted patriotism. Thus, before the war, this firm sold nickel-plated steel for armor plate at 1,920 marks (\$480) per ton to foreign countries, and at 2,320 marks (\$580), with 400 marks (\$100) special profit per ton to the German military and naval authorities.

How charming was the story of the Liege cannon, which the Krupps, even in August, 1914, openly published in the German papers as one of their achievements. In the spring of 1914 the firm had contracted for about 200,000,000 francs' worth

(\$4,000,000) of Liege artillery to be delivered to Belgium, and already had the purchase price in its hands, although it had not shipped the cannon on account of alleged transport difficulties. It was the German Army that provided for the delivery of these cannon to Belgium. From this story it is evident (1) that Belgium had so little thought of war with Germany that it not only innocently ordered its weapons in Germany but had not even pressed for the delivery of the cannon which had already been paid for; (2) that the private firm of Krupp knew not only of the coming of the war months in advance, but had also learned the secret plan to attack through Belgium. From whom? And who pocketed the 200,000,000 francs for the undelivered goods?

The business of these giant profiteers was the object of your care, out of regard for these profiteers you prepared for war, through them you poisoned the press and public opinion, for these profiteers the noblest and the strongest of our Nation are bled white.

Emperor William, do you, the personified representative of militarism, of the brutal policy of the mailed fist, do you seriously expect us to believe that you are the innocent little lamb which had to defend itself because others wanted to fall upon Germany—upon Germany, the bugbear of them all? Very well, we wait upon you with the further facts.

#### THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEED.

It is untrue that you have kept the peace for Germany since the beginning of your government. This would have been no credit to you, anyway, for no one ever intended to attack us.

You involved us quite unnecessarily in a war with China, and in another of several years' duration with the Hereros in Southwest Africa—unnecessarily, for we should have gained far more with China through a peaceful agreement about railroad and mining concessions, and in Southwest Africa by a sensible native policy, to the operation of which, to be sure, your archaristocratic diplomats and colonial governors, with their military training, are not at all adapted. We will not discuss the lesser campaigns in Kamerun and in East Africa.

But it was not your fault, Swashbuckler, that war was avoided in other cases; credit is due to the peaceful disposition of all our neighbors and to the feeling of personal responsibility on the part of our former imperial chancellor. Indeed, Prince Bülow, in November, 1908, had to admonish you and expose you before the German people in a public session of the Reichstag, because through your insane meddling in the politics of other nations you had from minute to minute threatened the peace of the world incalculably and had tainted the honor of Germany. At the end of the last century a conflict broke out between England and the Boers, and through your Kruger dispatches and your reception of Oom Paul Kruger in Berlin you incited the Boers to resistance against the British demands (questions of economic and domestic policies were the subjects of disagreement between the Boer farmers and the British miners and business men in the Transvaal and Orange Free State), and through their confidence in your assistance you encouraged the war, to say the least. When the war broke out you sent the British general staff a plan of campaign against the Boers worked out by yourself. Like the most tattered vagabond of the Middle Ages who one day offered his services to a robber knight and on the morrow to his opponent, just for the pleasure of getting into a fight, destitute of all shame and sense of honor or propriety, not to mention political insight—even thus does a German Emperor act!

To gain martial laurels, to increase the "fame of the Hohenzollern," to witness a sham battle with loaded weapons, and a cavalry charge against a "real enemy"—these were the goals of your ambition. Yet since your statesmen—until Bethmann-Holweg—were not so brainless as to risk the fortune of the German nation for such a reason, you undertook to carry out your war policies on your own account.

In default of another "enemy," you picked as a victim France, our old so-called "archenemy," whose ghost now haunts only Prussian lieutenants. A crazy notion! Thirty years ago, ever since the fall of Boulanger, the Republic of France ceased to pursue a policy of hostility to Germany and avoided any conflict with her mighty neighbor on the east.

The little faction, which still cried "Revenge," "à la Déroulède," though they were of about as much importance as the old Prussian-eater Sigl in Munich, died out long ago. Germans were welcome guests in Paris; numerous German firms had established themselves there and throughout the country; crowds of German artists and students made this focus of European culture the goal of their pilgrimages. The great leaders in science, art, and literature in France and Germany were in active contact, both personal and through correspondence. The works of the great German composers were performed in

the greatest houses in France, often, indeed, under German directors and by German singers, just as French works were to be found on the programs of the German theater.

A Pégoud was received with enthusiasm on German aviation fields. French music lovers flocked to the celebrations in Bayreuth, Munich, and Oberammergau. Creations from Paris adorned the display windows of the great German fashion shops. Both in France and in Germany everything was tending toward a true, unforced friendship between these two powers—the greatest centers of civilized progress on the continent of Europe—and it was truly one of the most difficult achievements of your court diplomacy and intrigue to break up the peaceful relationship existing between these two nations.

You bent every effort to accomplish this laborious task.

There were absolutely no causes for friction between Germany and France in the whole world, except in Morocco, which borders upon the French North African colonies. This country was disturbing the French colonial territory by the contentions of its various rival sultans to the detriment of important French commercial interests in North Africa. Now, it was impossible for French domination in Morocco to injure us Germans. On the contrary, it would have been an advantage to us, since it gave promise of an orderly government and provided an outlet for France's political interests. We had no more reason to meddle with them than the French had to interfere—which they refrained from doing—in our colonial adventures and conquests in Africa or anywhere else.

Nevertheless you used the mining interests of a single German firm—the Mannesmann Bros.—as your pretext for three times shaking the peace of Europe to its foundations, namely, in the three crises in Morocco of 1905, 1909, and 1911. Of course these German interests could easily have been safeguarded by a treaty with France. They were not worth the blood of a single German day laborer; yet out of them, in default of a better pretext, you thrice tried to kindle war.

In each case peace was preserved against your will by the unvarying resourcefulness and superiority of French and English diplomacy. Bülow fell because he was not willing to follow your war policies through thick and thin. You then took on Bethmann-Holweg as imperial chancellor, with the understanding that he should pull off the war for you and stand ready as a dummy editor to be responsible for it. He went cheerfully at his task, and in 1911 he sprang the third Morocco crisis with the visit of the *Panther* to Agadir. Once again war was prevented, this time through the president of the Reichsbank, Dr. Koch, who was man enough to oppose your lust for war in the name of the Reichsbank and of German political economy. The German people owe it to him and to the patient forbearance of the French Government that war was then prevented even at the eleventh hour, when the German warships were already under full steam, and the freight cars on the German railroads had been emptied and were standing ready for loads of soldiers expected to arrive during the night. Dr. Koch was dismissed, and the Prussian official Havenstein was appointed as "imperial money marshal," in order to prepare the state bank and state monetary affairs for war, much to the detriment of German economic conditions, which since that time have suffered under constant pressure.

But it was all no use. The contemptible policy of insult and persecution in Alsace-Lorraine—the "Col. Reuter" and "Lieut. Forstner" affairs, along with the crown prince's telegram, "Keep at 'em, boys!" and the acquittal of the offenders by military court-martial announced in advance—these attempts quite naturally caused the French people some uneasiness, and their peace-loving souls were put upon the rack, so to speak; but the French Government did not permit itself to depart by a hair's breadth from its carefully considered adherence to a peaceful policy.

Some other artifice, accordingly, had to be contrived to bring about the fulfillment of your fondest desire—grand military maneuvers in France with an imposing entry of the Emperor into Paris as a climax. As side partner in this plan you were to have the Austrian heir apparent, Franz Ferdinand, a butcher of game, with the airs of a Caesar, and more good for nothing outside the army than you are.

As Austria is a nobody in its standing among the great powers, this tyrant had hitherto been able to terrify with his swashbuckling, not the world, but only his little neighbor, Serbia. The latter country is cut off from the sea, and therefore, since it is compelled to use the Danube route for its entire commerce, particularly in exporting its cattle, grain, and other agricultural products, it is thrown upon the tender mercies of Austria. Although formerly the relations between Austria and Serbia had been the best imaginable—the officers in Semlin and Belgrade, for instance, invited each other to their

balls and other festivities—Franz Ferdinand, with his courtiers, kept inventing new methods to show by continually vexing humiliations the "superiority" of Austria over her little neighbor.

In order to put an end to this insufferable oppression Serbia joined the Balkan league and in 1912 entered the Balkan war against Turkey with the purpose of gaining access to the Adriatic Sea through the mountains of Albania. This was a war with a real goal, one which represented a vital problem for the Serbian people, and which could be achieved without any detriment to the civilized world. For even if the sons of the mountains of Albania exchanged Turkish for Serbian rule, and if inconsiderable settlements along the east coast of the Adriatic developed into harbor cities of commercial importance, this at least was no loss to civilization. And after heroic battles the brave Serbs attained their goal by occupying the harbors of Durazzo and San Giovanni di Medua. Although this success caused no one in Austria-Hungary the least inconvenience—on the contrary, prosperous development of a neighboring nation is always a gain for one's own country as well—the Austrian heir apparent—the actual ruler of Austria—now mobilized and kept on rattling his sword until the treaty of London founded the phantom kingdom of Albania, an abortion of European diplomatic art. The sole purpose was again to shut off Serbia from an outlet to the sea, and thus to rob her of the fruits of her victories and the goal of her war. The Austrian mobilization lasted many months and brought Austria, which was not rich anyway, to the verge of bankruptcy, and all for nothing at all except to satisfy a Caesar's itch for power. The great powers—Russia, England, and France—consented to humor this despot in the London conference simply and solely for the sake of avoiding a war.

After this "triumph" affronts to poor Serbia followed thick and fast. Bulgaria, now allied with Turkey, was encouraged not to acquiesce in the terms of peace arranged at London, and the upshot of the matter was the second Balkan war, in 1913. The outcome, as we all know, was not a triumph for Bulgaria. More sword rattling, therefore, from the Austrian heir apparent because Serbia had received a few more Macedonian villages by the treaty of Bucharest than seemed proper, according to the ideas of this fount of all authority. Austria at that time—midsummer, 1913—made an official inquiry of Giolitti, the president of the Italian ministry, as to whether Italy would consider herself bound by the terms of the triple alliance in case Austria were attacked by Russia in consequence of war with Serbia. Giolitti, who is now known to be discredited among his countrymen on account of his friendly attitude toward the triple alliance, answered quite properly:

If Austria proceeds against Serbia, it is evident that the terms of the triple alliance do not apply. It would be an independent action on Austria's own account, since it is not a question of self-defense, and no one considers attacking her.

He added also the well-meant wish that Germany, he hoped, might succeed in deterring Austria from this extremely hazardous adventure.

Well, after your Morocco experiment ended in a fiasco, this extremely hazardous adventure was the diplomatic war plan concocted between you and your friend Franz Ferdinand in continual visits to Konopischt and other hunting castles. Sometimes your statesmen and confidential strategists were admitted to these counsels, sometimes not.

Perhaps you will prefer to deny this. Have a caution, the walls have ears, and in Austria there are not only hunting attendants who gossip about State secrets but even officers of the general staff.

Your noble plan ran like this: Serbia, exhausted by the two Balkan wars, to be taken by surprise and easily crushed to earth; Russia to interfere on behalf of her little Slavic sister nation; this (ostensibly) to involve Germany under the terms of her alliance with Austria, and now France has to join the fray on Russia's account, and at last you two can fight battles and win victories to your heart's content!

What do the welfare and happiness of the people amount to after all in comparison with the laurels of victory.

Nineteen hundred and thirteen was too soon for the plan to be put through. First the armament bill, which had just been passed, had to be carried out with the extra billion appropriation for defense. You and your friend accordingly had to wait patiently till 1914.

Your plan certainly seemed most attractive not only from a diplomatic point of view but from a military one also, did it not?

For many years past, at least since 1897, the following plot against France, sprung from the brain of Count Haessler, lay in the secret archives of the general staff:

A German Army, to make a feint attack on the Alsace-Lorraine boundary and withdraw, as if defeated, far enough into the interior to form a great semicircle between the fortresses of Metz and Strassburg.

The French, elevated at the chance of regaining Alsace, to be enticed into this hollow arc. Then German reserves, which have been held in readiness on the flanks to press forward eastward from Metz and westward from Strassburg and cut off the French forces in the field from their base, the chain of fortresses formed by Verdun, Toul, Epinal, and Belfort, and prepare for them a new Sedan.

Meanwhile the main German Army will march through Luxembourg and Belgium and fall upon the hereditary enemy's country along the extended front across the almost unprotected northern boundary of France. With the army on the left wing, it will surround and storm the great fortress of Verdun, which bars the way from Metz to Paris, while in the meantime the other army columns will hasten by forced marches toward Paris. As soon as the main supply line from Metz to Paris is opened through the fall of Verdun—about six weeks after the beginning of the war, according to the plan—the neutrality of Belgium is to be restored. Paris to be bombarded after the fashion of Liege with our superior artillery (Big Berthas!) and taken by storm, and four weeks after the beginning of the war the great Emperor makes his triumphal entry. "On the anniversary of Sedan, I expect to breakfast in the Café de la Paix in Paris," announced Count Haessler in the early days of the war. "When the leaves fall the Landstrum will be coming home," you told us. The rest of the troops, you meant us to understand, would still be needed to occupy the country till the war indemnity was paid.

The plot for the east, hatched out by the Austrian general staff in 1911 or 1912, was just as ingenious. While east and west Prussia and Bukowina are protected solely by the defensive operations of the Landwehr and Landsturm troops, the main Austrian Army stationed along the Galician boundary will march toward the Vistula in a wide curve and occupy Poland until the German and Austrian boundary from east Prussia to east Galicia forms a handsome straight line, such as you are so fond of at parade. Before the stupid Russians are finally mobilized, a matter of about six weeks, the Polish forts will be crumpled up with the help of 42, 30, and 5 centimeter batteries, and Poland, which longs for deliverance from the Russian yoke anyway, conquered. "We only need to add Warsaw to our conquests, and the war will be finished," were your own words in the fall of 1914.

Some prince or other—one of your sons, if possible—is to become King of Poland. France will pay the cost of the war, including, of course, our indemnity to Belgium, which, considering its military helplessness, must permit our passing through without further ceremony. Perhaps there will be a French colony left over for us also. After a war lasting three months at the most you return home in triumph, amid the acclamations of your people. Once more, with the help of your military and Junker caste, you have saved Germany from destruction! You plan new armament for land and sea—now, of course, we have to prepare against two countries which want revenge—and you collect your percentage of profit from the millions the Krupps have made.

That was your plan of war, your war goal.

Who will ask why the widows weep, and the orphans and the cripples? They will stop if you pay them. Who will ask who is to bear the guilt of the war? To be guilty means to be the cause of misfortune. But a victorious war is in your eyes no misfortune for any nation.

#### FLAWS IN THE PLAN.

An enchanting plan in the east and west! Of course, we can not consider it in its political aspects, from the point of view of national welfare; this point must wait till later. It was intended merely as a military scheme, war for the sake of war. But even from this point of view it contained some flaws which deserve consideration; for instance:

(1) The whole scheme of the war as planned by the general staff rests upon an error; it is impossible to put up a war in hermetically sealed tins like corned beef, or wind it up on a bobbin like a spool in a sewing machine. War is not a thing which can be predetermined and settled in advance. For one thing, the opponent always sets your plans awry, a thing which it is vain to attempt to eliminate by the greatest possible precipitation in beginning the war, extreme haste in mobilization, and utmost vigor in the first offensive. Then, too, the very nature of one's own people, their psychological make-up, their economic situation, the kind of political leaders they follow, and the temperament of the generals who are available for service at the outbreak of the war, all these are factors which influence

the military situation from the very beginning, and thus should be taken into consideration in making plans. The Bavarians, ever at the forefront in patriotic sacrifices, and the men of Baden and Wurttemberg, quick as they are to perceive any danger threatening their own country, can not be ordered into Lorraine out of hand when the idea is not to expel the invading French but to entice them in.

(2) The plan of campaign, it should be particularly noted, can not be separated from the generals. One can not bestow their strategic plans upon crown princes like distinctions "pour le mérite." Moreover, field generalship is a more rare and difficult art than is, for instance, bobsleigh coasting.

Not even the fine name of Hellmuth Moltke is an unconditional guaranty of victory.

To be a Moltke is essential; to be called Moltke amounts to nothing. When you conferred the post of chief of the general staff upon Moltke 10 years ago, he himself informed you he was not qualified. You assigned it to him—about as one orders a subaltern to sentry duty—with the words, "Well, you are equal to this bit of a job in peace times; in war I am the supreme source of command, anyway." Have you forgotten that so soon?

You are responsible for the sins of the princes whom you chose as generals, as well as for the shortcomings of your chief of the general staff. Crown princes, in other words, inexperienced, but conceited and influential men, not only make a botch of the business intrusted to them but in so doing they set a bad example to others. Gen. von Kluck declared in the beginning of September, 1914, that he did not worry himself about the commands of the general staff; since the German Crown Prince did not worry about them, he did not see why he should bother!

You are acquainted, I take it, with the state of affairs in the conduct of your armies which led to the retirement of Moltke, Kluck, and Hausen, and to the abdication of the post of quartermaster general by Von Stein, and so forth?

(3) You calculated that easy-going, slovenly Austria, divided as it is into a dozen hostile peoples, would make the same military material as your Prussians. Did you think that the Czechs, Poles, Croats, and Ruthenians of the Austrian Army would fight with Prussian smartness and discipline against brothers of their own race to the north and to the south, people who had been surprised by an arbitrary and malicious attack? They were entirely justified in deserting to the other side by thousands at every opportunity which offered itself, instead of standing up to be shot down at the whim of a Hohenzollern. Any general ought to be hanged who does not know that his soldiers are flesh and blood, and not so many tin soldiers. Just because you carry on war, not with mercenaries, but with a nation called to arms, it is necessary that the goal of the war be in harmony with the ideas and interests of the nation, not with the ruler's silly lust for power.

(4) What if Belgium had not granted your army right of way through her country?

Belgium was no ordinary neutral State, which can waive or limit its neutrality at any moment it sees fit, and toward which a belligerent is allowed by international law to behave as he likes. Its neutrality was of a wholly different sort—a fact which was always concealed from the German people. Prussia, Austria, England, and France guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium under the sanctions of international law in the treaty of London, 1839, and until the beginning of this war you yourself, through your Government, have always recognized this guaranty as a binding pledge. Besides this, in his speech of August 4, 1914, your chancellor admitted that the entrance upon Belgian territory was a violation of the statutes of international law.

The march of troops through a neutral country on their way to war is one of the most serious breaches of neutrality; if it is allowed, it automatically permits the opposing party to march in, and thus the neutral country is made the theater of war. "The violation of the neutrality of Belgium would be the most shameful crime upon the pages of the world's history," said Gladstone, the English Prime Minister in Parliament, at the outbreak of war in 1870. Bismarck at that time observed Belgian neutrality so punctiliously that he would not even permit German wounded or medical attendants to be transported across Belgian territory after the battle of Sedan. Belgium dared not grant permission to march through, upon the penalty of being guilty of a breach of treaty, and thus of losing for all time its honor and respect among the nations. The rest of the guarantor powers were under no necessity of granting permission to march through Belgium, but were bound to hurry to her aid, if she demanded it. Our treaty with Belgium was as good and as binding as any other State treaty, as, for instance, the triple alliance. By tearing up this treaty, you relieved all other na-

tions of their engagements toward us, as Salandra quite rightly pointed out on the occasion of Italy's declaration of war. By a faithless attack upon a small, weak nation you alienated the sympathies of the entire world from us at the very beginning, and confirmed them to our opponents. But most important of all, by this action you forced England—who has always fulfilled her treaties—to enter the war upon Belgium's demand for protection, and to fight at least until Belgium's independence is again restored, and until the damage which has been done to her is repaired, in so far as this is possible at all. And this alone was England's reason for declaring war upon us.

Your subterfuges, such as that Belgium itself, or France, or England had already violated Belgium's neutrality are gross lies, as you very well know, meant only to deceive your own people. No one except yourself compromised Belgian neutrality. France answered immediately with a simple "Yes" Grey's question of July 31, 1914, as to whether it would respect the neutrality of Belgium in a war with Germany as long as no other power violated it. You sent the rotten answer through your secretary of state, Jagow, that "you could not answer the question, because of the necessity of not disclosing your plan of war." By those words the English query was answered and your plan of war stripped bare. And the English Ambassador Goschen, at the instance of his Government, immediately directed Bethmann-Hollweg's attention most forcibly to the inevitable consequences.

You therefore also have England's war against Germany upon your conscience, and for it you are answerable to your nation.

Likewise you are responsible for our losing the sympathies of foreign countries from the very start and for the breaking of treaties of alliance and friendship with Italy and Roumania.

(5) If one wants to carry on war it is, of course, well to prepare for it. This preparation should not, however, be carried on for so long a time, so strikingly, and so exhaustively that even the stupidest neighbor must have noticed it long since. Ever since 1905—the first Morocco affair—the sharp-eyed English noted not merely that you were looking for war with France, but also that you wanted in that case to make a surprise attack through Belgium, a course which would involve English treaty obligations and interests. Perhaps you think nobody noticed it when the officers of your general staff, even though disguised as tourists, studied the Franco-Belgian boundary. Acting upon this, the British also studied the defenses of Belgium and made the Barnardiston military agreements which you found in Brussels and published in a garbled form. These in all cases contain the proviso, "If another power violates the neutrality of Belgium." These agreements prove nothing against Belgium, nothing against England; they merely show that even at that time you had in mind a war involving the violation of the neutrality of Belgium. Or do you prefer to try to make us believe that you invaded Belgium on account of these military agreements, although their existence was entirely unknown to you? No; the opposite, rather, is the case. You would not have made the invasion if you had suspected how pluckily the little country would defend itself and how stubbornly it would be aided by England in its resistance.

The nearer the war came the more your military preparations increased, as was evident to all acquainted with such matters; increases in the army and navy, including the notorious billion-mark appropriation bill of 1913; added severity in military and espionage laws; continued secret meetings of German and Austrian high officials of state, statesmen, and chiefs of staff; feverish activity in all military industries; simultaneous increase in the burden of commercial credits and foreign exchange; uninterrupted purchases of gold by the Reichsbank; the founding of the German Wehrverein (Defense Union, 1912) and increased agitation in the Navy League; war talk in the yellow journals and a systematic manipulation of the civil press for war purposes; sensational books by the Crown Prince and by various generals (Bernhardi, Frobenius) as propaganda to influence public opinion for war; laws of all kinds preparatory to war; diplomatic machinations for the sake of tricking England into neutrality in case of a war; the establishment of headquarters for German spies, for example, in Alexandria; all sorts of secret indications pointing to war, in military barracks and in the mustering of reserve troops; copious subsidies to owners of automobiles and motor trucks, in order to be able to count on having as many of these vehicles as possible in case of war.

A few gems, by way of illustration: In Bavaria there was no "state-of-war" law. During previous wars in Bavaria no necessity had arisen for any such gag law by which, in case of war, public opinion is completely muzzled, and the entire civil government, business and trade, law, and order are subjected to military dictatorship. In 1912 a law of this kind, carefully patterned after that of Prussia, was introduced in Bavaria with as little fuss as possible. About the same time, Ludwig,

the Prince Regent, who was conducting the government for the mentally unbalanced King Otto, was elevated to the kingship, with the assent of the dominant party in Bavaria, the Center, which up to this time had declared this legally impossible. Your influence was responsible for that action, the reason being that the King controls mobilization, according to the Bavarian constitution, and there were considerable doubts on constitutional grounds as to whether the Prince Regent possessed this qualification in place of the King. Ludwig III, the avaricious miser, welcomed with no little delight a great increase in his civil list (from a few hundred thousand marks to more than 5,000,000), and even expressed willingness to have a further increase in it.

In the spring of 1914 the last preparations were made; everywhere collections were taken up in great numbers for the "Red Cross in war times." From May 10 until June 20 the German Crown Prince, with the chief of the general staff, Moltke, and a number of other generals in high command, made a tour of inspection along the entire boundary between France and Belgium, and of course did not fail to tell tales out of school everywhere. In braggadocio he out-bombasted even you, and not for nothing has he studied the war plan in the general staff. Walls have ears. At ports, such as Cuxhaven, barbed wire entanglements were laid out and grass sown over them so that by the beginning of the war the wires were concealed by tall grass. In Alsace-Lorraine observation towers for the artillery were built in suitable places for use in the great battle which was to encircle and cut off the enemy, and so forth.

Again, the Russians had been familiar with the Austrian war plan for more than a year, through Col. Redl, of the Austrian general staff. It is therefore little wonder that the statesmen of France and Russia, who are naturally not entirely blind, recognized your purposes, and in the spring of 1914 began certain defensive measures for the protection of their people, such as, for instance, the strengthening of garrisons along the boundaries and of boundary fortifications and the calling out of reservists for training. They knew that you would let loose a war upon them, the date alone they could not foresee.

That England must enter the war, by reason of her treaty obligations, her interests, and her common duty to humanity, was well known to you and to your counselors. But you did not let this thought trouble you. Our coasts are so well protected by land fortifications, outlying fortified islands, and mines that, even apart from our high seas fleet, a luxury as expensive as it is superfluous, an attempt on the part of the British to make a landing is practically impossible. The English field forces, however, were treated as a mere trifle. You arranged with your Turkish friends to promise Egypt as a reward to the Sultan for his declaring a holy war of the Mohammedans after England entered the war. As a result such violent uprisings were to be brought about in India and Egypt that the English would require all their land forces to protect their own colonies.

You fool! Didn't you know, and didn't the advisors you picked out know that England is the most stubborn and persistent nation in the world; that for centuries she has consistently succeeded in getting what she was fighting for and has enlarged her world power, while exactly the opposite can be asserted of our Austrian allies? Do you follow the advice of hectoring montebanks that you treat England as a nobody, to be turned over to the Turks to subdue "en passant" as incidental to a war with Russia, France, Serbia, and Belgium?

#### THE DECLARATION OF WAR.

Unhappy Serbia in the spring of 1914 saw herself destined to be the inevitable victim of the threatening world war. If her statesmen did not themselves know Austria's plans, then the Russian Ambassador Hartwig, in Belgrade, enlightened them. In the face of this terrible catastrophe Serbian patriots seized upon the last desperate expedient. They killed the Austrian heir apparent, Franz Ferdinand, in Serajevo on the 28th of June, 1914. By so doing they struck at the man who was the source whence all humiliating trickery had come upon their country, and they believed that they had destroyed the main-spring of the war that threatened them. They calculated that the old Emperor Franz Josef, now in his eighty-fourth year, and the heir to the throne, Archduke Karl Franz Josef, 27 years of age and not a warrior, would not let loose a war—a world war whose consequences for Austria would be incalculable.

Murdering princes is as little to be encouraged as murdering other men. Yet, if the Serbian patriots had succeeded in what they purposed they would have rendered humanity an enormous service and deserved a martyr's crown.

But they had reckoned without you, in ignorance of the fact that Austrian foreign diplomacy had degenerated into a passive tool for the accomplishment of your unbridled desires.

Had Franz Ferdinand not been killed, the world would have held him equally guilty with you; now the charge lies at your feet alone. Franz Josef, a desiccated mummy, acting solely at your command, could hardly have been aware of the full significance of his actions when he signed the ultimatum and then the declaration of war against Serbia. You had already relieved him of the necessity of making any other declarations of war.

"A clear course and straight sailing at last!" Now you had the most splendid reason for war: To avenge the murder of your friend! To be sure it was a reason for war only in the eyes of such infatuated fools as unfortunately most of your subjects were.

Suppose, for instance, some members of the Stuttgart Chapter of the Alpine Club had agreed among themselves to murder a high-handed individual who was dealing treacherously with the Alpine Club—because he looked upon the Alps merely as his hunting preserves, not as vacation spots for peaceable tourists—would this have been a reason for waging war against Wurttemberg? Since when has a country or a nation been responsible for the crimes of some of its subjects? Did anyone declare war against Switzerland or against Italy after the Austrian Empress Elizabeth was murdered in Geneva by an Italian? According to what statute in international, state, or private law may whole nations be slaughtered in revenge for the murder of one prince? Not only the people to which the murderer belongs, but also one's own people, for in war, as you probably know, the shooting is not on one side only; they shoot back.

At the beginning of July, shortly after the murder of the heir to the throne, the Austrian ambassador in Belgrade, Baron Giesl, invited the Russian Ambassador Hartwig into conference. At this conference Hartwig "died." According to the code of Austro-German diplomats, whose ideas on such subjects never emerge from the undergraduate stage, the murder of an ambassador is an affront to a State which can be wiped out only by war. You reckoned that Russia would now have to declare war upon Austria; then Germany would be involved by the terms of her alliance with Austria, and by the same token France by her alliance with Russia. Russia spoiled your plans with diplomatic adroitness by certifying through some Serbian doctors that the ambassador had died of apoplexy.

Nevertheless, you were determined not to allow the war to slip through your fingers.

On July 23, 1914, at 6 p. m., Austria's ultimatum was delivered to the Serbian Government, allowing 48 hours for a reply. It contained in its 10 points such a list of humiliations and encroachments upon Serbia's sovereign rights as has never before been presented to an independent state by a foreign Government (including the right to form associations and hold meetings, education, police, the army, the government of the state, judicial authority.) Notwithstanding this the Serbian Government did not reject the ultimatum, but acceded immediately to eight points, under the influence of Russia, England, and France, in order to preserve the peace of Europe. On one point (the participation of Austrian functionaries in suppressing the Pan-Serbian movement) she asked in most polite terms for a further explanation, where the wording of the Austrian note was undeniably obscure. At the same time she declared her readiness "to accept all cooperation which would be compatible with the principles of international law and of criminal procedure, as well as with neighborly relations." Finally on one point—the participation of Austrian functionaries in the judicial investigation of the accomplices living in Serbia (it should be noticed that the principal conspirators in Serajevo, i. e., Austrian territory, were arrested and dealt with)—the Serbian Government replied:

"The Royal Government, of course, considers it its duty to institute an investigation concerning all persons who were concerned in the conspiracy, or who are said to have been concerned in it, and who are within its territory. In regard to the participation of specially delegated functionaries of the Royal and Imperial (Austrian) Government in this investigation, however, it can not accept such a proposal, since such a thing would be a violation of the constitution and of the criminal code. On the other hand, reports concerning the results of the investigation might, in individual cases, be made to the Austro-Hungarian functionaries."

The Serbian Government went so far as to add: "The Royal Serbian Government believes that out of regard for the common interests of both parties, overhasty, precipitous action should be avoided in seeking a settlement of this affair. Therefore, in case the Austrian Government should consider this

answer unsatisfactory, the Royal Serbian Government is ready as always to accept a peaceful settlement, either by submitting this question for decision to the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague or to the great powers."

This was Serbia's answer to the Austrian ultimatum, and it was delivered punctually within the appointed time to the Austrian ambassador in Belgrade. Two hours later the Austrian ambassador left Belgrade, but the German people were deceived with the lie that Serbia had brusquely rejected Austria's ultimatum.

In the following days the ministers of foreign affairs in Russia and in England, Sazonoff and Sir Edward Grey, were feverishly trying to keep peace with the world, and to settle the essentially insignificant points of difference between Austria and Serbia, either by negotiations between Austria and Russia or by a conference of the ambassadors of the States not immediately concerned—Germany, Italy, England, and France—or by recourse to The Hague Tribunal. The last proposals of England and Russia went so far as to stipulate that Austria should retain Belgrade (the Serbian capital) as a guarantee until the peaceful settlement of her controversy with Serbia, and Grey declared that he would support every proposal seriously offered by Germany for a peaceful settlement of the controversy. At the same time he made it very plain to the Russian and French Governments that no English interests would be involved in the Serbian question, and that therefore England would not violate her neutrality on account of Serbia.

Germany and Austria either rejected all proposals or refused an answer under all sorts of pretexts. The favorite tactics were to pretend that Bethmann had asserted that he had forwarded the proposals to Vienna, and had as yet received no answer. If you had moved so much as your little finger, presto! "your war" would again have slipped through your fingers. How hard it is to start a war when all the neighbors want peace!

In vain the diplomats of France and Italy asked, "What is Austria really after? Surely outstanding points of difference could be settled in a quarter of an hour." Well, Austria, as your vassal, was forced to begin war according to the terms of her agreement—war at any cost. Austria, as your vassal—every page of the diplomatic documents is proof of that. Your statesmen and diplomats disposed of the affairs of Austria as if she were their ward and they her guardians, and issued statements for Austria without so much as asking her. In the White Book, which was presented to the Reichstag as evidence of the diplomatic activity preceding the war, there is not a single document, telegram, letter, or report of a conversation that was exchanged between you or your Government and the Austrian Emperor or Government!

On July 28 followed the Austrian declaration of war against Serbia and the Austrian mobilization against Serbia as well as against Russia. Thereupon the Czar was forced to mobilize for the protection of his realm.

On with the dance! The rest you took into your own hands; on July 31 the declaration that a state of war was impending and hasty ultimatums to Russia and to France, with 12 and 18 hours, respectively, allowed for answer; on August 1 the declaration of war against Russia and general mobilization; on August 2 invasion of Luxemburg and an ultimatum to Belgium; on August 3 declaration of war against France.

Not until August 6 did Austria come hobbling obediently after with her declaration of war against Russia.

Meanwhile, on August 4, England had declared war on Germany, simply and solely because Belgium's neutrality had been violated. On August 4, when the German troops were already in Belgium, the British ambassador, Goschen, inquired of your secretary of state, Von Jagow, whether it would not be possible to give up the idea of invading Belgium and to withdraw the troops. The answer was a negative one, and thereupon he demanded his passports.

#### THE AIM OF THE WAR.

So you set the world on fire for nothing, over differences which were not worth so much as the telegrams of the diplomats, not to mention the blood of a single human being. Never has a war been trumped up more unscrupulously, never were the efforts of neighboring nations for peace more insultingly scorned and trodden under foot. Never were nations lied to and deceived more despicably than Germany and Austria by you in order to kindle an artificial "war enthusiasm"—an enthusiasm, however, which consisted in the howling of a hundred jingoes, while a thousand sensible men had to swallow their rage in silence. Never was every approach to the truth, every crack and cranny through which it might seep more carefully dammed.

A war without reason, without an aim, simply a gigantic military pageant for your amusement, and for the "renown" of

the Hohenzollern," an imperial world-war game. A war of militarism and for militarism, like a revolver that has gone mad, finding life monotonous in its desk drawer and now fires about the streets at random.

Year after year the German people have to go on murdering and letting themselves be murdered, starving and getting deeper and deeper into debt, without finding out what the aims of the war are, without so much as being allowed to discuss them.

Oh, of course, it would not do to tell them that the whole affair was but an imperial war game.

German professors who crawl on their bellies before you, but who before the world outside give themselves all the airs of a Bismarck, are devoting their painstaking efforts to inventing "a posteriori," the missing causes and aims of the war. As Mephisto says:

Don't worry if ideas amount to nil.  
A word in timely order fills the bill.

So they say, for instance, that German civilization must be protected against Pan-Slavism. By war? No, idiots; German civilization protects itself by its own superiority. Did you ever meet men in Germany who were afraid of being Russianized?

German geologists who explore the mineral wealth of Russia, German engineers who survey the mines, German bankers who finance them, German physicians who are called to the sick beds of princes, German machine works which build up Russian industry and agriculture, German mechanics who set up the machines and direct the Russian laborers as to their use, German merchants who display to the Russians German articles of comfort and utility and teach them their application, German teachers and nurses who teach German to Russian society children and in this way break the ground for German culture, German publishers, German theatrical managers, German actors, German musicians, German painters, who present the products of German art to the Russians—these are the men who have hitherto conquered Russia in the interests of German culture, and not vice versa. But what it took them decades to build you destroyed with one stroke of the pen. They all prospered in Russia. You drove them out of it. Who knows whether they ever will be permitted to return? Pan-Slavism never estranged a German from things German, but with your cannon you drove German spirit and manners from Russia. Is it not one of the most incomparable jests in the history of the nations that this war was necessary to Russianize the good old German name of the Russian capital and make Petrograd out of Petersburg?

Again, we hear that Russia's designs upon Constantinople were a cause of the war. In reality Russia counseled Serbia to the utmost submission, and exhibited not the slightest intention to attack anyone, not even Turkey. Likewise, on former occasions, at the peace negotiations following the Balkan wars, her actions manifested far greater inclination toward peace than Austria did. We could have waited with perfect equanimity to see whether Russia would show signs of warlike intentions against Turkey, and would put these into effect, and whether even then our interests should necessitate armed intervention. In the history of the last hundred years Russia has, as a matter of fact, tried several times to get possession of Constantinople, but France and England have always thwarted her without its costing the life of a single German soldier. What foolish and stupid diplomacy it would be to provoke a war against Russia, France, and England, and to enlist Turkey on our side for the sake of forestalling alleged Russian designs upon Constantinople! That is why those whose political interests were far more opposed than ours to Russia's Dardanelles policies were made Russia's comrades in arms. If Russia conquered Germany she would really begin to be a menace to Constantinople; if she were defeated in the war you trumped up, she would necessarily look upon Turkey as a welcome compensation for the loss of Poland.

We must defend and establish the freedom of the seas against English supremacy. How silly! If the "freedom of the seas" had been threatened, compelling us to have recourse to arms on that account, then we should have had to address an ultimatum on this subject to England, and to declare war upon her. It was you, on the contrary, who begged for English neutrality, and as late as August 4, 1914, Bethmann-Hollweg declared in his speech to the Reichstag:

We have declared to the British Government that as long as England remains neutral our fleet will not attack the northern coast of France, and we shall respect the territorial integrity and independence of Belgium. This declaration I herewith repeat before the world, and I may add that as long as England agrees in good faith to remain neutral we are also prepared to forego undertaking any hostile operations against the French merchant marine.

Is that the way one speaks in demanding of England the freedom of the seas and in drawing the sword on that account?

No; it is England herself, the classic example of freedom of trade, who hitherto steadfastly maintained the freedom of the seas and water lanes, and defended it vigorously for all the world and against all the world, the most recent occasion being against the United States in the question of the Panama Canal tolls shortly before the outbreak of the war. Never has England threatened the development of our marine or our world commerce by a single word, much less by a deed. If, in the course of the war, England resorts to a blockade in order to starve out our country, an entirely legitimate proceeding in time of war, then the attempt to improve this condition for which you only are entirely to blame can not be represented as "the aim of the war." You might just as well call the dropping of bread cards or the elimination of press censorship our war aim. If I shot at a couple of passers-by from my window, and a third, in endeavoring to aid them, threw a stone at me and broke my window, I certainly could not maintain that I fired the shot in order to defend the freedom of my window.

Why waste so much as a single breath in discussing hollow phrases, such as our "place in the sun"? Who of you has found his "place in the sun" contested by the French, Russians, English, or Serbs? Not one, either in Germany or in the German colonies. Our colonies in Africa alone cover an area more than five times as large as the whole of the German Empire. In 1913 the total German population of all our African colonies amounted to about 27,000 (men, women, and children) less than in the average suburb of Berlin. How many million Germans might still find a "place in the sun" there? We had no use at all for so much territory, and had to spend many millions every year for its upkeep.

There is a tragic logic and justice in history. If you go to war to uphold unreal contentions, you risk having them come true negatively. Pan-Slavism did not threaten Germanism; but by the war the progress and success of Germanism in the east was brought to naught. Before the war Russia was not a source of danger to Constantinople; through the war it has become one. All the seas were open to us before the war; through it we have been barred from them. We had more room under the sun than we needed; now we stand shorn of our gains, and our colonies are in the possession of the entente.

Victory in war implies the attainment of a political end by means of military force. For example, Serbia in the first Balkan War. In war for war's sake there are only victories for victory's sake—the pseudovictories of militarism.

By the battle of the Marne the French stopped your advance toward Paris and forced your army back more than 100 kilometers (62 miles). That was a real victory for the French, for thus they destroyed your military project against Paris, and that was their first purpose in the war.

On the contrary, our occupation of northern France—which was made possible only by the forcible entrance into Belgium in violation of international law—is not a victory, for we do not in the least want northern France. Your Government does not want it, and not a single German soldier wishes to settle there. The only thing they all want is to come out again. And because you are too much ashamed and too cowardly to admit the truth, thousands upon thousands must continue to bleed to death from Verdun to Dixmude and by the Somme and the Yser.

Those are your victories, Emperor!

And what of our victories in Poland?

(I here pass over the fact that the latter were not won at once, as prescribed in the plan of campaign, but only after a year's time, and likewise not by the Austrians, but by the Germans.)

If what you desired was Poland's liberation from the Russian yoke, Poland's independence, consider how often we could have attained it during the past century at the time of various great Polish rebellions, if we had sent to their aid two or three Prussian army corps. But Bismarck very properly did nothing of the sort. The blood of German soldiers is too precious to be spent for the liberation of Poland; the enmity of Russia is too high a price for us to pay for her independence. But tell me, what Pole ever asked you to free him from Russia? What German ever declared himself ready to shed his blood for that cause?

If what you wished was the incorporation of Poland into Germany, drop it. We already have more than too many Poles in Prussia. We have already thrown away hundreds of millions of money in resisting Polish nationalization by our "colonization policy." We already have enough "Polish questions" in Prussia and in the Empire.

If, on the other hand, there was a plan to unite Poland with Austria, consider that Teutonism in Austria is even to-day engaged in a death grapple with the Slavs and Poles. The

Incorporation of Poland would mean the political ruin of the Germans in Austria and their suppression by the Czechs and Poles.

Is it for such "victories" that the blood of our young men and the billions of our national wealth must be sacrificed.

Take our victories in the Balkans. Whether Serbs or Bulgars, Roumanians or Greeks or Turks have a rag or tatter of land more or less down there is a matter of absolute indifference to Germany. In so far as we have interests in the Balkans we must protect them by commercial treaties; everything else is hellish madness. The whole of the Balkans are not worth the bones of a Prussian grenadier. This famous saying of Bismarck is just as true to-day as it was 40 years ago.

Anyone is a murderer and a traitor who sacrifices a single German in the cause of Bulgaria or Turkey.

#### THE WAR PLAN WRECKED.

In August, 1914, your war plan in the east was shattered. Instead of Warsaw being captured by the Austrians, Lemberg was taken and Przmysl besieged by the Russians. In east Prussia Gen. von Prittwitz und Gaffron, whom you had intrusted with the duty of guarding the border, got completely out of his rôle. This junker had already distinguished himself for his incapacity in the Silesian war games against von Strantz. The simultaneous attack of two great Russian armies—the Niemen and the Narew army—had not been anticipated in his program. Posen and Silesia lay open to a Russian invasion after the retreat and rout of the armies of Dankl and Auffenberg. Only the genius of two real generals, who, however, had not been provided for in your war plan—Hindenberg and Mackensen—and the unparalleled devotion of our Landwehr and Landsturm troops saved Germany from a catastrophe in the east, a catastrophe for which you would have been alone to blame.

In the west, after many bloody battles, entire failures from a strategic point of view, the Crown Prince of Bavaria succeeded in completely upsetting the local war plan in the great Battle of Lorraine August 18-21, 1914. The trenches, battery positions, and observation towers which your general staff had prepared so prematurely were left unused. It was all up with the idea of encircling and cutting off the French field force from its base. After we had foolishly given up the Vosges positions (for instance, at Donon), which we took at great cost at the beginning of the war, we finally won them back with great sacrifice of blood. That, of course, did not prevent you from triumphantly parading the battle in Lorraine before your people as a victory. Men in the inner circle assert that you yourself commanded the Bavarian Crown Prince to break off his strategic retreat prematurely, in spite of the urgent requests of Count Haessler. If this is correct—you know best yourself if it is—you are personally responsible for this failure also.

The attack upon Verdun, with the eventual surrounding and siege of the fortress, was the strategic task which you intrusted to your young hopeful, your first born. To-day, 30 months later, he finds himself on the same spot as on the 1st of September, 1914, but the graves of hundreds of thousands of German youths and men mark the theater of his activities as a general.

Large numbers of the Saxons were either captured or slain at Chalons, after failing to join forces at the beginning of September with the advancing armies of Bülow and Kluck. The force of the latter, which was already at the gates of Paris, was thereby threatened on the left wing with the danger of being surrounded by the French Army under Maunoury, and in the rear by the danger of being cut off and covered by an English Army which had landed at Boulogne. Only by a most rapid retreat from the Marne to the Aisne did they save themselves in the middle of September from a Sedan. Thus have your imperial maneuvers, senseless enough from a political standpoint, broken down and failed in every detail since the middle of September, 1914.

Since that time Germany has been a besieged fortress. Since then you have thrown sand in the eyes of the German people in civil and in military matters. Since then, to divert attention, victories have been wrung from weak States such as Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and celebrated with monstrous exaggeration. Since then Germans have been slaughtered in order to protect the Hungarians, Turks, and Bulgars, whom you swept into the vortex of war, from the attacks which you have drawn down upon them. Since then myriads upon myriads of our brothers have poured out their life blood along the Yser, in the Champagne, at Arras, around Verdun, and on the Somme, not for any purpose or aim, but helpless victims of infamy. Every silent form—whether slain by us or by our "enemies"—is a murder at your hands, accusingly crying to Heaven for revenge!

The collapse of your war plan and the inner incoherence and hopelessness of the conflict are, of course, well known to our enemies. It is a secret only from the trustful, confiding German people. In truly tyrannical fashion you try to hide your weakness under a policy of frightfulness at home and abroad which is not only useless strategically but even detrimental, because it spurs the enemy to most savage resistance and evokes measures of reprisal. You plunder occupied territory, inhumanly exact fines on the merest prettexts, drag the inhabitants into slavery, throw bombs upon unprotected cities outside of the war zone, destroy monuments of art and civilization without sufficient reason, sink merchant and passenger ships of belligerent and even of neutral powers, in violation of international law, employ illegal means of warfare (gas attacks); at home you maintain secret spies, you infringe the inviolability of the mails, of the right to move freely from place to place, and of other civil rights; you arbitrarily imprison without legal justification, and unconstitutionally suppress accurately reported speeches in the Reichstag; you are shockingly unreasonable and treacherous in dealing with business, and crown all your misdeeds by the shooting of starving women and children with machine guns. By these and many other acts you have not only graven your mark deep into the brazen tablets of the world's history as the most infamous monster of all mankind, but, what is more to be regretted, you have sullied for all time the honor of Germany, to the rage and shame of all noble and right-thinking German men and women. Through your agents you vainly attempt to bribe public opinion in foreign countries with gold—with the gold of your people. Every thinking neutral, every reasonable person is upon the side of our enemies, not because he has been bribed, nor because he is a manufacturer of munitions, but out of sheer enthusiasm for the great common cause of humanity, the cause which you tread underfoot. Millions flow ceaselessly from their pockets for the amelioration of distress among your most unhappy victims—the Belgians, the Poles, and the Serbs.

#### THE GUILT.

He who fights for his rights may be defeated with honor. He who fights an unjust cause must win or go under.

As we well know, the voice of conscience speaks ever more insistently to your heart. The furies whiten your hair, and under their pursuit your features grow wild and haggard. There was no pose in your words when you said, as you knelt upon a great common grave of German soldiers in Flanders: "This was not what I wanted." It was the cry of a stupid boy who throws a match into a powder keg on seeing the destruction which he has caused. "The war was not what I wanted." This was the sort of lie your sycophants tried to make out of your words.

But you are too much of a coward to make amends for your guilt—the heaviest blood guilt which a man has ever taken upon himself. With averted eyes you whine out your prayers to the God whom you ask to protect you from the consequence of your iniquity, and while you go on heaping murder on murder through your accomplices you charge others with the guilt which you have brought upon yourself. We already have condemned and despised you—now you make us sick with disgust. "Semper calumnaire audacter." "Always tell lies boldly." That is the only way in which you and your Government show their courage.

For decades France has committed no hostile act toward Germany. She elected no more "revenge howlers" to her ministries, nor to other places of responsibility, and she showed her love of peace in the three Morocco crises. After Austria's declaration of war against Serbia, when the German boundary was already occupied by military outposts and Germany's purposes were well known, France directed her soldiers to keep 10 kilometers (6 miles) within our own territory, in order to avoid any possible conflict with you, and to give you not the least pretext for a declaration of war. Even with your Government's most barefaced lies concerning the alleged presence of French airmen along the Rhine and over Nuremberg, statements which have since been denied by the magistrate of Nuremberg himself, it could not fool the world into believing that France shared any guilt for the war.

Again, it is claimed that Russia by her mobilization interrupted the negotiations for settling the Austro-Serbian dispute, which are alleged to have been under way, and for this reason she is charged with having forced you to declare war. According to Bethmann-Hollweg in his speech before the Reichstag August 4, 1914, the mobilization on our boundary was already in full swing in the night of July 30-31, 1914. As a matter of fact the Russian mobilization of the four southern Provinces of Kiev, Kasan, Odessa, and Moscow was ordered on July 29 and officially reported to the powers. The general mobilization took place at 1 in the morning on July 31. But note that:

(1) Mobilization is not war; mobilization is increased military preparedness. Austria was mobilized for a long time after the first Balkan War without Russia or any other power deriving a reason for war from that fact. The Czar and his minister of foreign affairs, Sazonoff, gave the most solemn assurances that Russia's mobilization was without aggressive intent of any sort, that Russia would not begin hostilities under any circumstances. They not only declared themselves ready to continue negotiations, but for their own part made the most extensive proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Serbian question. (Belgrade pledged for the fulfillment of Austria's desires.) The Czar left it within your discretion to answer the Russian mobilization with a German mobilization.

(2) Austria had mobilized on July 28 against Russia, too. The Russian mobilization was therefore evoked by Austria's and as necessary to self-defense. Moreover, Russia was fully acquainted with your intentions in regard to the war. From the very conduct of the Austrian and German Governments in the Serbian question their intention to make war became perfectly evident. It would have been most conscienceless and remiss in the Czar and his Government had they left their country an unprotected prey to the Austro-German attack.

(3) At the hour of the Russian mobilization you had not yet, to be sure, given the official order for mobilization. In reality, however, so many military preparations had already been made that they amounted to a mobilization. We mention only a few, such as were, for the most part, known to us personally. After July 25 the boundaries, stations, railroad tunnels, and bridges were put under military guard. After July 26, if not earlier, aeroplanes and Zeppelins patrolled the boundaries and the islands of the North Sea, and likewise torpedo boats in the North Sea and the Baltic. After July 27 cavalry sabers were sharpened. After July 29 innumerable military transport trains passed over the German railroads; for instance, in the night of July 29-30 alone 35 military trains went through Nuremberg. On July 29 several regiments of heavy artillery landed in Borkum, filled the whole island with heavy cannon, destroyed the quays, beach pavilions, and so forth, and mined the hotels and houses along the shore in order that they might be blown up at any moment. On July 30 the entire population was forced to leave the island with the exception of the men between the ages of 17 and 60, who were compelled to remain. On July 30 telegraph and telephone communication with territory along the boundaries and within such territory was stopped or placed under military control. At least as early as July 30 large numbers of reserve officers and landwehr officers and also reservists had in their hands calls to the colors either by telegraph or by letter. All these measures were taken not only against Russia but even against England and France, although a war of aggression by Russia would in no way have involved France under the terms of her alliance. Your offensive war against Russia had therefore been resolved upon and settled since the ultimatum to Serbia (in reality for many a year before that).

No; Russia's mobilization was not a cause for war. It was, however, very annoying to you, because you now had to make your attack not against a defenseless enemy but against one who was armed. You behaved like the robber who calls out to his victim when the latter reaches for his revolver, "Drop your gun or I'll shoot!" That was what your ultimatum to Russia amounted to.

In truth, ever since we were comrades in arms with Russia in the war of liberation against Napoleon we have been united with her in friendship for more than a hundred years. That friendship was fostered by Bismarck and all far-sighted German statesmen. It was gratefully acknowledged and returned by the Russians, especially by Czar Nicholas, and the high esteem in which it was held continued until the last instant before your declaration of war. This friendship you senselessly tore to shreds, and in so doing you tore all commercial and intellectual bonds which up to that moment had joined the people of Germany and Russia, with so much profit to us.

But, worst of all, the German people, inexperienced as they are politically, are being scandalously deceived with lies about the English "encircling" policy, which is alleged to be responsible for the war.

Envy of Germany's political success, of her colonies, her merchant marine, her commerce, and her industry is given as the motive for this policy.

If only the German people were not so blinded by their own self-satisfaction, and had a little knowledge of foreign affairs, they would know that England is much nearer contemplating our development with a condescending smile than with envy.

It is with envy that thinking men in Germany look upon the superiority of English statecraft in domestic and foreign policies, and upon the splendid results of these policies, which have

made the English tongue and English civilization supreme over whole continents almost without a stroke of the sword.

They see with envy that German emigrants make their way to English colonies prospering under a model government, whereas in our colonies they find only the bureaucracy and caste of the mother country. Our emigrants prefer other spots to a place under the sun of your colonial government, and, sad to say, for entirely justifiable reasons.

They see with envy that peoples subjugated by England—as, for instance, the Boers—grow and prosper under English freedom, justice, and statecraft, and after but a few years become the most enthusiastic partisans of the English Government, while strangers whom we have incorporated within Germany—the Alsatians, the people of Lorraine, the Poles, and the Danes—under the yoke of your military and Junker rule remain at all times a thorn in our flesh.

House rents, most articles of food, and taxes were far lower in England before the war than in Germany. Incomes under 3,000 marks (\$750) were free from an income tax. In 1913, only 5.18 per cent (approximately a twentieth) of all householders in Prussia had an income of over 3,000 marks; on the other hand, more than half—50.5 per cent—had an income under 900 marks (\$225). In other words, more than half of your subjects were living in the most poverty-stricken circumstances.

While in England, even in the large cities, almost every skilled workman and his family have their own house and garden, in Berlin, according to the census of 1905, 820,071 people were living in one-room dwellings; 49,991 of such single rooms were inhabited by 5 or more people—up to 13. Countless Germans have smaller living quarters at their disposal than the inmate of a prison cell.

In spite of its brilliant development, our foreign trade in comparison with our population is not only smaller than England's, but also than that of Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland—and, at that, Switzerland does not possess a single ship. Likewise, our public well-being is comparatively far below that of these small States and of England. Neither the size of a State nor its military power in any way promotes the happiness and welfare of the population. These conditions depend solely upon science, mechanical development, art, commerce, and business activity. By militarism the achievements of civilization can be only destroyed, never brought forth. Even in times of peace militarism continually withdraws from economic pursuits hundreds of thousands of men in their prime and billions of capital, and necessitates financial legislation which, at every turn and corner, makes the business of earning a living more difficult and costly, hinders and obstructs trade and economic progress, and, finally, handicaps industry in its ability to compete with foreign countries.

The English know all this. You may be sure they do not envy us. The free Briton, who finds strength and discipline in his chosen "sport," looks down with scorn, not envy, upon your people in the leading strings of militarism, bureaucracy, Junkerism, and clericalism. He sees them governed and impoverished by a few dozen superfluous princes—before the war just as much as now.

The people of England, entirely antimilitary though they are, whom you and the wisecracks of your general staff treated as nobodies from a military point of view and sport for the cartoonist, predicted a war of three years' duration from the very beginning, even at the time when Count Haiseler said he expected to celebrate Sedan Day, 1914, in Paris, and when you were prophesying that the Landsturm would come home in the fall of the year.

If England, with her enormous colonial empire spanning as it does half the globe, had ever pursued a policy of selfishness against Germany or had ever wished to do so, she would have found nothing easier. She could have introduced protective tariffs in order to insure her industry against German competition. She could have granted her ships in her colonial harbors and marine coaling stations as well as in England special privileges, for instance, better docking facilities and cheaper harbor tolls. She could have made German trade in England and in the British colonies difficult and expensive by requiring passports and trade licenses involving payments, etc. She could have pushed Germans from her doorstep as "troublesome foreigners" in the same way you treat foreigners in Prussia. But, no. In no foreign country, not in the German Empire itself, have Germans possessed so much freedom as in England and in England's colonies. Nowhere in Germany have foreigners possessed so much freedom as Germans in England have. England has never pursued a policy of envy against Germany. To wage war because of envy—such an absurdity can only find lodgment in a brain completely inoculated with militarism.

It is a profoundly significant dispensation in world history that the most peaceful Government in the world, the first to inscribe the ideas of pacifism upon her banners and to resolve, with typical British energy, upon translation of these ideas into deeds, has been compelled for this very reason to wage in the interests of humanity the greatest war which England has ever conducted, a war to exterminate wars, at least among civilized nations.

Even as far back as 1890, during a discussion of the Caprivi Zanzibar treaty, in the British Lower House, by which Helgoland was relinquished to Germany, one of the members expressed his fear that Germany might be able to make a fortress out of this island for use against England. Lord Salisbury, the prime minister, remarked that this possibility was not worth considering, as another war among the enlightened nations of Europe was certainly not likely to occur.

That thought was typical of English statesmen who judge others by the same standards of good sense as they apply to themselves. But your uncle, then Prince of Wales and later King Edward VII, knew you better. He had had far too many opportunities to observe you from your youth up and to become acquainted with your purely militaristic range of ideas for him not to recognize what a monstrous danger threatened the peace of the world from this source. This far-seeing man of the world, friend of the arts and sciences, fond of life's pleasures, who was as seldom seen in uniform as you were seen without it, made it his business to travel about among our neighbors, including Austria, because he knew of the impending danger. Solely to imprison your overesger sword within its sheath and to keep the peace of Europe, he assured them: "If Germany should make a sudden attack upon you, call on me!" He did not bind himself but he threatened you: if you break the peace, you will find England on the side of your opponents!

This is the starting point, the purport, and aim of the entire "encirclement" policy. It would have preserved peace to our own advantage—permanently, too—if you had taken England's power and England's word as seriously as they have always deserved to be taken. But in your infatuation you were mad enough to believe that you could unhinge England's world power with the help of the Sultan.

The three shining lights of England's political heaven—Asquith, Grey, and Lloyd-George. They are not only the most important statesmen on earth to-day but also the greatest pacifists who have ever directed a Government. Up to the outbreak of the war their reasoning was as follows: The annual European expenditures for armaments devour billions altogether fruitlessly, to the detriment of all the nations concerned, and of civilization. The latter could be splendidly promoted with a fraction of the sums thus squandered. These expenditures are entirely futile, for every increase in the armament of one country is followed by an increase among her competitors, the ratio therefore always remaining the same; and they do not serve to insure peace but to increase the danger of war, and the longer this is kept up the worse the danger. Just as individual peoples, by means of an organized State administration of law to which they were subject, succeeded in emerging from the medieval epoch of the robber knight when one vassal constantly warred against another, so the enlightened States of to-day must leave behind the whole war system and attain an orderly régime based upon international law and treaties, under which disputes as they arise will be settled by arbitration having universal sanction and conducted by disinterested powers (the Hague Tribunal).

These men, moreover, have always acted in accordance with these principles. Thus they came to mutual agreements with Russia in determining their sphere of influence in Persia, with Japan in the matter of their respective policies in eastern Asia, and, shortly before the outbreak of the world war, with Germany in determining her sphere of interest in Mesopotamia. In this way friction over critical points is out of the question from the very first.

At the instance of Sir Edward Grey in 1906 the question of armament was placed upon the program of the second Hague Peace Conference. Grey explained this in the lower house in the following words:

"At no time has public opinion in Europe been more firmly fixed upon peace than at the present, and yet the burden of appropriations for the army and navy is constantly increasing. The Hague conference could render no more meritorious service than to make the terms upon which peace is maintained less expensive than heretofore. It has been said we should wait for other powers, but as matters now stand all the powers are waiting for one another, and some day one of them must take the first step."

This first step was taken by Sir Edward Grey.

In harmony with its obstructionist policy at the first Hague conference, your Government, with the support of Austria at the second conference, categorically opposed all progress in the direction suggested by Sir Edward Grey, and, in fact, all advance toward world peace in general. On the ground that those were their instructions, your representatives not only declined all discussion of this question for their own part, but even registered a formal protest against debates on this subject by the representatives of other States. Thus most of the States, including England, France, and Russia, had proposed and resolved that the powers should bind themselves to appeal to the Hague court of arbitration at least in all questions which did not involve the vital interests or the independence of the contesting parties. Germany and Austria not only refused this proposal, but also protested against this resolution being considered as binding even upon the States which had agreed to it—i. e., not upon Germany and Austria.

The two Hague peace conferences could therefore make resolutions applicable only in case of a war, but could not frame resolutions to prevent a war, though this had been the earnest desire of all the other civilized powers, England especially.

After the failure of these plans for peace and disarmament, the English statesmen, led by Sir Edward Grey, sought year in and year out to come to an agreement with Germany in order at least to set a limit to naval armaments. Sensible merchants—which the English are, while your professional soldiers and diplomats certainly are not—would scarcely keep 100 fire and theft proof safes if 1 answered the purpose. Grey kept indefatigably making proposals, for instance, that the present status of the fleets of England and Germany, 16 to 10, should be maintained, with the threat, however, that for every new German warship England would lay down two—two keels for one. In other words, if you were willing to refrain from further naval preparations, England would do the same, the ratio remaining 16 to 10. If, however, you refuse, your sea power will constantly grow less in relation to England's.

As a representative of the Krupp firm, of course you could not agree to this proposal.

After the failure of the Hague peace conference in 1907, the tireless English summoned a world peace congress in London during the summer of 1908. At this Lloyd-George, then minister of finance, pleaded in an impassioned speech for an understanding between Germany and England and declared it a pity "that in the twentieth century it should be necessary to hold a conference in a civilized country to protest against Christian States annually expending about \$2,000,000,000 for the purpose of preparing to kill one another."

Asquith declared that "England would joyfully grasp the hand which was offered her in good faith and with a friendly purpose."

England kept on offering you her hand. You always refused to take it, and replied by new navy and army bills.

In a speech in the lower House December 12, 1910, Grey called the continued increase in military preparations a "breaking down of civilization" and a "bleeding to death in times of peace." Grey continually and expressly offered Germany the friendship of England and assured her that "the friendly relations which England had already formed were no obstacle to her making new ones." A single word from you and Germany would have been received into the entente as a highly esteemed and welcome member of the community which stood for enlightenment and peace in Europe.

Since the English Government realized that you were steering more and more steadily toward war it sent Lord Haldane, with whom you had for a long time been on terms of personal friendship, on a special mission to Berlin in February, 1912, in order to influence you toward peace. He was forced to the disappointing conclusion that all his efforts were in vain. While he was negotiating with you for peace, you were treating with him for England's neutrality in case of war. You wanted to make it easier for yourself to carry on war by eliminating England, while England, on the other hand, wished to make it harder for you to carry on war at all.

Grey declined to accede to your demand for neutrality, and on account of his obligations to Belgium he could not have done otherwise if he had wished. At the same time, however, in a document handed to the German ambassador, he made the following official declaration on the basis of a resolution of the cabinet: "England will neither make an unprovoked attack upon Germany nor will she take part in such an attack. An attack upon Germany is not the object nor a constituent part of any treaty, understanding, or alliance to which England is a party. England will never allow herself to be involved in any such agreement."

Can a power more strongly emphasize its peaceable purposes or more safely guarantee them for the future? It must be remembered that England was under no obligation whatsoever to make any such binding declarations, and that it was a pure and unrequited proof of her peaceful and friendly designs toward Germany.

England has not encircled Germany, but, in spite of the offers made by England, Germany and Austria have purposely and with malevolent and hostile intent kept aloof from all peaceable, friendly agreements which the other great powers of Europe have made with one another in order to preserve world peace.

Sir Edward Grey displayed feverish activity in the critical days from July 23 to August 1, 1914. Even the energy with which he labored day and night over countless dispatches and conferences in the interests of a peaceful understanding was astonishing. All the published diplomatic documents, even the much-doctored ones of the German White Book, present an unmistakable record of his activity. He exerted powerful pressure upon Serbia, Russia, and France in favor of unlimited compliance and with complete success. Only in the case of Germany and Austria did all his proposals, suggestions, and inquiries fall upon deaf ears. They both discarded—the German Government would submit the proposal to Austria; the Austrian Government made no reply. As in 1912, so now the German Government answered England's peace proposals with the demand that England remain neutral. This was equivalent to an acknowledgment that she wished to carry on war but without England's intervention.

Grey issued the following statement on July 31, 1914, through the British ambassador in Berlin: "England declines the proposal concerning neutrality. Friendly relations between England and Germany can be maintained in only one way; that is, if these two countries unite in a common effort to preserve the peace of Europe. If they make this effort, the relations between these countries will automatically be improved and reinforced. The British Government is prepared to exert itself in this direction with all seriousness and good will. If the peace of Europe can be preserved at this time and the crisis safely passed, England's whole efforts will be directed toward bringing about an arrangement to which Germany could be a party, and in which it would find an absolute assurance that no aggressive or hostile policies of any sort would be pursued against it or its allies by France, Russia, or England. This had been his wish, and he had labored for this end to the full extent of his ability. His idea had hitherto appeared too Utopian to be the definite objective of actual proposals. If, however, the present crisis, which was more dangerous than any which had arisen in Europe for generations, should be safely passed, he hoped that the period of relief and relaxation of tension following it would bring the powers into closer touch with each other than had hitherto been possible."

Bethmann-Hollweg had a copy made of this truly touching appeal from Grey "in order to be able to consider the matter at his leisure," as he said to the British ambassador. Manifestly the result of this consideration was the declaration on the same day that the country was in imminent peril of war, and the ultimata to Russia and France.

Many other proofs of England's desire for peace and positive efforts toward peace could be adduced. Just as you prepared for war so England prepared for peace. In the last years before the war she called one international congress in London after another. After the congress for world peace in London, 1908, which we have already mentioned, there followed congresses of authors, bankers, leaders of Parliament, doctors, physicians, and naturalists, all with the purpose of influencing public opinion in Germany in favor of a peaceful rapprochement between the powers. Love's labor lost, for in Germany public opinion does not decide questions of war and peace as it does in England, but, according to the constitution of the Empire, these matters rest solely with the Emperor.

And for this reason also you alone bear the responsibility! You and the counsellors you yourself chose!

Lest any misunderstanding arise it should be emphasized as self-evident that your responsibility is not removed or diminished by the Reichstag's granting of war credits. You did not consult the Reichstag before the ultimata to Serbia, Russia, France, and Belgium, nor before the declarations of war. It was not until after these, on the 4th of August, 1914, that the Reichstag was consulted, and even then you did not tell it the truth; you lied about the antecedents, the causes, and the aims of the war. The Reichstag of August 4, 1914, found itself, figuratively speaking, in the position of a fire company, which has to get out the fire-fighting apparatus even if the owner or head of the house himself has started the blaze. This is not the place to discuss such questions as, for instance, whether the

Reichstag could not have acted to better purpose, with more energy, insight, and appreciation of the demands of the situation, and whether individual members of it were not already acquainted with your intentions and were your accessories and partners in crime. No wholesale murderer is absolved from blame because he had accomplices or because the consequences of his deed could have been obviated by the prudent interference of others.

The indictment of you which we made at the beginning of this writing is therefore proved in every particular.

#### CONCLUSION.

No web of lies, no matter how intricate, can absolve you from guilt before the world, nor can it cloud the vision of neutral or even hostile nations.

And though you and your henchmen have hitherto succeeded by brute force and with Jesuit wiles in barring the door to truth in Germany, some day the truth will yet come in. And the longer that day is in coming the worse not only for Germany but for you, too, your house, and all your crew!

You and your Government are the ones who not only began the war, but you alone prevent the bloodshed from coming to an end. Nothing else whatever stands in the way of Germany's still making an honorable peace.

Your downfall, the downfall of the monarchic-militaristic-junker Government in Germany and the establishment of a German Republic, marching hand in hand with England and France—this would mean peace, prosperity, and happiness for the whole world; a deep sigh of relief after a universal régime of blood and madness—relief for the whole world, but above all for Germany itself.

When some one asked Bismarck after the battle of Koniggratz what he would have done had the battle turned out unfavorably, he answered: "I should have put myself at the head of a cavalry charge and ridden into the thick of the fight, and never come back alive." Thus spoke a great man, a man of power, but a man—one who knew how to bear the consequences of his deeds, not a scoundrel who snivels sanctimoniously as day after day he heaps corpse upon corpse merely because he is too craven to confess his guilt before God and man and to pay the price with his life.

Woe to you; woe to your brood and to your aids and abettors! Truth is on the way; the hand of eternal justice even now writes in characters of fire on the walls of your palace:

#### MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN!

You have plunged humanity into the bloodiest, most senseless, and most frenzied of all wars, and insulted humanity can not and will not rest until the evil which imperils peace, progress, and happiness of mankind is rooted out and destroyed. Other nations, to be sure, but above all the German people themselves, must insist inexorably that the system you and your hangers-on represent, the régime of militarism, endless armaments, and constant sword rattling, shall disappear from the earth. Not *regis voluntas suprema lex*, but *legis voluntas supremus rex*—not "Might makes right," but "Right makes might"—is to be the watchword of the world in the future. Only the people themselves shall decide matters affecting their own weal and woe and war and peace, not the moods of tyrants thirsting for power. Then we can go about our peaceful business unconcerned; the nations will no longer butcher each other in order to have victories to celebrate.

If the German people do not wish permanently to become your partners in guilt—if they desire to have a voice in the future reorganization of Europe and above all in the reorganization of Germany—they have got to wake up before it is too late and make common cause with the enlightened powers of the world and draw their sword against him who is truly their only enemy, who is to blame for the misfortunes of humanity and the outrageous disgrace of Germany. If the German people, from stupidity or cowardice, can not arouse themselves to this work of liberation, if they leave it to our "enemies" alone, they will forever have forfeited the right to be heard in the council of the nations and to play a part in world history.

Comrades and brothers of Germany, your "enemies" have neither the wish nor the power to destroy Germany, as your Government would deceive you into believing. But you yourselves destroy Germany, you die of wounds and hunger, and you tread Germany's honor and prestige in the dust so long as you bow your heads to the slavery of the Kaiser.

Wake up and act, but make haste, before it is too late!

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, January 18, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## NOMINATIONS.

*Executive nominations received by the Senate January 17, 1918.*

## APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

## CHAPLAIN.

Rev. Melvin Verne Oggel, of New York, to be chaplain with rank from January 10, 1918.

## POSTMASTERS.

## ALABAMA.

Albert M. Espey to be postmaster at Albertville, Ala., in place of A. M. Espey. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

James C. Burns to be postmaster at Bay Minette, Ala., in place of J. C. Burns. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

H. O. Sparks to be postmaster at Boaz, Ala., in place of H. O. Sparks. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Jefferson K. Quillin to be postmaster at Clayton, Ala., in place of J. K. Quillin. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

Clifford T. Harris to be postmaster at Columbia, Ala., in place of C. T. Harris. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

Laura E. Richards to be postmaster at Foley, Ala. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Hugh T. Caffey to be postmaster at Leeds, Ala. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Tommie P. Lewis to be postmaster at Seale, Ala. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William E. Crawford to be postmaster at Decatur, Ala., in place of W. E. Crawford. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

D. F. Sugg to be postmaster at Ensley, Ala., in place of D. F. Sugg. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Mollie P. Henderson to be postmaster at Enterprise, Ala., in place of M. P. Henderson. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Charles S. McDowell to be postmaster at Eufaula, Ala., in place of C. S. McDowell. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

C. E. Brooks to be postmaster at Fort Deposit, Ala., in place of C. E. Brooks. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

Sylvanus W. Riddle to be postmaster at Gadsden, Ala., in place of S. W. Riddle. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1917.

William K. Kenan to be postmaster at Geneva, Ala., in place of W. K. Kenan. Incumbent's commission expired November 13, 1917.

Henry I. Goff to be postmaster at Hartford, Ala., in place of H. I. Goff. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

William G. Porter to be postmaster at Heflin, Ala., in place of W. G. Porter. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

Ed G. Caldwell to be postmaster at Jacksonville, Ala., in place of Ed G. Caldwell. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

W. P. Tartt to be postmaster at Livingston, Ala., in place of W. P. Tartt. Incumbent's commission expired August 13, 1917.

S. M. Roberts to be postmaster at Monroeville, Ala., in place of S. M. Roberts. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

W. T. Morris to be postmaster at Ragland, Ala., in place of W. T. Morris. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Stephen L. Dorroh to be postmaster at Reform, Ala., in place of S. L. Dorroh. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

John E. Delony to be postmaster at Tusculumbia, Ala., in place of J. E. Delony. Incumbent's commission expired November 13, 1917.

B. C. Gibson to be postmaster at Tuskegee, Ala., in place of B. C. Gibson. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

James A. Anderson to be postmaster at University, Ala., in place of J. A. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

## ALASKA.

Everett McPhee to be postmaster at Anchorage, Alaska, in place of Fred B. Wood, removed.

Mrs. R. E. Coughlin to be postmaster at Treadwell, Alaska, in place of Mary A. Carroll, resigned.

John C. Allen to be postmaster at Petersburg, Alaska. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

## ARIZONA.

Jesse J. Rascoe, jr., to be postmaster at Morenci, Ariz., in place of J. J. Rascoe, jr. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

Paul A. Smith to be postmaster at Tombstone, Ariz., in place of P. A. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired September 29, 1917.

Augie T. Pancrazi to be postmaster at Yuma, Ariz., in place of A. T. Pancrazi. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

Lola B. Tomlinson to be postmaster at Bowie, Ariz. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Mamie B. Mayer to be postmaster at Mayer, Ariz. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

## ARKANSAS.

William A. Bushmaier to be postmaster at Alma, Ark., in place of W. A. Bushmaier. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1917.

John L. McCain to be postmaster at Crossett, Ark., in place of J. L. McCain. Incumbent's commission expired September 25, 1917.

James F. Rieves to be postmaster at Marion, Ark. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Lee R. See to be postmaster at Swifton, Ark. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

John T. Cheairs, jr., to be postmaster at Tillar, Ark. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

James M. Daniel to be postmaster at Wilmar, Ark. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

James L. Cannon to be postmaster at De Queen, Ark., in place of J. L. Cannon. Incumbent's commission expired October 2, 1917.

James E. Leeper to be postmaster at Dermott, Ark., in place of J. E. Leeper. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Albert D. Agee to be postmaster at Gurdon, Ark., in place of A. D. Agee. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

W. O. Bartlett to be postmaster at Hamburg, Ark., in place of W. O. Bartlett. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

W. B. Kyle to be postmaster at McCrory, Ark., in place of W. B. Kyle. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

George R. Hays to be postmaster at Newport, Ark., in place of G. R. Hays. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Flora A. Hall to be postmaster at Pochontas, Ark., in place of F. A. Hall. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

Louis K. Buerkle to be postmaster at Stuttgart, Ark., in place of L. K. Buerkle. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1917.

H. L. Fuller to be postmaster at Waldron, Ark., in place of H. L. Fuller. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

A. B. Cone to be postmaster at Wilmot, Ark., in place of A. B. Cone. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

## CALIFORNIA.

Thomas C. Stoddard to be postmaster at Alameda, Cal., in place of T. C. Stoddard. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Nellie Pellet to be postmaster at Brawley, Cal., in place of N. Pellet. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Charles R. Thompson to be postmaster at Burbank, Cal., in place of C. R. Thompson. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

W. D. McClellan to be postmaster at La Verne (late Lordsburg), Cal., in place of W. D. McClellan, to change name of office.

Charles Osborne to be postmaster at Lankershim, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

S. Willard Coffren to be postmaster at Llano, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Orynthia Copeland to be postmaster at Los Altos, Cal. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Mabel Hanford to be postmaster at Lost Hills, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Jesse A. Ivy to be postmaster at Thermal, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Georgin A. Wiard to be postmaster at Chula Vista, Cal., in place of G. A. Wiard. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Anna M. Carson to be postmaster at Compton, Cal., in place of A. M. Carson. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Oliver C. Williams to be postmaster at Dinuba, Cal., in place of O. C. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Elizabeth M. Steel to be postmaster at Downey, Cal., in place of E. M. Steel. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

George P. Dobyms to be postmaster at El Monte, Cal., in place of G. P. Dobyms. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

James T. Clayton to be postmaster at Elsinore, Cal., in place of J. T. Clayton. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

William J. Simms to be postmaster at Gardena, Cal., in place of W. J. Simms. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Warren A. Bradley to be postmaster at Gustine, Cal., in place of W. A. Bradley. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Milton M. Pilkenton to be postmaster at Hermosa Beach, Cal., in place of M. P. Pilkenton. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

Mary F. Stevenson to be postmaster at Imperial, Cal., in place of M. F. Stevenson. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

W. K. McFarland to be postmaster at Jackson, Cal., in place of W. K. McFarland. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Sophie J. Rice to be postmaster at King City, Cal., in place of S. J. Rice. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

B. Q. R. Canon to be postmaster at La Mesa, Cal., in place of B. Q. R. Canon. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Don C. Saunders to be postmaster at Lompoc, Cal., in place of D. C. Saunders. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Walter J. Desmond to be postmaster at Long Beach, Cal., in place of W. J. Desmond. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

F. B. Nichols to be postmaster at McCloud, Cal., in place of F. B. Nichols. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Warren Rodgers to be postmaster at McKittrick, Cal., in place of W. Rodgers. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Thomas F. Fogarty to be postmaster at Marysville, Cal., in place of T. F. Fogarty. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Eugene J. Crane to be postmaster at Menlo Park, Cal., in place of E. J. Crane. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Frank Zimmerman to be postmaster at Monrovia, Cal., in place of F. Zimmerman. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Francis F. Wrenn to be postmaster at Newcastle, Cal., in place of F. F. Wrenn. Incumbent's commission expired August 11, 1917.

John W. Heard to be postmaster at Oilcenter, Cal., in place of J. W. Heard. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

Clark McLain to be postmaster at Pasadena, Cal., in place of C. McLain. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

F. S. Harrison to be postmaster at Patterson, Cal., in place of F. S. Harrison. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Frank P. Firey to be postmaster at Pomona, Cal., in place of F. P. Firey. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Alexander Ludwig to be postmaster at Redding, Cal., in place of A. Ludwig. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Floyd Godfrey to be postmaster at San Dimas, Cal., in place of F. Godfrey. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Charles W. Fay to be postmaster at San Francisco, Cal., in place of C. W. Fay. Incumbent's commission expired October 22, 1917.

J. M. Qualls to be postmaster at Sanger, Cal., in place of J. M. Qualls. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

Byron Millard to be postmaster at San Jose, Cal., in place of B. Millard. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Michael F. Cochrane to be postmaster at San Rafael, Cal., in place of M. F. Cochrane. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

J. B. Laufman to be postmaster at Santa Paula, Cal., in place of J. B. Laufman. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

George Gribble to be postmaster at Scotia, Cal., in place of George Gribble. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Jesse D. Brite to be postmaster at Tehachapi, Cal., in place of J. D. Brite. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

S. Eliza Stitt to be postmaster at Vacaville, Cal., in place of Eliza Stitt. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Norman P. Cormack to be postmaster at Wasco, Cal., in place of N. P. Cormack. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Alfred Belieu to be postmaster at Watts, Cal., in place of A. Belieu. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

#### COLORADO.

Clark Cooper to be postmaster at Canon City, Colo., in place of C. Cooper. Incumbent's commission expired July 14, 1917.

Herbert D. Barnhart to be postmaster at Creede, Colo., in place of H. D. Barnhart. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

A. J. Horan to be postmaster at Crested Butte, Colo., in place of A. J. Horan. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

Hubert Reynolds to be postmaster at Greeley, Colo., in place of H. Reynolds. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Frederick H. Meyers to be postmaster at Clifton, Colo. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Mary E. Holmes to be postmaster at Fleming, Colo. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Ralph E. Jordan to be postmaster at Grover, Colo. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Ruth N. Frame to be postmaster at Haswell, Colo. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Thomas J. Bradshaw to be postmaster at Ignacio, Colo. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Charles L. Spillman to be postmaster at Norwood, Colo. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

Mary M. Minehouse to be postmaster at Wiley, Colo. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William A. White to be postmaster at Holyoke, Colo., in place of W. A. White. Incumbent's commission expired September 3, 1917.

Finley Dye to be postmaster at Julesburg, Colo., in place of F. Dye. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Michael F. O'Day to be postmaster at Lafayette, Colo., in place of M. F. O'Day. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

M. J. Brennan to be postmaster at Leadville, Colo., in place of M. J. Brennan. Incumbent's commission expired September 3, 1917.

T. T. Donovan to be postmaster at Longmont, Colo., in place of T. T. Donovan. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

Sherman S. Bellesfield to be postmaster at Pueblo, Colo., in place of S. S. Bellesfield. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Judith Nichols to be postmaster at Ridgway, Colo., in place of J. Nichols. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Joseph W. Beery to be postmaster at Saguache, Colo., in place of J. W. Beery. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

#### CONNECTICUT.

Thomas J. Sullivan to be postmaster at Baltic, Conn., in place of T. J. Sullivan. Incumbent's commission expired August 20, 1917.

Patrick C. Cavanaugh to be postmaster at Burnside, Conn., in place of P. C. Cavanaugh. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Merritt E. Tooker to be postmaster at Uncasville, Conn. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Jeremiah J. Sullivan to be postmaster at Colchester, Conn., in place of J. J. Sullivan. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

William J. Thomas to be postmaster at Moodus, Conn., in place of W. J. Thomas. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

William I. Austin to be postmaster at Noroton Heights, Conn., in place of W. I. Austin. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

Samuel E. Loudon to be postmaster at Riverside, Conn., in place of S. E. Loudon. Incumbent's commission expired May 23, 1916.

Thomas J. Quish to be postmaster at South Manchester, Conn., in place of T. J. Quish. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Dennis C. Murphy to be postmaster at Taftville, Conn., in place of Dennis C. Murphy. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

James T. Murray to be postmaster at Thompsonville, Conn., in place of James T. Murray. Incumbent's commission expired October 1, 1917.

## DELAWARE.

William L. Duff to be postmaster at Newport, Del. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

## FLORIDA.

Samuel M. Wilson to be postmaster at Bartow, Fla., in place of Samuel M. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Joseph H. Humphries to be postmaster at Bradentown, Fla., in place of J. H. Humphries. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

A. Keathley to be postmaster at Brooksville, Fla., in place of A. Keathley. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Fannie P. Reeves to be postmaster at Avon Park, Fla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Silas E. Yon to be postmaster at Blountstown, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

George I. English to be postmaster at Greenville, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Fred S. Kanode to be postmaster at Passagrille, Fla. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Cornelia Higgins to be postmaster at Warrington, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William R. Roesch to be postmaster at Eau Gallie, Fla., in place of William R. Roesch. Incumbent's commission expired May 26, 1917.

Arthur B. Brown to be postmaster at Fort Pierce, Fla., in place of Arthur B. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired April 28, 1917.

Samuel Bass to be postmaster at Glen St. Mary, Fla., in place of Samuel Bass. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

E. W. Irvine to be postmaster at Lake City, Fla., in place of E. W. Irvine. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

William R. Dorman to be postmaster at Liveoak, Fla., in place of William R. Dorman. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

J. B. Potter to be postmaster at Mulberry, Fla., in place of J. B. Potter. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

L. M. Caswell to be postmaster at Perry, Fla., in place of L. M. Caswell. Incumbent's commission expired November 24, 1917.

M. H. Slone to be postmaster at Plant City, Fla., in place of M. H. Slone. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Georgé D. Rhode to be postmaster at Punta Gorda, Fla., in place of George D. Rhode. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Carrie S. Abbe to be postmaster at Sarasota, Fla., in place of Carrie S. Abbe. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

William E. McEwen to be postmaster at Wauchula, Fla., in place of William E. McEwen. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

G. N. Denning to be postmaster at Winter Park, Fla., in place of G. N. Denning. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

J. L. Geiger to be postmaster at Zephyrhills, Fla., in place of J. L. Geiger. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

## GEORGIA.

P. D. Wootten to be postmaster at Abbeville, Ga., in place of P. D. Wootten. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

D. F. Davenport to be postmaster at Americus, Ga., in place of D. F. Davenport. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Bolling H. Jones to be postmaster at Atlanta, Ga., in place of Bolling H. Jones. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Annie K. Bunn to be postmaster at Cedartown, Ga., in place of Annie K. Bunn. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Henry M. Miller to be postmaster at Colquitt, Ga., in place of Henry M. Miller. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1917.

John S. McKenzie to be postmaster at Comer, Ga., in place of John S. McKenzie. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

A. L. McArthur to be postmaster at Cordele, Ga., in place of A. L. McArthur. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

A. G. Hockenull to be postmaster at Cumming, Ga., in place of A. G. Hockenull. Incumbent's commission expired September 11, 1917.

Alice B. Bussey to be postmaster at Cuthbert, Ga., in place of Alice B. Bussey. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Benjamin E. Croker to be postmaster at Dallas, Ga., in place of B. E. Croker. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

Vivian L. Stanley to be postmaster at Dublin, Ga., in place of Vivian L. Stanley. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Vivian Humphreys to be postmaster at Stone Mountain, Ga., in place of Vivian McCurdy. Name changed by marriage.

Abbie F. Beacham to be postmaster at Glenwood, Ga. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

J. A. Stokes to be postmaster at Gordon, Ga. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

L. W. Stanford to be postmaster at Hamilton, Ga. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Flem C. Dame to be postmaster at Homerville, Ga. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Jennie S. Lester to be postmaster at Lexington, Ga. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

L. M. Peacock, jr., to be postmaster at Eastman, Ga., in place of L. M. Peacock, jr. Incumbent's commission expired September 11, 1917.

Teressa G. Williams to be postmaster at Greenville, Ga., in place of Teressa G. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

W. Custis Nottingham to be postmaster at Macon, Ga., in place of Custis Nottingham. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Mamie E. Wright to be postmaster at Metter, Ga., in place of Mamie E. Wright. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

George W. Dansby to be postmaster at Rockmart, Ga., in place of George Dansby. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Marion Lucas to be postmaster at Savannah, Ga., in place of Marion Lucas. Incumbent's commission expired September 25, 1917.

H. O. Crittenden to be postmaster at Shellman, Ga., in place of H. O. Crittenden. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Annie P. Harper to be postmaster at Stillmore, Ga., in place of Annie P. Harper. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

P. Brooks Ford to be postmaster at Sylvester, Ga., in place of P. Brooks Ford. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Sanford P. Darby to be postmaster at Vidalia, Ga., in place of Sanford P. Darby. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Mary P. Dixon to be postmaster at West Point, Ga., in place of Mary P. Dixon. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Gilbert B. Banks to be postmaster at Waynesboro, Ga., in place of Gilbert B. Banks. Incumbent's commission expired August 6, 1917.

## HAWAII.

Millicent M. E. Cumming to be postmaster at Paia, Hawaii, in place of M. K. Keohokalole, removed.

J. S. Medeiros to be postmaster at Puunene, Hawaii. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

Frank Cox to be postmaster at Waimea, Hawaii, in place of C. B. Hofgaard, resigned.

Elizabeth H. Travis to be postmaster at Waipahu, Hawaii, in place of William Miner, not commissioned.

## IDAHO.

Samuel H. Laird to be postmaster at American Falls, Idaho, in place of Samuel H. Laird. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

George W. Harris to be postmaster at Burke, Idaho, in place of George W. Harris. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

John E. Paul to be postmaster at Dubois, Idaho. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Mac Scofield to be postmaster at Vollmer, Idaho. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Charles H. Gelbach to be postmaster at Kooskia, Idaho. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

W. J. Coltman to be postmaster at Idaho Falls, Idaho, in place of W. J. Coltman. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Emil L. Mueller to be postmaster at Kamiyah, Idaho, in place of Emil L. Mueller. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Alexander McDermid to be postmaster at Kimberly, Idaho, in place of Alexander McDermid. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Howard E. King to be postmaster at Nampa, Idaho, in place of H. E. King. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Simpson M. Rich to be postmaster at Paris, Idaho, in place of Simpson M. Rich. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

John Jay Nickles to be postmaster at Plummer, Idaho, in place of John Jay Nickles. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Frederick H. Bradbury to be postmaster at Rathdrum, Idaho, in place of F. H. Bradbury. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Frank S. Harding to be postmaster at Weiser, Idaho, in place of Frank S. Harding. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

## ILLINOIS.

J. C. Dorfler to be postmaster at Area, Ill., in place of J. C. Dorfler. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

John W. Troy to be postmaster at Arthur, Ill., in place of John W. Troy. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Mabel Minger to be postmaster at Buckley, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frances C. Sweeney to be postmaster at Fort Sheridan, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Richard F. Corley to be postmaster at Herrick, Ill. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Walter V. Berry to be postmaster at Irving, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

James F. Harrison to be postmaster at Leaf River, Ill. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

David R. Bennett to be postmaster at Panama, Ill. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

Sanford D. Metcalfe to be postmaster at Brocton, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Edward J. Cushing to be postmaster at Assumption, Ill., in place of Edward J. Cushing. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Edward Johnston to be postmaster at Atkinson, Ill., in place of Edward Johnston. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

Dewey T. Queen to be postmaster at Auburn, Ill., in place of Dewey T. Queen. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

John Geiss to be postmaster at Batavia, Ill., in place of John Geiss. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Philip H. Sopp to be postmaster at Belleville, Ill., in place of Philip H. Sopp. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

William G. Cloyd to be postmaster at Bement, Ill., in place of William G. Cloyd. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Patrick S. McPherson to be postmaster at Benld, Ill., in place of P. S. McPherson. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

M. J. Sullivan to be postmaster at Braidwood, Ill., in place of M. J. Sullivan. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Henry Werth to be postmaster at Breese, Ill., in place of Henry Werth. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

W. T. Holifield to be postmaster at Brookport, Ill., in place of W. T. Holifield. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

M. M. Brown to be postmaster at Bunker Hill, Ill., in place of M. M. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

Clarence H. Hunt to be postmaster at Cambridge, Ill., in place of C. H. Hunt. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Frederic A. Perkins to be postmaster at Canton, Ill., in place of F. A. Perkins. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

Ross Lee to be postmaster at Casey, Ill., in place of R. Lee. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Alexander Perkins to be postmaster at Cerro Gordo, Ill., in place of A. Perkins. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

John E. Rethorn to be postmaster at Chandlerville, Ill., in place of J. E. Rethorn. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

James E. Jontry to be postmaster at Chenoa, Ill., in place of J. E. Jontry. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Clyde W. Schoener to be postmaster at Cicero, Ill., in place of C. W. Schoener. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Wilson M. Bering to be postmaster at Decatur, Ill., in place of W. M. Bering. Incumbent's commission expired June 27, 1917.

David L. Wright to be postmaster at Effingham, Ill., in place of D. L. Wright. Incumbent's commission expired October 22, 1917.

A. A. Dobson to be postmaster at Elburn, Ill., in place of A. A. Dobson. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Peter Petri to be postmaster at Eureka, Ill., in place of P. Petri. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Leslie G. Horrie to be postmaster at Gardner, Ill., in place of L. G. Horrie. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Michael P. Bergen to be postmaster at Gillespie, Ill., in place of M. P. Bergen. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

J. M. Rumsey to be postmaster at Golconda, Ill., in place of J. M. Rumsey. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Robert E. Downing to be postmaster at Golden, Ill., in place of R. E. Downing. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Michael F. O'Connor to be postmaster at Harvard, Ill., in place of M. F. O'Connor. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Matthew Bollan to be postmaster at Havana, Ill., in place of M. Bollan. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

William M. Dooley to be postmaster at Highland Park, Ill., in place of W. M. Dooley. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Leo T. L. Neff to be postmaster at Illiopolis, Ill., in place of L. T. Neff. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

M. D. Brubaker to be postmaster at Iuka, Ill., in place of M. D. Brubaker. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Clifford W. Brewer to be postmaster at Knoxville, Ill., in place of C. W. Brewer. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

Charles F. Buck to be postmaster at Lacon, Ill., in place of C. F. Buck. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Jinks V. Sperry to be postmaster at La Harpe, Ill., in place of J. V. Sperry. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Henry C. Johnson to be postmaster at Lawrenceville, Ill., in place of H. C. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Joseph F. Traband to be postmaster at Lebanon, Ill., in place of J. F. Traband. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

Harry E. Buckles to be postmaster at Le Roy, Ill., in place of H. E. Buckles. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Harry Holland to be postmaster at Marion, Ill., in place of H. Holland. Incumbent's commission expired June 13, 1917.

Ira W. Metcalf to be postmaster at Momence, Ill., in place of I. W. Metcalf. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Charles E. Moffitt to be postmaster at Monticello, Ill., in place of C. E. Moffitt. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

John H. McGrath to be postmaster at Morris, Ill., in place of J. H. McGrath. Incumbent's commission expired September 3, 1917.

William H. Clear to be postmaster at Mount Pulaski, Ill., in place of W. H. Clear. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

J. J. Baker to be postmaster at Mount Vernon, Ill., in place of J. J. Baker. Incumbent's commission expired September 25, 1917.

E. M. Dieter to be postmaster at Naperville, Ill., in place of E. M. Dieter. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

Joseph S. Grimes to be postmaster at National Stock Yards, Ill., in place of J. S. Grimes. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

James T. Hinds to be postmaster at Newman, Ill., in place of J. T. Hinds. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Andrew J. Eckhoff to be postmaster at Nokomis, Ill., in place of A. J. Eckhoff. Incumbent's commission expired December 1, 1917.

Walter R. Lovett to be postmaster at Onarga, Ill., in place of W. R. Lovett. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Thomas Moyer to be postmaster at Paris, Ill., in place of Thomas Moyer. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1917.

Katherine M. McClements to be postmaster at Park Ridge, Ill., in place of K. M. McClements. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

Wilbur A. Woods to be postmaster at Pawpaw, Ill., in place of W. A. Woods. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Benjamin R. Croxen to be postmaster at Peotone, Ill., in place of B. R. Croxen. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Samuel Shockey to be postmaster at Ramsey, Ill., in place of Samuel Shockey. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Jacob Sand to be postmaster at Roanoke, Ill., in place of Jacob Sand. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

John Coleman to be postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., in place of John Coleman. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Melville S. Yoho to be postmaster at Roseville, Ill., in place of M. S. Yoho. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

John R. Barclay to be postmaster at Rutland, Ill., in place of J. R. Barclay. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

Virgil J. Swarm to be postmaster at St. Elmo, Ill., in place of V. J. Swarm. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Frank Stone to be postmaster at Shelbyville, Ill., in place of Frank Stone. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

D. F. Le Roy to be postmaster at Streator, Ill., in place of D. F. Le Roy. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

E. Wynette Herlocker to be postmaster at Table Grove, Ill., in place of E. W. Herlocker. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Benjamin F. Neal to be postmaster at Toledo, Ill., in place of B. F. Neal. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

B. L. Greeley to be postmaster at Tremont, Ill., in place of B. L. Greeley. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Cleve B. Schroder to be postmaster at Vermont, Ill., in place of C. B. Schroder. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

William E. Hess to be postmaster at Wilmette, Ill., in place of W. E. Hess. Incumbent's commission expired December 1, 1917.

B. F. Moberley to be postmaster at Windsor, Ill., in place of B. F. Moberley. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

John H. Henson to be postmaster at Xenia, Ill., in place of J. H. Henson. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Harry B. Fasmer to be postmaster at Yorkville, Ill., in place of H. B. Fasmer. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

## INDIANA.

Michael E. Maloney to be postmaster at Aurora, Ind., in place of M. E. Maloney. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Frank S. Coffin to be postmaster at Bloomington, Ind., in place of F. S. Coffin. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

William R. Dunn to be postmaster at Dale, Ind. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Orris Hooper, sr., to be postmaster at Dillsboro, Ind. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

John T. Cuskaden to be postmaster at St. Paul, Ind. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Benjamin A. Batson to be postmaster at Bluffton, Ind., in place of B. A. Batson. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

W. P. Van Arsdall to be postmaster at Fairmount, Ind., in place of W. P. Van Arsdall. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

Charles Hatch to be postmaster at Fort Branch, Ind., in place of Charles Hatch. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Marion A. Thomas to be postmaster at Jasonville, Ind., in place of M. A. Thomas. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Charles H. Ball to be postmaster at La Fayette, Ind., in place of C. H. Ball. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Earl Talbott to be postmaster at Linton, Ind., in place of Earl Talbott. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Kinsey B. Clark to be postmaster at Medaryville, Ind., in place of K. B. Clark. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Lloyd W. Dunlap to be postmaster at Mentone, Ind., in place of L. W. Dunlap. Incumbent's commission expired August 20, 1917.

Charles Wright to be postmaster at North Manchester, Ind., in place of Charles Wright. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

James N. Culp to be postmaster at North Vernon, Ind., in place of J. N. Culp. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

William S. Tindall to be postmaster at Paoli, Ind., in place of W. S. Tindall. Incumbent's commission expired November 24, 1917.

Nehemiah Littlefield to be postmaster at Rensselaer, Ind., in place of N. Littlefield. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

E. R. Niccum to be postmaster at Swayzee, Ind., in place of E. R. Niccum. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Walter H. Smith to be postmaster at Versailles, Ind., in place of W. H. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Ernest E. Forsythe to be postmaster at Washington, Ind., in place of E. E. Forsythe. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

## IOWA.

I. M. Finnell to be postmaster at Algona, Iowa, in place of I. M. Finnell. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

Ed. McConaughy to be postmaster at Allerton, Iowa, in place of Ed. McConaughy. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Orson R. Hutchison to be postmaster at Arlington, Iowa, in place of O. R. Hutchison. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

George A. Pruitt to be postmaster at Blanchard, Iowa, in place of G. A. Pruitt. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Jair S. Wildman to be postmaster at Blockton, Iowa, in place of J. S. Wildman. Incumbent's commission expired September 4, 1917.

John H. Schulte to be postmaster at Breda, Iowa, in place of J. H. Schulte. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

A. W. Lee to be postmaster at Britt, Iowa, in place of A. W. Lee. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Jacob Meyer to be postmaster at Calmar, Iowa, in place of Jacob Meyer. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Charles D. Huston to be postmaster at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in place of C. D. Huston. Incumbent's commission expired September 10, 1917.

William F. McCarty to be postmaster at Clarence, Iowa, in place of W. F. McCarty. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Thomas R. McKaig to be postmaster at Corwith, Iowa, in place of T. R. McKaig. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Anna B. Berry to be postmaster at North McGregor, Iowa. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

George W. Crandell to be postmaster at Rippey, Iowa. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Margaret E. Nefzger to be postmaster at Terril, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Albert H. Procese to be postmaster at Waukee, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Katie A. Schwarz to be postmaster at West Burlington, Iowa. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Frank W. Buxton to be postmaster at Wheatland, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Frederick B. Sharon to be postmaster at Davenport, Iowa, in place of F. B. Sharon. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Harry A. Cooke to be postmaster at Eagle Grove, Iowa, in place of H. A. Cooke. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

W. L. Dudley to be postmaster at Earlham, Iowa, in place of W. H. Dudley. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Frank Kussart to be postmaster at Eddyville, Iowa, in place of Frank Kussart. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

John J. Donahoe to be postmaster at Gilmore City, Iowa, in place of J. J. Donahoe. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

William H. Fickel to be postmaster at Glenwood, Iowa, in place of W. H. Fickel. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Charles H. Woodard to be postmaster at Gowrie, Iowa, in place of C. H. Woodard. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

Sam Robinson to be postmaster at Gravity, Iowa, in place of Sam Robinson. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

William H. Frew to be postmaster at Hiteman, Iowa, in place of William Frew. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Peter Jungers to be postmaster at Hospers, Iowa, in place of Peter Jungers. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

F. C. Boeke to be postmaster at Hubbard, Iowa, in place of F. C. Boeke. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Andrew T. O'Brien to be postmaster at Independence, Iowa, in place of A. T. O'Brien. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Charles L. Paul to be postmaster at Ireton, Iowa, in place of C. L. Paul. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

Wilhelm Hesselschwerdt to be postmaster at Kalona, Iowa, in place of W. Hesselschwerdt. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Henry Africa to be postmaster at Kanawha, Iowa, in place of Henry Africa. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

E. R. Ashley to be postmaster at Laporte City, Iowa, in place of E. R. Ashley. Incumbent's commission expired August 28, 1917.

D. P. O'Connor to be postmaster at Lawler, Iowa, in place of D. P. O'Connor. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Milton Funk to be postmaster at Lewis, Iowa, in place of Milton Funk. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

D. E. Horton to be postmaster at Lime Spring, Iowa, in place of D. E. Horton. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Michael J. Harty to be postmaster at Lone Tree, Iowa, in place of M. J. Harty. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Reuben M. Gable to be postmaster at Lost Nation, Iowa, in place of R. M. Gable. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Anton Huebsch to be postmaster at McGregor, Iowa, in place of Anton Huebsch. Incumbent's commission expired August 28, 1917.

J. J. McDermott to be postmaster at Manilla, Iowa, in place of J. J. McDermott. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

A. G. Johnson to be postmaster at Marshalltown, Iowa, in place of A. G. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

J. J. Herbster to be postmaster at Millford, Iowa, in place of J. J. Herbster. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Harry C. Fox to be postmaster at Monona, Iowa, in place of H. C. Fox. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Tracy R. Osborne to be postmaster at New Sharon, Iowa, in place of T. R. Osborne. Incumbent's commission expired November 6, 1917.

Alfred B. Callender to be postmaster at Ocheyedon, Iowa, in place of A. B. Callender. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Charles B. Clark to be postmaster at Ogden, Iowa, in place of C. B. Clark. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Frank W. Miller to be postmaster at Olin, Iowa, in place of F. W. Miller. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Ben Jensen to be postmaster at Onawa, Iowa, in place of Ben Jensen. Incumbent's commission expired August 28, 1917.

Charles W. McCarty to be postmaster at Ottumwa, Iowa, in place of C. W. McCarty. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Frank Kenney to be postmaster at Oxford Junction, Iowa, in place of Frank Kenney. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Jasper W. Morris to be postmaster at Panora, Iowa, in place of J. W. Morris. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Edwin Wattonville to be postmaster at Pomeroy, Iowa, in place of Edwin Wattonville. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

John E. Dargan to be postmaster at Riceville, Iowa, in place of J. E. Dargan. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

P. A. McCray to be postmaster at Rolfe, Iowa, in place of P. A. McCray. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

John F. Goos to be postmaster at Sabula, Iowa, in place of J. F. Goos. Incumbent's commission expired July 28, 1917.

Edwin L. Helmer to be postmaster at Sanborn, Iowa, in place of E. L. Helmer. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Warren A. Edington to be postmaster at Sheldon, Iowa, in place of W. A. Edington. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

J. G. Winter to be postmaster at Sioux Center, Iowa, in place of J. G. Winter. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Frederick S. Anderson to be postmaster at Stanton, Iowa, in place of F. S. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Leo L. Hamblin to be postmaster at Walker, Iowa, in place of L. L. Hamblin. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

John McGloin to be postmaster at Wall Lake, Iowa, in place of John McGloin. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

M. H. Kelly to be postmaster at Waterloo, Iowa, in place of M. H. Kelly. Incumbent's commission expired September 4, 1917.

Daniel H. Bauman to be postmaster at Webster City, Iowa, in place of D. H. Bauman. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

William D. Schulte to be postmaster at West Point, Iowa, in place of W. D. Schulte. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Elmer E. Hopkins to be postmaster at Whiting, Iowa, in place of Elmer Hopkins. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Mortimer D. Sullivan to be postmaster at Wilton Junction, Iowa, in place of M. D. Sullivan. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Joseph H. Riseley to be postmaster at Winthrop, Iowa, in place of J. H. Riseley. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

## KANSAS

Elliott S. Irvin to be postmaster at Coffeyville, Kans., in place of E. S. Irvin. Incumbent's commission expired November 17, 1917.

Robert A. Watt to be postmaster at Edna, Kans., in place of R. A. Watt. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Harvey C. Peterson to be postmaster at Eskridge, Kans., in place of H. C. Peterson. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Gustave Ziesenis to be postmaster at Eudora, Kans., in place of G. Ziesenis. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Herman L. Haasis to be postmaster at Florence, Kans., in place of H. L. Haasis. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Edward F. Hudson to be postmaster at Fredonia, Kans., in place of E. F. Hudson. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Hugh O'Hara to be postmaster at Frontenac, Kans., in place of Hugh O'Hara. Incumbent's commission expired July 28, 1917.

Raymond E. Stotts to be postmaster at Garden City, Kans., in place of R. E. Stotts. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

Sophia M. Dickerson to be postmaster at Gypsum, Kans., in place of S. M. Dickerson. Incumbent's commission expired August 26, 1917.

Charles H. Harvey to be postmaster at Haddam, Kans., in place of C. H. Harvey. Incumbent's commission expired July 22, 1917.

John C. Girk to be postmaster at Halstead, Kans., in place of J. C. Girk. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Marion E. Henderson to be postmaster at Haven, Kans., in place of M. E. Henderson. Incumbent's commission expired June 17, 1917.

W. A. Corrigan to be postmaster at Haviland, Kans., in place of W. A. Corrigan. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Baty W. Hamar to be postmaster at Howard, Kans., in place of B. W. Hamar. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Madison D. Gallogly to be postmaster at Hoxie, Kans., in place of M. D. Gallogly. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

James K. Stinson to be postmaster at Marquette, Kans., in place of J. K. Stinson. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Mildred K. Johnston to be postmaster at Meade, Kans., in place of M. K. Johnston. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Eugene W. Perkins to be postmaster at Beverly, Kans. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Maggie Dowell to be postmaster at Gaylord, Kans. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Aubrey J. Roberts to be postmaster at Herndon, Kans. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

M. V. Dunlap to be postmaster at Osawatimie, Kans., in place of M. V. Dunlap. Incumbent's commission expired May 29, 1917.

L. F. Niece to be postmaster at Natoma, Kans., in place of L. F. Niece. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

A. F. Hamm to be postmaster at Nortonville, Kans., in place of A. F. Hamm. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Walter B. Ford to be postmaster at Oskaloosa, Kans., in place of W. B. Ford. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

L. A. Walker to be postmaster at Parsons, Kans., in place of L. A. Walker. Incumbent's commission expired July 28, 1917.

Francis W. Boyd to be postmaster at Phillipsburg, Kans., in place of F. W. Boyd. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Elmer H. Epperson to be postmaster at Scott City, Kans., in place of E. P. Epperson. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

William McHaley to be postmaster at Toronto, Kans., in place of William McHatey. Incumbent's commission expired May 29, 1917.

Owen F. McLean to be postmaster at West Mineral, Kans., in place of O. F. McLean. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Edwin L. Helper to be postmaster at Winfield, Kans., in place of E. L. Helper. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

#### KENTUCKY.

Orson D. Proctor to be postmaster at Adairville, Ky., in place of O. D. Proctor. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

Henry H. Poage to be postmaster at Brooksville, Ky., in place of Henry H. Poage. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

Fannie G. Taylor to be postmaster at Campbellsville, Ky., in place of Fannie G. Taylor. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Barbra A. Hogue to be postmaster at Benham, Ky. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Lewis P. Martin to be postmaster at Wayland, Ky. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Cora Singleton to be postmaster at Waynesburg, Ky. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Olive Haddock to be postmaster at Allensville, Ky. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

C. E. Barnett to be postmaster at Earlington, Ky., in place of C. E. Barnett. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

P. C. Mayhugh to be postmaster at Eddyville, Ky., in place of P. C. Mayhugh. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

William B. Crabb to be postmaster at Eminence, Ky., in place of W. B. Crabb. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

James M. Richardson to be postmaster at Glasgow, Ky., in place of J. M. Richardson. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

E. W. McClure to be postmaster at Leitchfield, Ky., in place of E. W. McClure. Incumbent's commission expired May 9, 1917.

E. T. Schmitt to be postmaster at Louisville, Ky., in place of E. T. Schmitt. Incumbent's commission expired August 13, 1917.

Mayme D. Cogar to be postmaster at Midway, Ky., in place of Mayme D. Cogar. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

J. B. Cray to be postmaster at Millersburg, Ky., in place of J. B. Cray. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

William M. Back to be postmaster at Monticello, Ky., in place of W. M. Back. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Jacob Roll to be postmaster at Newport, Ky., in place of Jacob Roll. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

F. A. Casner to be postmaster at Providence, Ky., in place of F. A. Casner. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Robert C. Stockton to be postmaster at Richmond, Ky., in place of Robert C. Stockton. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Jacob Fisher to be postmaster at Russell, Ky., in place of Jacob Fisher. Incumbent's commission expired October 18, 1917.

Sarah W. Simms to be postmaster at Springfield, Ky., in place of S. W. Simms. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

P. A. McIntire to be postmaster at Uniontown, Ky., in place of P. A. McIntire. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

Samuel F. King to be postmaster at Winchester, Ky., in place of Samuel F. King. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

#### LOUISIANA.

Samuel Y. Watson to be postmaster at Baton Rouge, La., in place of Samuel Y. Watson. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

John M. Melton to be postmaster at Bernice, La., in place of John M. Melton. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Overton Gauthier to be postmaster at Jennings, La., in place of Overton Gauthier. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

Luda M. Hargroder to be postmaster at Church Point, La. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Des Fuqua to be postmaster at Nabornton, La. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Adele N. Murdoch to be postmaster at Newellton, La. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Homer M. Bailey to be postmaster at Oakgrove, La. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

Dessie H. Ford to be postmaster at Pleasant Hill, La. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Fernand J. Bourgeois to be postmaster at St. Patricks, La. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

H. Ernest Benefiel to be postmaster at Kenner, La. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William H. Bennett to be postmaster at Clinton, La., in place of William H. Bennett. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Thomas J. Perkins to be postmaster at De Quincy, La., in place of Thomas J. Perkins. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Pearl Collins to be postmaster at Eros, La., in place of Pearl Collins. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Joseph L. Stagg to be postmaster at Eunice, La., in place of Joseph L. Stagg. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

M. C. Wilson to be postmaster at Hammond, La., in place of M. C. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

Willie K. Harris to be postmaster at Homer, La., in place of Willie Harris. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

Edgar L. Chaney to be postmaster at Jeanerette, La., in place of E. L. Chaney. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

W. T. Pegues to be postmaster at Mansfield, La., in place of W. T. Pegues. Incumbent's commission expired October 22, 1917.

Charles De Blieux to be postmaster at Natchitoches, La., in place of Charles De Blieux. Incumbent's commission expired April 28, 1917.

#### MAINE.

Joseph E. Brooks to be postmaster at Biddeford, Me., in place of Joseph E. Brooks. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Arthur L. Newton to be postmaster at Buckfield, Me., in place of A. L. Newton. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

William S. Mildon to be postmaster at Eastport, Me., in place of W. S. Mildon. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

William R. Frost to be postmaster at Gardiner, Me., in place of W. R. Frost. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Walter H. Newbegin to be postmaster at Kezar Falls, Me., in place of W. H. Newbegin. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

Menander Dennett to be postmaster at Lewiston, Me., in place of M. Dennett. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Edward A. Prescott to be postmaster at Monmouth, Me., in place of E. A. Prescott. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Alner C. Gilbert to be postmaster at Monson, Me., in place of A. C. Gilbert. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

George W. McClain to be postmaster at Brownville Junction, Me. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edwin L. Field to be postmaster at Cape Cottage, Me. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Ida E. Hatch to be postmaster at Limestone, Me. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Lemuel Rich to be postmaster at Sebago Lake, Me. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

William G. Harmon to be postmaster at Old Orchard, Me., in place of W. G. Harmon. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Stanley L. Westcott to be postmaster at Patten, Me., in place of S. L. Westcott. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

Oscar R. Wish to be postmaster at Portland, Me., in place of O. R. Wish. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

## MARYLAND.

Franklin B. Beall to be postmaster at Cumberland, Md., in place of F. B. Beall. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

Agnes C. Klinger to be postmaster at Riverdale, Md. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Benjamin Mitchell to be postmaster at Hancock, Md., in place of B. Mitchell. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

Mary W. Tise to be postmaster at Hyattsville, Md., in place of M. W. Tise. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

J. R. Duke to be postmaster at Leonardtown, Md., in place of J. R. Duke. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

F. B. McDermitt to be postmaster at Mount Savage, Md., in place of F. B. McDermitt. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

J. F. Peach to be postmaster at North East, Md., in place of J. F. Peach. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Mary W. Stewart to be postmaster at Oxford, Md., in place of M. W. Stewart. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

H. L. Brittingham to be postmaster at Princess Anne, Md., in place of H. L. Brittingham. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

Joseph C. Gernand to be postmaster at Thurmont, Md., in place of J. C. Gernand. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Edgar E. Sargent to be postmaster at Belchertown, Mass., in place of E. E. Sargent. Incumbent's commission expired November 6, 1917.

Lawrence J. Watson to be postmaster at Beverly Farms, Mass., in place of L. J. Watson. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

John J. Haverty to be postmaster at Canton, Mass., in place of J. J. Haverty. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

Patrick H. Haley to be postmaster at Chelmsford, Mass., in place of P. H. Haley. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

James Nagle to be postmaster at Concord Junction, Mass., in place of J. Nagle. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Joseph E. Barnett to be postmaster at Easthampton, Mass., in place of J. E. Barnett. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

William J. Campbell to be postmaster at East Taunton, Mass., in place of W. J. Campbell. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

John H. Flavell to be postmaster at Hanover, Mass., in place of J. H. Flavell. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

Henry K. Bearse to be postmaster at Harwich, Mass., in place of H. K. Bearse. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

L. F. McNamara to be postmaster at Haverhill, Mass., in place of L. F. McNamara. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

William F. Walsh to be postmaster at Hinsdale, Mass., in place of W. F. Walsh. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Michael F. Cronin to be postmaster at Lawrence, Mass., in place of M. F. Cronin. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

James J. O'Donnell to be postmaster at Holyoke, Mass., in place of J. J. O'Donnell. Incumbent's commission expired November 13, 1917.

Tollston F. Phinney to be postmaster at Hyannis Port, Mass. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

William F. Kelley to be postmaster at South Acton, Mass. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Mary S. Tyler to be postmaster at Charlemont, Mass. Office became presidential October 1, 1913.

John H. Kane to be postmaster at Lexington, Mass., in place of J. H. Kane. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

Edmund S. Higgins to be postmaster at Lynn, Mass., in place of E. S. Higgins. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1917.

Martin B. Crane to be postmaster at Merrimac, Mass., in place of M. B. Crane. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

Neil R. Mahoney to be postmaster at North Billerica, Mass., in place of N. R. Mahoney. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Martin H. Ryan to be postmaster at Northboro, Mass., in place of M. H. Ryan. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

Dennis J. Dullea to be postmaster at Peabody, Mass., in place of D. J. Dullea. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

Osgood L. Small to be postmaster at Sagamore, Mass., in place of O. L. Small. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Patrick Curran to be postmaster at Scituate, Mass., in place of P. Curran. Incumbent's commission expired August 6, 1917.

James G. Cassidy to be postmaster at Sheffield, Mass., in place of J. G. Cassidy. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

Thomas H. Hackett to be postmaster at Westboro, Mass., in place of T. H. Hackett. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

John D. Leonard to be postmaster at Whitinsville, Mass., in place of J. D. Leonard. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

Richard F. Burke to be postmaster at Williamsburg, Mass., in place of R. F. Burke. Incumbent's commission expired November 13, 1917.

Patrick J. Dempsey to be postmaster at Williamstown, Mass., in place of P. J. Dempsey. Incumbent's commission expired August 6, 1917.

## MICHIGAN.

Michael L. Gillen to be postmaster at Adrian, Mich., in place of M. L. Gillen. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Arthur Hillman to be postmaster at Arkon, Mich., in place of A. Hillman. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

C. A. Standiford to be postmaster at Athens, Mich., in place of C. A. Standiford. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

William S. Drew to be postmaster at Augusta, Mich., in place of W. S. Drew. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

Joseph Fremont to be postmaster at Bad Axe, Mich., in place of J. Fremont. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

Carl L. Farwell to be postmaster at Barryton, Mich., in place of C. L. Farwell. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

O. K. Ray Maker to be postmaster at Bear Lake, Mich., in place of R. Maker. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Paul Harrison to be postmaster at Bloomingdale, Mich., in place of P. Harrison. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

William J. Lewis to be postmaster at Boyne City, Mich., in place of W. J. Lewis. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

John W. O'Leary to be postmaster at Brooklyn, Mich., in place of J. W. O'Leary. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

Perry H. Peters to be postmaster at Davison, Mich., in place of P. H. Peters. Incumbent's commission expired July 14, 1917.

William J. Nagel to be postmaster at Detroit, Mich., in place of W. J. Nagel. Incumbent's commission expired August 30, 1917.

Edwin S. Noble to be postmaster at Elk Rapids, Mich., in place of E. S. Noble. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

George Arthur to be postmaster at Elkton, Mich., in place of G. Arthur. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

George B. McIntyre to be postmaster at Fairgrove, Mich., in place of G. B. McIntyre. Incumbent's commission expired July 14, 1917.

T. H. McGee to be postmaster at Farmington, Mich., in place of T. H. McGee. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Frank D. Baker to be postmaster at Flint, Mich., in place of F. D. Baker. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

Frank D. Perkins to be postmaster at Flushing, Mich., in place of F. D. Perkins. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

Harry L. Shirley to be postmaster at Galesburg, Mich., in place of H. L. Shirley. Incumbent's commission expired July 14, 1917.

J. W. Ewing to be postmaster at Grant Ledge, Mich., in place of J. W. Ewing. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Daniel A. Holland to be postmaster at Hancock, Mich., in place of Daniel A. Holland. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

David E. Storms to be postmaster at Harrisville, Mich., in place of David E. Storms. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

Thomas Gilligan to be postmaster at Hopkins, Mich., in place of Thomas Gilligan. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Cornelius Cronin to be postmaster at Kalkaska, Mich., in place of Cornelius Cronin. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

George W. Parker to be postmaster at Le Roy, Mich., in place of George W. Parker. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

John J. Sleeman to be postmaster at Linden, Mich., in place of John J. Sleeman. Incumbent's commission expired July 14, 1917.

E. T. Belding to be postmaster at Mancelona, Mich., in place of E. T. Belding. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1917.

Arthur A. Juttner to be postmaster at Menominee, Mich., in place of Arthur A. Juttner. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Henry A. Bishop to be postmaster at Millington, Mich., in place of Henry A. Bishop. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Henry Kessell to be postmaster at Orion, Mich., in place of Henry Kessell. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Clare E. Rann to be postmaster at Perry, Mich., in place of Clare E. Rann. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

Eugene L. Rose to be postmaster at Petoskey, Mich., in place of Eugene L. Rose. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

R. D. Watson to be postmaster at Rochester, Mich., in place of R. D. Watson. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

Michael W. Gibbons to be postmaster at Rosecommon, Mich., in place of Michael W. Gibbons. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

John Lutz to be postmaster at Saline, Mich., in place of John Lutz. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

M. C. Lefurgey to be postmaster at Mount Morris, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

John Jay Cox to be postmaster at Scottville, Mich., in place of John Jay Cox. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Allen E. Stebbins to be postmaster at Sheridan, Mich., in place of Allen E. Stebbins. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

Louis J. Braun to be postmaster at South Range, Mich., in place of Louis J. Braun. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Barton R. Osborn to be postmaster at Tekonsha, Mich., in place of Barton R. Osborn. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

George F. Carrier to be postmaster at Three Oaks, Mich., in place of George F. Carrier. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

William H. Wint to be postmaster at Williamston, Mich., in place of William H. Wint. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

## MINNESOTA.

Jason Weatherhead to be postmaster at Ada, Minn., in place of Jason Weatherhead. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

P. O. Fryklund to be postmaster at Badger, Minn., in place of P. O. Fryklund. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

Joseph S. Stearns to be postmaster at Campbell, Minn., in place of C. J. Schendel, never assumed charge of office.

Altie Hill Lund to be postmaster at Dawson, Minn., in place of Altie Hill, name changed by marriage.

Erick L. Slindee to be postmaster at Adams, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frank W. Zaffke to be postmaster at Backus, Minn. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Charles G. Leppla to be postmaster at Fort Snelling, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

C. Edward Sarff to be postmaster at Keewatin, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

P. Andrew Bromstad to be postmaster at Milan, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Walter L. O'Neill to be postmaster at Remer, Minn. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Axel Ringborg to be postmaster at Bagley, Minn., in place of Axel Ringborg. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

Axel F. Peterson to be postmaster at Barrett, Minn., in place of Axel F. Peterson. Incumbent's commission expired October 1, 1917.

W. W. Belden to be postmaster at Caledonia, Minn., in place of W. W. Belden. Incumbent's commission expired October 1, 1917.

C. F. Lieberg to be postmaster at Clarkfield, Minn., in place of C. F. Lieberg. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

E. S. Scheibe to be postmaster at Cloquet, Minn., in place of E. S. Scheibe. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

William H. Franklin to be postmaster at Dodge Center, Minn., in place of W. H. Franklin. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

Louis A. Schwantz to be postmaster at Evansville, Minn., in place of Louis A. Schwantz. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

Joseph Huelskamp to be postmaster at Gaylord, Minn., in place of Joseph Huelskamp. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

George Lien to be postmaster at Granite Falls, Minn., in place of George Lien. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1917.

C. H. Phinney to be postmaster at Herman, Minn., in place of C. H. Phinney. Incumbent's commission expired June 17, 1917.

P. J. McCormick to be postmaster at Hopkins, Minn., in place of P. J. McCormick. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

William F. Roche to be postmaster at Lakeville, Minn., in place of W. F. Roche. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

F. W. Kramer to be postmaster at Lewiston, Minn., in place of F. W. Kramer. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1917.

Harvey Hildebrand to be postmaster at Lyle, Minn., in place of H. Hildebrand. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

Milton L. Fredine to be postmaster at Maynard, Minn., in place of M. L. Fredine. Incumbent's commission expired September 10, 1917.

Joseph H. Seal to be postmaster at Melrose, Minn., in place of J. H. Seal. Incumbent's commission expired June 17, 1917.

H. E. Hoard to be postmaster at Montevideo, Minn., in place of H. E. Hoard. Incumbent's commission expired August 13, 1917.

M. F. Finnegan to be postmaster at Morris, Minn., in place of M. F. Finnegan. Incumbent's commission expired August 13, 1917.

Erick Erickson to be postmaster at Murdock, Minn., in place of E. Erickson. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

A. Waag to be postmaster at Roseau, Minn., in place of A. Waag. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

W. L. McGonagle to be postmaster at Royalton, Minn., in place of W. L. McGonagle. Incumbent's commission expired September 10, 1917.

G. O. Bergan to be postmaster at Sacred Heart, Minn., in place of G. O. Bergan. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Emil A. Kurr to be postmaster at Sauk Rapids, Minn., in place of E. A. Kurr. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1917.

Alfred W. Johnson to be postmaster at Sebeka, Minn., in place of A. W. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

A. J. Lovestrom to be postmaster at Stephen, Minn., in place of A. J. Lovestrom. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

Charles Spillane to be postmaster at Waseca, Minn., in place of C. Spillane. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

Michael Brixius to be postmaster at Watkins, Minn., in place of M. Brixius. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

C. H. Dickey to be postmaster at Wayzata, Minn., in place of C. H. Dickey. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

## MISSISSIPPI.

W. P. Cassidy to be postmaster at Brookhaven, Miss., in place of W. P. Cassidy. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

R. L. Broadstreet to be postmaster at Coffeeville, Miss., in place of R. L. Broadstreet. Incumbent's commission expired September 3, 1917.

Bernard M. Martin to be postmaster at Dundee, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Lorle R. Du Bard to be postmaster at Glendora, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Florence Brady to be postmaster at Lulu, Miss. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Jeanie W. Fontaine to be postmaster at Lyon, Miss. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Foster H. Round to be postmaster at Meadville, Miss. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Mary L. Hancock to be postmaster at Potts Camp, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

T. L. Wainwright to be postmaster at Stonewell, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Charles W. Allen to be postmaster at Vance, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

R. B. O'Reilly to be postmaster at Cruger, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Sedley B. Thomas to be postmaster at Terry, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Benjamin F. Lott to be postmaster at Collins, Miss., in place of B. F. Lott. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

J. M. King to be postmaster at Durant, Miss., in place of J. M. King. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

Ollie O. Conerly to be postmaster at Gloster, Miss., in place of O. O. Conerly. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1917.

J. H. Robb to be postmaster at Greenville, Miss., in place of J. H. Robb. Incumbent's commission expired August 13, 1917.

James C. Jourdan to be postmaster at Iuka, Miss., in place of J. C. Jourdan. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

Thomas P. Barr to be postmaster at Jackson, Miss., in place of T. P. Barr. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

W. L. Walton to be postmaster at Lexington, Miss., in place of W. L. Walton. Incumbent's commission expired October 18, 1917.

R. Parrish Taylor to be postmaster at Oakland, Miss., in place of R. P. Taylor. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1917.

C. A. McCharen to be postmaster at Oxford, Miss., in place of C. A. McCharen. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

Jonathan H. McCraw to be postmaster at Sardis, Miss., in place of J. H. McCraw. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Barbour Y. Rhodes to be postmaster at West Point, Miss., in place of B. Y. Rhodes. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

#### MISSOURI.

Emmett A. Cherry to be postmaster at Adrian, Mo., in place of Emmett A. Cherry. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Joseph H. Turk to be postmaster at Ash Grove, Mo., in place of Joseph H. Turk. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

James R. Bennett to be postmaster at Branson, Mo., in place of James R. Bennett. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Harvey Morrow to be postmaster at Buffalo, Mo., in place of Harvey Morrow. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1917.

John C. Downing to be postmaster at Cameron, Mo., in place of John C. Downing. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Willis Wiley to be postmaster at Crane, Mo., in place of Willis Wiley. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

William D. Johnson to be postmaster at Crocker, Mo., in place of William D. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

Louie C. Mattox to be postmaster at Cuba, Mo., in place of Louie C. Mattox. Incumbent's commission expired June 17, 1917.

William H. Titus to be postmaster at Excelsior Springs, Mo., in place of William H. Titus. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Nelson H. Cook to be postmaster at Forest City, Mo., in place of Nelson H. Cook. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Lee Jones to be postmaster at Hale, Mo., in place of Lee Jones. Incumbent's commission expired November 6, 1917.

S. S. Ball to be postmaster at Kahoka, Mo., in place of S. S. Ball. Incumbent's commission expired November 24, 1917.

Robert H. Williams to be postmaster at Louisiana, Mo., in place of Robert H. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

J. S. Walker to be postmaster at Marceline, Mo., in place of J. S. Walker. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Hiram P. Geaslin to be postmaster at Hornersville, Mo. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

William A. Grant to be postmaster at Lincoln, Mo. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Jasper D. Cole to be postmaster at Malta Bend, Mo. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Ross Alexander to be postmaster at Mercer, Mo., in place of Ross Alexander. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

James M. Settle to be postmaster at New Franklin, Mo., in place of James M. Settle. Incumbent's commission expired November 6, 1917.

James L. Smith to be postmaster at New London, Mo., in place of James L. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Cora D. Perdue to be postmaster at Orrick, Mo., in place of Cora D. Perdue. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

L. R. Dougherty to be postmaster at Pacific, Mo., in place of L. R. Dougherty. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Lant Campbell to be postmaster at Princeton, Mo., in place of Lant Campbell. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

S. A. Norrid to be postmaster at Puxico, Mo., in place of S. A. Norrid. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Colin M. Selph to be postmaster at St. Louis, Mo., in place of Colin M. Selph. Incumbent's commission expired September 5, 1917.

W. Douglas Meeks to be postmaster at Thayer, Mo., in place of W. D. Meeks. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

Abram Stephens to be postmaster at Troy, Mo., in place of Abram Stephens. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

L. M. Hutcherson to be postmaster at Warrenton, Mo., in place of L. M. Hutcherson. Incumbent's commission expired June 17, 1917.

J. P. Bauer to be postmaster at Washington, Mo., in place of J. P. Bauer. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

#### MONTANA.

T. C. Armitage to be postmaster at Billings, Mont., in place of T. C. Armitage. Incumbent's commission expired November 13, 1917.

William Krofft to be postmaster at Choteau, Mont., in place of William Krofft. Incumbent's commission expired June 13, 1917.

Grant Robinson to be postmaster at Lewistown, Mont., in place of Grant Robinson. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

John J. Courtney to be postmaster at Antelope, Mont. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Elmer C. Sprague to be postmaster at Box Elder, Mont. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Lulu C. Woolson to be postmaster at Brady, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Fred T. Tasa to be postmaster at Flaxville, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Robert B. McNeil to be postmaster at Inverness, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Richard T. Sjordal to be postmaster at Kremlin, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Rose M. Sargent to be postmaster at Nashua, Mont. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Letta Conser to be postmaster at Plevna, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Lizzie Gorsuch to be postmaster at Winnett, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Israel A. Oakes to be postmaster at Plentywood, Mont., in place of I. A. Oakes. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

W. H. B. Carter to be postmaster at Polson, Mont., in place of W. H. B. Carter. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

L. H. Adams to be postmaster at Somers, Mont., in place of L. H. Adams. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

#### NEBRASKA.

Isaac T. Merchant to be postmaster at Adams, Nebr., in place of I. T. Merchant. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

R. E. Harmon to be postmaster at Auburn, Nebr., in place of R. E. Harmon. Incumbent's commission expired September 29, 1917.

Marie A. Lybolt to be postmaster at Brunswick, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

James C. Frandsen to be postmaster at Dalton, Nebr. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Fritz A. Rasmussen to be postmaster at Hershey, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Clarence R. Tweed to be postmaster at Bassett, Nebr., in place of C. R. Tweed. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

George W. Norris to be postmaster at Beaver Crossing, Nebr., in place of G. W. Norris. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Anton J. Ruyicka to be postmaster at Belgrade, Nebr., in place of A. J. Ruyicka. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Charles P. Davis to be postmaster at Bladen, Nebr., in place of C. P. Davis. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

D. A. Berkey to be postmaster at Davenport, Nebr., in place of D. A. Berkey. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

George Beckler to be postmaster at Deshler, Nebr., in place of G. Beckler. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

James W. Carson to be postmaster at Edgar, Nebr., in place of J. W. Carson. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Robert G. Hall to be postmaster at Fairmont, Nebr., in place of R. G. Hall. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Andrew B. Anderson to be postmaster at Florence, Nebr., in place of A. B. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

Edwin Cutts to be postmaster at Giltner, Nebr., in place of E. Cutts. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

James J. McCarthy to be postmaster at Greeley, Nebr., in place of J. J. McCarthy. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

C. G. Fritz to be postmaster at Hooper, Nebr., in place of C. G. Fritz. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Orren Slote to be postmaster at Litchfield, Nebr., in place of O. Slote. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

Ira Lucy to be postmaster at Long Pine, Nebr., in place of I. Lucy. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

C. F. Beushausen to be postmaster at Loup City, Nebr., in place of C. F. Beushausen. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

Joseph Fenimore to be postmaster at Merna, Nebr., in place of J. Fenimore. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Joseph J. Heelan to be postmaster at Mullen, Nebr., in place of J. J. Heelan. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

John S. Callan to be postmaster at Odell, Nebr., in place of J. S. Callan. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

J. E. Scott to be postmaster at Osmond, Nebr., in place of J. E. Scott. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

Charles H. Mohr to be postmaster at Plainview, Nebr., in place of C. H. Mohr. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

Lizzie Smith to be postmaster at Riverton, Nebr., in place of L. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

William T. Cropper to be postmaster at Sargent, Nebr., in place of W. T. Cropper. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Fred Wolter to be postmaster at Ohiowa, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Edward H. Hines to be postmaster at Theford, Nebr. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

John C. Voline to be postmaster at South Auburn, Nebr., in place of J. C. Voline. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

## NEVADA.

George A. Myles to be postmaster at Austin, Nev., in place of G. A. Myles. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

W. C. Ruddell, jr., to be postmaster at Lovelocks, Nev., in place of W. C. Ruddell, jr. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

William J. Bonner to be postmaster at Mason, Nev. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

John B. S. Fleming to be postmaster at Jarbridge, Nev. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Jessie E. Burnett to be postmaster at McGill, Nev., in place of J. E. Burnett. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

A. A. Carman to be postmaster at Pioche, Nev., in place of A. A. Carman. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

George Foley to be postmaster at Round Mountain, Nev., in place of G. Foley. Incumbent's commission expired July 24, 1917.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

James H. Willey to be postmaster at Milton, N. H., in place of J. H. Willey. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

Webb Little to be postmaster at Campton, N. H. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

## NEW JERSEY.

Lemuel H. Mathews to be postmaster at Barnegat, N. J., in place of L. H. Mathews. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Peter A. Donovan to be postmaster at Bayonne, N. J., in place of Peter A. Donovan. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Henry N. Gillon to be postmaster at Berlin, N. J., in place of Henry N. Gillon. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Edward F. Higgins to be postmaster at Bloomfield, N. J., in place of Edward F. Higgins. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

Waters B. Hurff to be postmaster at Bridgeton, N. J., in place of Waters B. Hurff. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

J. B. R. Clark to be postmaster at Califon, N. J., in place of J. B. R. Clark. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Ada B. Nafew to be postmaster at Eatontown, N. J., in place of Ada B. Nafew. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Henry Otto to be postmaster at Egg Harbor City, N. J., in place of Henry Otto. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

T. C. Birtwhistle to be postmaster at Englewood, N. J., in place of T. C. Birtwhistle. Incumbent's commission expired August 20, 1917.

C. D. Nicholson to be postmaster at Grenloch, N. J., in place of C. D. Nicholson. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

John A. Reddan to be postmaster at Hopewell, N. J., in place of John A. Reddan. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Hugh G. Stull to be postmaster at Milford, N. J., in place of Hugh G. Stull. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Walter F. Clayton to be postmaster at Ocean Grove, N. J., in place of Walter F. Clayton. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Ralph A. Sheppard to be postmaster at Bivalve, N. J. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Joseph A. Poole to be postmaster at Deal Beach, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John A. Campbell to be postmaster at Highwood, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Lewis A. Shaw to be postmaster at Minotola, N. J. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Frances W. Winans to be postmaster at Mountain Lakes, N. J. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Samuel Locker to be postmaster at Parlin, N. J. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Harry T. Allen to be postmaster at Vincentown, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

John B. Hankins to be postmaster at Pemberton, N. J., in place of John B. Hankins. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

David C. Brewer to be postmaster at Toms River, N. J., in place of David C. Brewer. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

## NEW MEXICO.

John A. Haley to be postmaster at Carrizozo, N. Mex., in place of John A. Haley. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

L. A. Chandler to be postmaster at Cimarron, N. Mex., in place of L. A. Chandler. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Susan S. Pace to be postmaster at Clayton, N. Mex., in place of Susan S. Pace. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

L. Pascual Martinez to be postmaster at Taos, N. Mex., in place of Pascual Martinez. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

Frank P. Brown to be postmaster at Hachita, N. Mex. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Joseph A. Beal to be postmaster at Mountainair, N. Mex. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Susano Ortiz to be postmaster at Las Vegas, N. Mex., in place of Susano Ortiz. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

George F. Williams to be postmaster at Mogollon, N. Mex., in place of George F. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Viola K. Reynolds to be postmaster at Springer, N. Mex., in place of Viola K. Reynolds. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

NEW YORK.

Joseph A. Weisbeck to be postmaster at Alden, N. Y., in place of Joseph A. Weisbeck. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Joseph T. Norton to be postmaster at Allegany, N. Y., in place of Joseph T. Norton. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

George M. Miller to be postmaster at Andes, N. Y., in place of George M. Miller. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Frank C. Lent to be postmaster at Atlanta, N. Y., in place of Frank C. Lent. Incumbent's commission expired July 28, 1917.

John J. Maloney to be postmaster at Aurora, N. Y., in place of John J. Maloney. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

William S. Waterbury to be postmaster at Ballston Spa, N. Y., in place of William S. Waterbury. Incumbent's commission expired June 26, 1917.

John F. Ryan to be postmaster at Batavia, N. Y., in place of John F. Ryan. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

Peter J. O'Neill to be postmaster at Bry Shore, N. Y., in place of Peter J. O'Neill. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

William A. Hosley to be postmaster at Belmont, N. Y., in place of William A. Hosley. Incumbent's commission expired August 25, 1917.

John H. Ten Eyck to be postmaster at Black River, N. Y., in place of John H. Ten Eyck. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Frank E. Ingalls to be postmaster at Brownville, N. Y., in place of Frank E. Ingalls. Incumbent's commission expired August 25, 1917.

B. A. Curtiss to be postmaster at Camden, N. Y., in place of B. A. Curtiss. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Charles H. Beeby to be postmaster at Central Square, N. Y., in place of Charles H. Beeby. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Hiram E. Safford to be postmaster at Cherry Creek, N. Y., in place of Hiram E. Safford. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

George L. Krein to be postmaster at Dansville, N. Y., in place of George L. Krein. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

George H. Mills to be postmaster at Delevan, N. Y., in place of G. H. Mills. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Edward E. O'Rourke to be postmaster at Ellicottsville, N. Y., in place of E. E. O'Rourke. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Alpheus D. Jessup to be postmaster at Florida, N. Y., in place of Alpheus D. Jessup. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

William Van Alstyne to be postmaster at Fultonville, N. Y., in place of William Van Alstyne. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Jonas J. Hover to be postmaster at Germantown, N. Y., in place of Jonas J. Hover. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

John B. Judson to be postmaster at Gloversville, N. Y., in place of John B. Judson. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

James C. Spalding to be postmaster at Great Neck, N. Y., in place of James C. Spalding. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

Elizabeth Hollenbeck to be postmaster at Harriman, N. Y., in place of Elizabeth Hollenbeck. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

Frederick A. Ray to be postmaster at Herkimer, N. Y., in place of Frederick A. Ray. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

John Puvogel to be postmaster at Hicksville, N. Y., in place of John Puvogel. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Richard L. Earl to be postmaster at Honeoye Falls, N. Y., in place of Richard L. Earl. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

Arthur Rappleye to be postmaster at Interlaken, N. Y., in place of Arthur Rappleye. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

George W. Tracey to be postmaster at Kinderhook, N. Y., in place of George W. Tracey. Incumbent's commission expired November 17, 1917.

Robert S. Ames to be postmaster at Lake Placid, N. Y., in place of Robert S. Ames. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

Leon B. Wright to be postmaster at Lyndonville, N. Y., in place of Leon B. Wright. Incumbent's commission expired November 17, 1917.

Edward F. Ryan to be postmaster at Lyons Falls, N. Y., in place of Edward F. Ryan. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

John J. Costello to be postmaster at Manlius, N. Y., in place of John J. Costello. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Ira Baker to be postmaster at Amagansett, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Jenny L. Abel to be postmaster at Canaan, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Murvin L. Becker to be postmaster at Claverack, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Norman S. Taylor to be postmaster at Clayville, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frederick M. Avery to be postmaster at Cold Water, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Neil W. Avery to be postmaster at Greenville, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Eli M. Crawford to be postmaster at Keene Valley, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Eugene H. Schmeck to be postmaster at La Salle, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Joseph J. Daley to be postmaster at Lewiston, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Charles D. Overacre to be postmaster at Manchester, N. Y. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Harvey J. Adams to be postmaster at Moira, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

William F. Hadley to be postmaster at North Bangor, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Chester J. Hinman to be postmaster at Palenville, N. Y. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Robert J. De Lap to be postmaster at Roosevelt, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Annie B. Adams to be postmaster at Silver Bay, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

John H. Stoddard to be postmaster at Stevensville, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William B. Townsend to be postmaster at West Coxsackie, N. Y. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Henry D. Nichols to be postmaster at Mexico, N. Y., in place of Henry D. Nichols. Incumbent's commission expired August 25, 1917.

J. C. Rossman to be postmaster at Mohawk, N. Y., in place of J. C. Rossman. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Hugh Smiley to be postmaster at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., in place of Hugh Smiley. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

James V. Crawford to be postmaster at Morristown, N. Y., in place of James V. Crawford. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

James P. Doyle to be postmaster at Nunda, N. Y., in place of James P. Doyle. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Edward Crawford to be postmaster at Pine Bush, N. Y., in place of Edward Crawford. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Artemas D. Barton to be postmaster at Pine Plains, N. Y., in place of Artemas D. Barton. Incumbent's commission expired August 25, 1917.

W. Y. McIntosh to be postmaster at Pleasantville, N. Y., in place of W. Y. McIntosh. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

Anthony J. Beck to be postmaster at Saint James, N. Y., in place of Anthony J. Beck. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

Gilson D. Wart to be postmaster at Sandy Creek, N. Y., in place of Gilson D. Wart. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Edward J. Hughes to be postmaster at Schuylerville, N. Y., in place of Edward J. Hughes. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Leo R. Grover to be postmaster at Silver Springs, N. Y., in place of Leo R. Grover. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

Charles H. Huntting to be postmaster at Smithtown Branch, N. Y., in place of Charles H. Huntting. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

Joseph J. Maher to be postmaster at Staatsburg, N. Y., in place of Joseph J. Maher. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

John H. Coon to be postmaster at Stanley, N. Y., in place of John H. Coon. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Nellie E. Lempfert to be postmaster at Stony Brook, N. Y., in place of Nellie E. Lempfert. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

John J. Kesel to be postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., in place of John J. Kesel. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

John G. More to be postmaster at Walton, N. Y., in place of John G. More. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Frank Tamany to be postmaster at Washingtonville, N. Y., in place of Frank Tamany. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

John Scally to be postmaster at Westbury, N. Y., in place of John Scally. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Mabel B. Williams to be postmaster at West Hampton Beach, N. Y., in place of Mabel B. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired August 25, 1917.

John E. Hoffnagle to be postmaster at Westport, N. Y., in place of John E. Hoffnagle. Incumbent's commission expired August 25, 1917.

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

L. T. Sumner to be postmaster at Ahsokie, N. C., in place of L. T. Sumner. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

A. C. Hughes to be postmaster at Apex, N. C., in place of A. C. Hughes. Incumbent's commission expired October 1, 1917.

Daniel L. Windley to be postmaster at Belhaven, N. C., in place of Daniel L. Windley. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

E. J. Britt to be postmaster at Chadbourn, N. C., in place of E. J. Britt. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Robert S. McRae to be postmaster at Chapel Hill, N. C., in place of Robert S. McRae. Incumbent's commission expired June 18, 1917.

Andrew L. Pendleton to be postmaster at Elizabeth City, N. C., in place of Andrew L. Pendleton. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

H. S. Harrison to be postmaster at Enfield, N. C., in place of H. S. Harrison. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Stephen P. Wilson to be postmaster at Fairmont, N. C., in place of Stephen P. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

William F. Flowers to be postmaster at Fremont, N. C., in place of William F. Flowers. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Ira T. Hunt to be postmaster at Kittrell, N. C., in place of Ira T. Hunt. Incumbent's commission expired May 29, 1917.

D. D. French to be postmaster at Lumberton, N. C., in place of D. D. French. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

John R. Swann to be postmaster at Marshall, N. C., in place of John R. Swann. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

J. T. Dick to be postmaster at Mebane, N. C., in place of J. T. Dick. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

R. P. Gardner to be postmaster at Mount Holly, N. C., in place of R. P. Gardner. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

George W. Waters to be postmaster at Plymouth, N. C., in place of George W. Waters. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Louis G. Daniels to be postmaster at New Bern (late Newbern), N. C., in place of L. G. Daniels, to change name of office.

Sallie V. Banks to be postmaster at Camp Glenn, N. C. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Lillie N. Fenner to be postmaster at Halifax, N. C. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

James A. Hines to be postmaster at Highlands, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John G. Buffalo to be postmaster at Jackson, N. C. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Robert B. Etheridge to be postmaster at Manteo, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

W. O. Connor to be postmaster at Mars Hill, N. C. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Robert S. Montgomery to be postmaster at Reidsville, N. C., in place of R. S. Montgomery. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

William G. Fussell to be postmaster at Rosehill, N. C., in place of William G. Fussell. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Samuel V. Scott to be postmaster at Sanford, N. C., in place of Samuel V. Scott. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Cepha L. Harris to be postmaster at Thomasville, N. C., in place of Cepha L. Harris. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

John F. Saunders to be postmaster at Troy, N. C., in place of John F. Saunders. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

G. W. Hill to be postmaster at Vineland, N. C., in place of G. W. Hill. Incumbent's commission expired June 18, 1917.

O. K. Holding to be postmaster at Wake Forest, N. C., in place of O. K. Holding. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

D. Earl Best to be postmaster at Warsaw, N. C., in place of D. E. Best. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

R. S. Galloway to be postmaster at Winston-Salem, N. C., in place of R. S. Galloway. Incumbent's commission expired May 29, 1917.

#### NORTH DAKOTA.

Nicholas Johnston to be postmaster at Aneta, N. Dak., in place of Nicholas Johnston. Incumbent's commission expired October 2, 1917.

Daniel F. Sweeney to be postmaster at Berthold, N. Dak., in place of D. F. Sweeney. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

John W. Schulenberg to be postmaster at Bisbee, N. Dak., in place of J. W. Schulenberg. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

Frank Reed to be postmaster at Bismarck, N. Dak., in place of Frank Reed. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Guy A. Kopriva to be postmaster at Bowbells, N. Dak., in place of G. A. Kopriva. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Charles E. Harding to be postmaster at Churchs Ferry, N. Dak., in place of C. E. Harding. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

Frank McGraw to be postmaster at Cogswell, N. Dak., in place of Frank McGraw. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

V. F. Nelson to be postmaster at Cooperstown, N. Dak., in place of V. F. Nelson. Incumbent's commission expired August 28, 1917.

Sophie Sherman to be postmaster at Donnybrook, N. Dak., in place of Sophie Sherman. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

W. W. Anderson to be postmaster at Edgeley, N. Dak., in place of W. W. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired November 24, 1917.

D. J. Drummond to be postmaster at Esmond, N. Dak., in place of D. J. Drummond. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

Annie Minehan to be postmaster at Garrison, N. Dak., in place of Annie Minehan. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

William F. Thompson to be postmaster at Sanish, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William T. Wakefield to be postmaster at Mott, N. Dak., in place of W. T. Wakefield. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

William F. Kempshall to be postmaster at Taylor, N. Dak., in place of W. F. Kempshall. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

Hattie M. Leach to be postmaster at Havana, N. Dak. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Lemuel C. Larkin to be postmaster at Thompson, N. Dak. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

E. Ruth Garvin to be postmaster at Dawson, N. Dak. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Christian Reite to be postmaster at Hannaford, N. Dak., in place of C. Reite. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

J. H. McLean to be postmaster at Hannah, N. Dak., in place of J. H. McLean. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

Pearl Miller to be postmaster at La Moure, N. Dak., in place of Pearl Miller. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1917.

Frank J. Callahan to be postmaster at McClusky, N. Dak., in place of F. J. Callahan. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

P. J. Bott to be postmaster at Marmarth, N. Dak., in place of P. J. Bott. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

Peter Karpen to be postmaster at Medina, N. Dak., in place of Peter Karpen. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Anthony Hentges to be postmaster at Michigan, N. Dak., in place of Anthony Hentges. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

John G. Boatman to be postmaster at Milnor, N. Dak., in place of J. G. Boatman. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

W. T. Reilly to be postmaster at Milton, N. Dak., in place of W. T. Reilly. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

Carl Jahnke to be postmaster at New Salem, N. Dak., in place of Carl Jahnke. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

James J. Dougherty to be postmaster at Park River, N. Dak., in place of J. J. Dougherty. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

Nelle W. Moelling to be postmaster at Ray, N. Dak., in place of N. W. Moelling. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

P. J. Filbin to be postmaster at Steele, N. Dak., in place of P. J. Filbin. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

Henry A. Holmes to be postmaster at Towner, N. Dak., in place of H. A. Holmes. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Joseph Deschenes to be postmaster at Walhalla, N. Dak., in place of Joseph Deschenes. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Arthur L. Menard to be postmaster at Wilton, N. Dak., in place of A. L. Menard. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

Andrew D. Cochrane to be postmaster at York, N. Dak., in place of A. D. Cochrane. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

## OHIO.

Stewart D. Hazlett to be postmaster at Ada, Ohio, in place of S. D. Hazlett. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1917.

A. E. Stiwald to be postmaster at Amherst, Ohio, in place of A. E. Stiwald. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

Charles L. Burns to be postmaster at Andover, Ohio, in place of C. L. Burns. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

William H. Beam to be postmaster at Ansonia, Ohio, in place of W. H. Beam. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Solomon C. Allison to be postmaster at Ashville, Ohio, in place of S. C. Allison. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

Eli R. Lash to be postmaster at Athens, Ohio, in place of E. R. Lash. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

Louis J. Golling to be postmaster at Bedford, Ohio, in place of L. J. Golling. Incumbent's commission expired August 6, 1917.

James M. Fitzpatrick to be postmaster at Bethel, Ohio, in place of J. M. Fitzpatrick. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

B. S. C. McBride to be postmaster at St. Clairsville, Ohio, in place of B. S. C. McBride. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

Daniel W. Rumbaugh to be postmaster at Willard (late Chicago Junction), Ohio, in place of D. W. Rumbaugh, to change name of office.

Gertrude M. Bush to be postmaster at East Liberty, Ohio. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Claude R. Kilgore to be postmaster at Fredericksburg, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Cloyd M. Scott to be postmaster at Jeromesville, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Ida H. Cline to be postmaster at Kings Mills, Ohio. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Daniel McKenzie to be postmaster at Lakeside, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward D. Humphrey to be postmaster at Stockport, Ohio. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

J. P. Grassbaugh to be postmaster at Big Prairie, Ohio, in place of J. P. Grassbaugh. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

C. A. Weidaw to be postmaster at Bloomville, Ohio, in place of C. A. Weidaw. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

I. L. McCollough to be postmaster at Butler, Ohio, in place of I. L. McCollough. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

John Palsgrove to be postmaster at Canal Winchester, Ohio, in place of John Palsgrove. Incumbent's commission expired September 29, 1917.

Charles C. Fowler to be postmaster at Canfield, Ohio, in place of C. C. Fowler. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

A. R. Wolfe to be postmaster at Chillicothe, Ohio, in place of A. R. Wolfe. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

John W. Sanford to be postmaster at Clarrington, Ohio, in place of J. W. Sanford. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

F. M. Carlin to be postmaster at Cleves, Ohio, in place of F. M. Carlin. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Harry B. Mapel to be postmaster at Columbus Grove, Ohio, in place of H. B. Mapel. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

Carl C. Hadsell to be postmaster at Cortland, Ohio, in place of C. C. Hadsell. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

John E. Taylor to be postmaster at Crooksville, Ohio, in place of J. E. Taylor. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Lewis C. Davison to be postmaster at Dalton, Ohio, in place of L. C. Davison. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Hoyt B. Mahon to be postmaster at Dunkirk, Ohio, in place of H. B. Mahon. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Albert G. Witte to be postmaster at Elmore, Ohio, in place of A. G. Witte. Incumbent's commission expired August 6, 1917.

Charles E. Yost to be postmaster at Fayette, Ohio, in place of C. E. Yost. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

Homer Gard to be postmaster at Hamilton, Ohio, in place of Homer Gard. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

Henry Holzbach to be postmaster at Hubbard, Ohio, in place of Henry Holzbach. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

O. D. Kemper to be postmaster at Jefferson, Ohio, in place of O. D. Kemper. Incumbent's commission expired September 29, 1917.

E. E. France to be postmaster at Kent, Ohio, in place of E. E. France. Incumbent's commission expired August 28, 1917.

Thomas P. Dodd to be postmaster at Larue, Ohio, in place of T. P. Dodd. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

W. W. Daniels to be postmaster at Leroy, Ohio, in place of W. W. Daniels. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Charles E. Gain to be postmaster at London, Ohio, in place of C. E. Gain. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1917.

Custer Snyder to be postmaster at Lorain, Ohio, in place of Custer Snyder. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

George M. Keating to be postmaster at Loveland, Ohio, in place of G. M. Keating. Incumbent's commission expired December 1, 1917.

Charles G. Stroup to be postmaster at Lynchburg, Ohio, in place of C. G. Stroup. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

F. C. Thomas to be postmaster at Malta, Ohio, in place of F. C. Thomas. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

Frank T. Campbell to be postmaster at Marion, Ohio, in place of F. T. Campbell. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

Patrick W. Guilday to be postmaster at Milford, Ohio, in place of P. W. Guilday. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

D. C. Brown to be postmaster at Napoleon, Ohio, in place of D. C. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

James Sharp to be postmaster at Nelsonville, Ohio, in place of James Sharp. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

L. W. Kunning to be postmaster at New Bremen, Ohio, in place of L. W. Kunning. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

D. F. Akers to be postmaster at New Carlisle, Ohio, in place of D. F. Akers. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

H. E. Miller to be postmaster at New Concord, Ohio, in place of H. E. Miller. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

William Briggs to be postmaster at New Holland, Ohio, in place of William Briggs. Incumbent's commission expired August 6, 1917.

W. T. Alberson to be postmaster at New Philadelphia, Ohio, in place of W. T. Alberson. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1917.

Edwin E. Curran to be postmaster at New Straitsville, Ohio, in place of E. E. Curran. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

Roy C. Hale to be postmaster at New Vienna, Ohio, in place of R. C. Hale. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

James P. Stewart to be postmaster at Niles, Ohio, in place of J. P. Stewart. Incumbent's commission expired August 28, 1917.

Andrew Hiss to be postmaster at Norwalk, Ohio, in place of Andrew Hiss. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Frank J. Wasmer to be postmaster at Oak Hill, Ohio, in place of F. J. Wasmer. Incumbent's commission expired July 24, 1917.

C. L. Barkman to be postmaster at Osborn, Ohio, in place of C. L. Barkman. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

William B. Meyer to be postmaster at Oxford, Ohio, in place of W. B. Meyer. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

William J. Prince to be postmaster at Piqua, Ohio, in place of W. J. Prince. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Clarence A. Flanagan to be postmaster at Pleasant City, Ohio, in place of C. A. Flanagan. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Fred H. Johnson to be postmaster at Quaker City, Ohio, in place of F. H. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

Barbara Crosser to be postmaster at Salineville, Ohio, in place of Barbara Crosser. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

George J. Windle to be postmaster at Sebring, Ohio, in place of G. J. Windle. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1917.

Laura Emma Jones to be postmaster at Shadyside, Ohio, in place of L. E. Jones. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

Benjamin G. Trew to be postmaster at Shawnee, Ohio, in place of B. G. Trew. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1917.

Jacob Fraker to be postmaster at Sherwood, Ohio, in place of Jacob Fraker. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Wiley K. Miller to be postmaster at Shreve, Ohio, in place of W. K. Miller. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Rufus R. Kurtz to be postmaster at Sycamore, Ohio, in place of R. R. Kurtz. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1917.

W. A. Lowry to be postmaster at Urbana, Ohio, in place of W. A. Lowry. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Louis C. Brown to be postmaster at Warren, Ohio, in place of L. C. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired August 12, 1917.

Orange V. Fritz to be postmaster at West Alexandria, Ohio, in place of O. V. Fritz. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

Orren E. Curl to be postmaster at West Mansfield, Ohio, in place of O. E. Curl. Incumbent's commission expired August 6, 1917.

Lewis S. Baker to be postmaster at Weston, Ohio, in place of L. S. Baker. Incumbent's commission expired June 18, 1917.

J. H. Connor to be postmaster at West Union, Ohio, in place of J. H. Connor. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Charles H. Hackett to be postmaster at Yellow Springs, Ohio, in place of C. H. Hackett. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

George B. Snyder to be postmaster at Youngstown, Ohio, in place of G. B. Snyder. Incumbent's commission expired December 23, 1917.

## OKLAHOMA.

Charles W. Amspacher to be postmaster at Apache, Okla., in place of Charles Amspacher. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Peter H. McKeown to be postmaster at Billings, Okla., in place of P. H. McKeown. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

J. N. Hopkins to be postmaster at Boswell, Okla., in place of J. N. Hopkins. Incumbent's commission expired August 30, 1917.

Lea M. Nichols to be postmaster at Bristow, Okla., in place of L. M. Nichols. Incumbent's commission expired July 28, 1917.

A. R. Duncan to be postmaster at Carmen, Okla., in place of A. R. Duncan. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

James H. Cunningham to be postmaster at Carnegie, Okla., in place of J. H. Cunningham. Incumbent's commission expired July 28, 1917.

W. P. Madden to be postmaster at Cheyenne, Okla., in place of W. P. Madden. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

James E. Wallace to be postmaster at Broken Bow, Okla., in place of J. E. Wallace. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1917.

Willie E. Hunt to be postmaster at Thomas, Okla., in place of W. E. Hunt. Incumbent's commission expired July 28, 1917.

T. J. Way to be postmaster at Haskell, Okla., in place of T. J. Way. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Bonnie Bacon to be postmaster at Davidson, Okla., in place of Bonnie A. Coley, name changed by marriage.

Blanche Holcomb to be postmaster at Delaware, Okla., in place of Blanche Larkin, named changed by marriage.

John L. Lillibridge to be postmaster at Dover, Okla. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

James W. Hinson to be postmaster at Fletcher, Okla. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Willis W. Christopher to be postmaster at Kusa, Okla. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Eva Gill to be postmaster at Milburn, Okla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Guy M. Coffman to be postmaster at Morrison, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Julian B. Boyett to be postmaster at Stuart, Okla. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Grover C. Fulton to be postmaster at Tar River, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Albert L. Kates to be postmaster at Claremore, Okla., in place of A. L. Kates. Incumbent's commission expired November 24, 1917.

Samuel R. Hawks, jr., to be postmaster at Clinton, Okla., in place of S. R. Hawks, jr. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

M. B. Hickman to be postmaster at Coalgate, Okla., in place of M. B. Hickman. Incumbent's commission expired August 30, 1917.

W. A. Prince to be postmaster at Crescent, Okla., in place of W. A. Prince. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Robert E. Lee Woods to be postmaster at Duncan, Okla., in place of R. E. L. Woods. Incumbent's commission expired June 17, 1917.

L. D. Flint to be postmaster at Fairland, Okla., in place of L. D. Flint. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

Joseph B. Wilson to be postmaster at Fairview, Okla., in place of J. B. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired November 6, 1917.

John Huskey to be postmaster at Fort Towson, Okla., in place of John Huskey. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

George E. Baker to be postmaster at Gage, Okla., in place of G. E. Baker. Incumbent's commission expired August 30, 1917.

Marion B. Carley to be postmaster at Geary, Okla., in place of M. B. Carley. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1917.

W. T. Kniseley to be postmaster at Glencoe, Okla., in place of W. T. Kniseley. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

J. P. Ford to be postmaster at Konawa, Okla., in place of J. P. Ford. Incumbent's commission expired August 30, 1917.

Robert Landers to be postmaster at Lawton, Okla., in place of Robert Landers. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

George M. Massingale to be postmaster at Leedey, Okla., in place of G. M. Massingale. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

J. L. Avey to be postmaster at Lindsay, Okla., in place of J. L. Avey. Incumbent's commission expired August 29, 1917.

John S. Thompson to be postmaster at Mulhall, Okla., in place of J. S. Thompson. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

C. J. Woodson to be postmaster at Okarche, Okla., in place of C. J. Woodson. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1917.

W. M. Davis to be postmaster at Okemah, Okla., in place of W. M. Davis. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Joseph E. McCutchan to be postmaster at Pawnee, Okla., in place of J. E. McCutchan. Incumbent's commission expired July 28, 1917.

Willard E. Merry to be postmaster at Perry, Okla., in place of W. E. Merry. Incumbent's commission expired November 6, 1917.

A. C. Smith to be postmaster at Ponca City, Okla., in place of A. C. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired October 23, 1917.

William Barrowman to be postmaster at Purcell, Okla., in place of William Barrowman. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1917.

A. S. Foreman to be postmaster at Sallisaw, Okla., in place of A. S. Foreman. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

W. S. Livingston to be postmaster at Seminole, Okla., in place of W. S. Livingston. Incumbent's commission expired August 30, 1917.

Edward Learnard to be postmaster at Shattuck, Okla., in place of Edw. Learnard. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

J. T. Holley to be postmaster at Stigler, Okla., in place of J. T. Holley. Incumbent's commission expired May 29, 1917.

A. B. Cunningham to be postmaster at Tahlequah, Okla., in place of A. B. Cunningham. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

John M. Crutchfield to be postmaster at Tulsa, Okla., in place of J. M. Crutchfield. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

Thomas J. Brown to be postmaster at Tuttle, Okla., in place of T. J. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Harry J. Dray to be postmaster at Weatherford, Okla., in place of H. J. Dray. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

J. S. Barham to be postmaster at Wewoka, Okla., in place of J. S. Barham. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

## OREGON.

Dean S. McWilliams to be postmaster at Halsey, Oreg., in place of D. S. McWilliams. Incumbent's commission expired October 22, 1917.

W. A. Richardson to be postmaster at Heppner, Oreg., in place of W. A. Richardson. Incumbent's commission expired August 12, 1917.

E. E. Bragg to be postmaster at La Grande, Oreg., in place of E. E. Bragg. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Edith B. Ward to be postmaster at Stanfield, Oreg. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Brazier C. Small to be postmaster at Turner, Oreg. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Esther M. Evers to be postmaster at Huntington, Oreg., in place of Esther Evers. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

W. A. Delzell to be postmaster at Klamath Falls, Oreg., in place of W. A. Delzell. Incumbent's commission expired October 1, 1917.

B. L. Hagemann to be postmaster at Milwaukie, Oreg., in place of B. L. Hagemann. Incumbent's commission expired December 1, 1917.

Vaughn D. Crosby to be postmaster at North Portland, Oreg., in place of V. D. Crosby. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1916.

J. W. Boone to be postmaster at Prineville, Oreg., in place of J. W. Boone. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

L. F. Reizenstein to be postmaster at Roseburg, Oreg., in place of L. F. Reizenstein. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

Iva E. Dodd to be postmaster at St. Helens, Oreg., in place of I. E. Dodd. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

R. E. Williams to be postmaster at The Dalles, Oreg., in place of R. E. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Claude W. Freeman to be postmaster at Austin, Pa., in place of C. W. Freeman. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Oscar E. Letterer to be postmaster at Berwick, Pa., in place of O. E. Letterer. Incumbent's commission expired August 20, 1917.

Charles M. Harder to be postmaster at Catawissa, Pa., in place of C. M. Harder. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

John J. Ryan to be postmaster at Centralia, Pa., in place of J. J. Ryan. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

J. K. Smith to be postmaster at Charleroi, Pa., in place of J. K. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

William A. Shear to be postmaster at Coudersport, Pa., in place of W. A. Shear. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Edward Raker to be postmaster at Shamokin, Pa., in place of Edward Raker. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

Winifred H. Rose to be postmaster at Tioga, Pa., in place of Winifred Hughes; name changed by marriage.

Albin P. Yarnall to be postmaster at Ashbourne, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

John H. Fahl to be postmaster at Auburn, Pa. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Frank F. Sumney to be postmaster at Dravosburg, Pa. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

J. Blaine Wise to be postmaster at Marianna, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

George C. Schrecongost to be postmaster at Sagamore, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

John C. Nicholson to be postmaster at Six Mile Run, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Grant Piper to be postmaster at Petersburg, Pa. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

G. F. Kittelberger to be postmaster at Curwensville, Pa., in place of G. F. Kittelberger. Incumbent's commission expired September 4, 1917.

James W. Taylor to be postmaster at Dallastown, Pa., in place of J. W. Taylor. Incumbent's commission expired November 13, 1917.

Andrew Wahl to be postmaster at Evans City, Pa., in place of Andrew Wahl. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Joseph Nelson to be postmaster at Fayette City, Pa., in place of Joseph Nelson. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

O. M. Koller to be postmaster at Fleetwood, Pa., in place of O. M. Koller. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

William H. McQuilken to be postmaster at Glen Campbell, Pa., in place of W. H. McQuilken. Incumbent's commission expired September 4, 1917.

E. K. Eichelberger to be postmaster at Hanover, Pa., in place of E. K. Eichelberger. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

C. S. Hill to be postmaster at Hughesville, Pa., in place of C. S. Hill. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

Harry W. Fee to be postmaster at Indiana, Pa., in place of H. W. Fee. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

E. S. Taylor to be postmaster at Kennett Square, Pa., in place of E. S. Taylor. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Louis N. Spencer to be postmaster at Lancaster, Pa., in place of L. N. Spencer. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Charles E. Putnam to be postmaster at Linesville, Pa., in place of C. E. Putnam. Incumbent's commission expired September 4, 1917.

Robert E. Urell to be postmaster at Mansfield, Pa., in place of R. E. Urell. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1917.

John Orth to be postmaster at Marietta, Pa., in place of John Orth. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

John H. Kensinger to be postmaster at Martinsburg, Pa., in place of J. H. Kensinger. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Matthew C. Fox, jr., to be postmaster at Media, Pa., in place of M. C. Cox, jr. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Frank P. Craig to be postmaster at Mercer, Pa., in place of F. P. Craig. Incumbent's commission expired June 2, 1917.

Harry B. Krebs to be postmaster at Mercersburg, Pa., in place of H. B. Krebs. Incumbent's commission expired September 4, 1917.

Henry W. Rinehart to be postmaster at Millerstown, Pa., in place of H. W. Rinehart. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

C. M. Touchstone to be postmaster at Moores, Pa., in place of C. M. Touchstone. Incumbent's commission expired September 4, 1917.

Charles H. Carter to be postmaster at Mount Pocono, Pa., in place of C. H. Carter. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Edward S. Haws to be postmaster at Narberth, Pa., in place of E. S. Haws. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

John H. Shields to be postmaster at New Alexandria, Pa., in place of J. H. Shields. Incumbent's commission expired September 4, 1917.

William S. Clegg to be postmaster at New Bloomfield, Pa., in place of W. S. Clegg. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

Albert K. Kneule to be postmaster at Norristown, Pa., in place of A. K. Kneule. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

James W. Hatch to be postmaster at North Girard, Pa., in place of J. W. Hatch. Incumbent's commission expired October 2, 1917.

William H. Gruber to be postmaster at Palmerton, Pa., in place of W. H. Gruber. Incumbent's commission expired August 18, 1917.

Oscar F. Weiland to be postmaster at Perkasio, Pa., in place of O. F. Weiland. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Thomas McGuire to be postmaster at Pleasantville, Pa., in place of Thomas McGuire. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Edward J. Hutchinson to be postmaster at Polk, Pa., in place of E. J. Hutchinson. Incumbent's commission expired December 1, 1917.

Henry J. J. Lemon to be postmaster at Port Allegany, Pa., in place of H. J. Lemon. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

A. C. M. Crozier to be postmaster at Port Royal, Pa., in place of A. C. M. Crozier. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Charles N. Seitzinger to be postmaster at Reading, Pa., in place of C. N. Seitzinger. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

John C. Werts to be postmaster at Reedsville, Pa., in place of J. C. Werts. Incumbent's commission expired December 1, 1917.

B. P. McNulty to be postmaster at Ridgway, Pa., in place of B. P. McNulty. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Daniel Clarey to be postmaster at Sayre, Pa., in place of Daniel Clarey. Incumbent's commission expired September 9, 1917.

Finlay H. Falling to be postmaster at Shinglehouse, Pa., in place of F. H. Falling. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Solomon H. Smith to be postmaster at Smithton, Pa., in place of S. H. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

J. B. Esch to be postmaster at Spangler, Pa., in place of J. B. Esch. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Charles A. Smith to be postmaster at Swarthmore, Pa., in place of C. A. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

John Adams to be postmaster at Vandergrift, Pa., in place of John Adams. Incumbent's commission expired August 11, 1917.

John H. Krumbine to be postmaster at Vintondale, Pa., in place of J. H. Krumbine. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

James H. Alcorn to be postmaster at Waterford, Pa., in place of J. H. Alcorn. Incumbent's commission expired August 20, 1917.

J. R. Detwiler to be postmaster at Williamsburg, Pa., in place of J. R. Detwiler. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Hugh Gilmore to be postmaster at Williamsport, Pa., in place of Hugh Gilmore. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

Watson B. Reisinger to be postmaster at Wrightsville, Pa., in place of W. B. Reisinger. Incumbent's commission expired August 2, 1917.

C. J. D. Strohecker to be postmaster at Zellenople, Pa., in place of C. J. D. Strohecker. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

## PORTO RICO.

Ramon Alfonzo Rivera to be postmaster at Arecibo, P. R., in place of R. A. Rivera. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Jose Carrera to be postmaster at Humacao, P. R., in place of Jose Carrera. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

## RHODE ISLAND.

S. Martin Rose to be postmaster at Block Island, R. I., in place of S. M. Rose. Incumbent's commission expired July 22, 1917.

Charles J. Baron to be postmaster at Centerdale, R. I. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

George W. Jenckes to be postmaster at Slatersville, R. I. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Reuben A. Gibbs to be postmaster at West Barrington, R. I. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

James S. Scully to be postmaster at Crompton, R. I., in place of J. S. Scully. Incumbent's commission expired July 22, 1917.

Thomas H. Galvin to be postmaster at East Greenwich, R. I., in place of T. H. Galvin. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1917.

William R. Congdon to be postmaster at Wickford, R. I., in place of W. R. Congdon. Incumbent's commission expired July 22, 1917.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Ida A. Calhoun to be postmaster at Clemson College, S. C., in place of I. A. Calhoun. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

J. E. Rickenbaker to be postmaster at Lake City, S. C., in place of J. F. Rickenbaker. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Herman H. Bradham to be postmaster at Manning, S. C., in place of H. H. Bradham. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Lullie Giles to be postmaster at Graniteville, S. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

John H. Porter to be postmaster at Ridgeland, S. C. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Lewis M. Jones to be postmaster at Alcoln, S. C. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

James B. Ehrhardt to be postmaster at Ehrhardt, S. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

J. R. Montgomery to be postmaster at Marion, S. C., in place of J. R. Montgomery. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1917.

Henry P. Tindal to be postmaster at North, S. C., in place of H. P. Tindal. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

Pierce M. Huff to be postmaster at Piedmont, S. C., in place of P. M. Huff. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Pearlie H. Padget to be postmaster at Saluda, S. C., in place of P. H. Padget. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

Nevitt Fant to be postmaster at Walhalla, S. C., in place of Nevitt Fant. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

F. A. Nutter to be postmaster at Alcester, S. Dak., in place of F. A. Nutter. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

John Debilzan to be postmaster at Andover, S. Dak., in place of John Debilzan. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

Agnes McCue to be postmaster at Kennebec, S. Dak. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Charles H. McCrossen to be postmaster at Ashton, S. Dak. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Louisa E. Prouty to be postmaster at Pollock, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

A. Rae Dendy to be postmaster at White River, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William Moore to be postmaster at Armour, S. Dak., in place of William Moore. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

George L. Baker to be postmaster at Britton, S. Dak., in place of G. L. Baker. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

H. B. Brown to be postmaster at Clark, S. Dak., in place of H. B. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Alfred E. Paine to be postmaster at Doland, S. Dak., in place of A. E. Paine. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

George C. Knickerbocker to be postmaster at Eureka, S. Dak., in place of G. C. Knickerbocker. Incumbent's commission expired May 9, 1917.

A. D. Griffee to be postmaster at Faulkton, S. Dak., in place of A. D. Griffee. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

James L. Minahan to be postmaster at Geddes, S. Dak., in place of J. L. Minahan. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

W. R. Veitch to be postmaster at Groton, S. Dak., in place of W. R. Veitch. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

John F. McGowan to be postmaster at Hartford, S. Dak., in place of J. F. McGowan. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

Bert T. Reeve to be postmaster at Howard, S. Dak., in place of B. T. Reeve. Incumbent's commission expired December 1, 1917.

T. J. Sullivan to be postmaster at Iroquois, S. Dak., in place of T. J. Sullivan. Incumbent's commission expired August 19, 1917.

William J. Quirk to be postmaster at Kimball, S. Dak., in place of W. J. Quirk. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

Perley G. Williams to be postmaster at Montrose, S. Dak., in place of P. G. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

Michael J. Dougherty to be postmaster at Mount Vernon, S. Dak., in place of M. Dougherty. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

E. B. Wilbur to be postmaster at Oacoma, S. Dak., in place of E. B. Wilbur. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Anton Fergen to be postmaster at Parkston, S. Dak., in place of A. Fergen. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

Hugh J. McMahon to be postmaster at Phillip, S. Dak., in place of H. J. McMahon. Incumbent's commission expired September 1, 1917.

Frank Wall to be postmaster at Selby, S. Dak., in place of F. Wall. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

James Gaynor to be postmaster at Springfield, S. Dak., in place of J. Gaynor. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Hiram H. Millard to be postmaster at Summit, S. Dak., in place of H. H. Millard. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

Peter Schmitt to be postmaster at Waubay, S. Dak., in place of P. Schmitt. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

A. A. Closson to be postmaster at White Lake, S. Dak., in place of A. A. Closson. Incumbent's commission expired July 31, 1917.

#### TENNESSEE.

J. K. Tate to be postmaster at Bolivar, Tenn., in place of Knox Tate. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

William Thomas to be postmaster at Brownsville, Tenn., in place of W. Thomas. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Joel F. Ruffin to be postmaster at Cedar Hill, Tenn., in place of J. F. Ruffin. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Emily T. St. John to be postmaster at Harriman, Tenn., in place of E. T. St. John. Incumbent's commission expired August 13, 1917.

O. L. McCallum to be postmaster at Henderson, Tenn., in place of O. L. McCallum. Incumbent's commission expired July 14, 1917.

Luke C. Peak to be postmaster at Jefferson City, Tenn., in place of L. C. Peak. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

William F. Holland to be postmaster at Kingston, Tenn., in place of W. F. Holland. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Sam M. Barnett to be postmaster at Lexington, Tenn., in place of S. M. Barnett. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Victor C. Stafford to be postmaster at Sevierville, Tenn., in place of V. C. Stafford. Incumbent's commission expired October 30, 1917.

Irene M. Chairs to be postmaster at Spring Hill, Tenn., in place of I. M. Chairs. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Horace L. Browder to be postmaster at Sweetwater, Tenn., in place of H. L. Browder. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Ira LaF. Lemonds to be postmaster at Tiptonville, Tenn., in place of I. LaF. Lemonds. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

John E. Pullen to be postmaster at Waverly, Tenn., in place of J. E. Pullen. Incumbent's commission expired November 6, 1917.

Frank P. Singleton to be postmaster at Copperhill, Tenn., in place of F. P. Singleton. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Ras C. Boatman to be postmaster at Algood, Tenn. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Robert H. Morley to be postmaster at Arlington, Tenn. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Benjamin F. Chambers to be postmaster at Friendship, Tenn. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

F. L. Tardy to be postmaster at Gainesboro, Tenn. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

Samuel E. Johnson to be postmaster at Kimberlin Heights, Tenn. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Alexander B. Miller to be postmaster at Limestone, Tenn. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Ernest D. Sneed to be postmaster at Moscow, Tenn. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

F. B. Cowan to be postmaster at White Pine, Tenn. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Robert L. Long to be postmaster at Church Hill, Tenn. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Frank F. Overton to be postmaster at Tazewell, Tenn. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Henry Estill to be postmaster at Winchester, Tenn., in place of H. Estill. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

#### TEXAS.

W. L. Coleman to be postmaster at Alpine, Tex., in place of W. L. Coleman. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

W. D. Armstrong to be postmaster at Alto, Tex., in place of W. D. Armstrong. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Cora L. Baker to be postmaster at Buffalo, Tex., in place of C. L. Baker. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Minerva E. Hendrickson to be postmaster at Grapevine, Tex., in place of Minerva E. Austin, name changed by marriage.

Royston C. Crane to be postmaster at Sweetwater (late Sweet Water), Tex., in place of R. C. Crane, to change name of office.

Lebrun H. Goforth to be postmaster at Anna, Tex. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Preston N. Arnold to be postmaster at Arp, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William P. Gibson to be postmaster at Copperas Cove, Tex. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Charles O. Hardy to be postmaster at Francitas, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Johnnie V. Bradley to be postmaster at Gladewater, Tex. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Eddie C. Slaughter to be postmaster at Goose Creek, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Joel W. Moore to be postmaster at McDade, Tex. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Frosta M. Bailey to be postmaster at Montgomery, Tex. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Mamie Milam to be postmaster at Prairie View, Tex. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

G. P. Tarrant to be postmaster at Aransas Pass, Tex., in place of G. P. Tarrant. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

C. Jefferson Johnson to be postmaster at Austin, Tex., in place of C. J. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

John C. Wood to be postmaster at Big Sandy, Tex., in place of J. C. Wood. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Charles H. Jones to be postmaster at Bishop, Tex., in place of C. H. Jones. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

J. H. Logan to be postmaster at Blessing, Tex., in place of J. H. Logan. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

E. B. Hopkins to be postmaster at Brazoria, Tex., in place of E. B. Hopkins. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Hugh M. Stevenson to be postmaster at Breckenridge, Tex., in place of H. M. Stevenson. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

L. V. Holbert to be postmaster at Bremond, Tex., in place of L. V. Holbert. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

C. A. Howard to be postmaster at Bronson, Tex., in place of C. A. Howard. Incumbent's commission expired October 1, 1917.

M. D. Parnell to be postmaster at Chico, Tex., in place of M. D. Parnell. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

L. E. Haskett to be postmaster at Childress, Tex., in place of L. E. Haskett. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

John W. Robbins to be postmaster at Clyde, Tex., in place of J. W. Robbins. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

William B. Junell to be postmaster at Cumby, Tex., in place of W. B. Junell. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Lula E. Willis to be postmaster at Daingerfield, Tex., in place of L. E. Willis. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

T. W. Hooks to be postmaster at Donna, Tex., in place of T. W. Hooks. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

E. L. Correll to be postmaster at El Campo, Tex., in place of E. L. Correll. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

Rufus W. Riddels to be postmaster at Electra, Tex., in place of R. W. Riddels. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

R. S. Rike to be postmaster at Farmersville, Tex., in place of R. S. Rike. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

A. M. Gosch to be postmaster at Flatonía, Tex., in place of A. M. Gosch. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

S. D. Seale to be postmaster at Floresville, Tex., in place of S. D. Seale. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

W. F. Sponseller to be postmaster at Fowlerton, Tex., in place of W. F. Sponseller. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

August R. Gold to be postmaster at Fredericksburg, Tex., in place of A. R. Gold. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Phillip H. Clements to be postmaster at Goldthwaite, Tex., in place of P. H. Clements. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

Charles Johnston to be postmaster at Goree, Tex., in place of C. Johnston. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Samuel G. Dean to be postmaster at Haskell, Tex., in place of S. G. Dean. Incumbent's commission expired May 22, 1917.

T. W. House to be postmaster at Houston, Tex., in place of T. W. House. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

William E. McKay to be postmaster at Huntsville, Tex., in place of W. E. McKay. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Sam Anderson to be postmaster at Knox City, Tex., in place of S. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

William T. Hall to be postmaster at La Porte, Tex., in place of W. T. Hall. Incumbent's commission expired August 28, 1917.

J. W. Hardcastle to be postmaster at Lexington, Tex., in place of J. W. Hardcastle. Incumbent's commission expired July 21, 1917.

June Hickman to be postmaster at Livingston, Tex., in place of J. Hickman. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Charles M. Wallace to be postmaster at Llano, Tex., in place of C. M. Wallace. Incumbent's commission expired August 15, 1917.

Cora D. Fowler to be postmaster at Lockney, Tex., in place of C. D. Fowler. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Allie M. Erwin to be postmaster at Loraine, Tex., in place of A. M. Erwin. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Arthur F. Loftis to be postmaster at Manor, Tex., in place of A. Loftis. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Carrie E. Smith to be postmaster at Marble Falls, Tex., in place of C. E. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Robert Greenwood to be postmaster at Marfa, Tex., in place of R. Greenwood. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

John G. Oltorf to be postmaster at Marlin, Tex., in place of J. G. Oltorf. Incumbent's commission expired October 27, 1917.

Newman E. Tucker to be postmaster at Mercedes, Tex., in place of N. E. Tucker. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

C. H. Sewell to be postmaster at Overton, Tex., in place of C. H. Sewell. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

John A. Shapard to be postmaster at Rockdale, Tex., in place of J. A. Shapard. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

B. B. Lanham to be postmaster at Rockwall, Tex., in place of B. B. Lanham. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Maggie Ellis to be postmaster at Rotan, Tex., in place of M. Ellis. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Henry Eilers, jr., to be postmaster at Schulenberg, Tex., in place of H. Eilers, jr. Incumbent's commission expired May 29, 1917.

Lon Davis to be postmaster at Sealy, Tex., in place of L. Davis. Incumbent's commission expired August 28, 1917.

E. B. Barnes to be postmaster at Snyder, Tex., in place of E. B. Barnes. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

E. G. Langhammer to be postmaster at Somerville, Tex., in place of E. G. Langhammer. Incumbent's commission expired October 16, 1917.

Peter Tighe to be postmaster at Sourlake, Tex., in place of P. Tighe. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Bettie Jackson to be postmaster at Stratford, Tex., in place of B. Jackson. Incumbent's commission expired October 27, 1917.

Annie S. Watson to be postmaster at Sugar Land, Tex., in place of A. Watson. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Almyra L. Williams to be postmaster at Taft, Tex., in place of A. L. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

W. P. Boyd to be postmaster at Thurber, Tex., in place of W. P. Boyd. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

W. W. Trow to be postmaster at Trinity, Tex., in place of W. W. Trow. Incumbent's commission expired May 29, 1917.

Sidney S. McClendon to be postmaster at Tyler, Tex., in place of S. S. McClendon. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

J. W. White to be postmaster at Uvalde, Tex., in place of J. W. White. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

W. F. Flynt to be postmaster at Winter, Tex., in place of W. F. Flynt. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

William R. Sharpe to be postmaster at Wolfe City, Tex., in place of W. R. Sharpe. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

#### UTAH.

Albert A. Savage to be postmaster at Hyrum, Utah, in place of A. A. Savage. Incumbent's commission expired October 18, 1917.

Joseph Anderson to be postmaster at Lehi, Utah, in place of J. Anderson. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

W. W. Browning to be postmaster at Ogden, Utah, in place of W. W. Browning. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Scerinda Rasmussen to be postmaster at Fairview, Utah. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

John M. Anderson to be postmaster at Lewiston, Utah. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William L. Adams to be postmaster at Parowan, Utah. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

#### VERMONT.

Daniel F. Carmody to be postmaster at Fair Haven, Vt., in place of D. F. Carmody. Incumbent's commission expired November 13, 1917.

C. M. Boright to be postmaster at Richford, Vt., in place of C. M. Boright. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Glen C. Parris to be postmaster at Fairfax, Vt. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

A. H. Gleason to be postmaster at St. Johnsbury, Vt., in place of A. H. Gleason. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

#### VIRGINIA.

William M. Smith to be postmaster at Alexandria, Va., in place of W. M. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired November 20, 1917.

Claude E. Wiley to be postmaster at Fairfax, Va., in place of C. E. Wiley. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Lucile Prince Duane to be postmaster at Stony Creek, Va., in place of Lucile H. Prince, name changed by marriage.

Louis J. Nottingham to be postmaster at Eastville, Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Gertrude G. Browder to be postmaster at Jarratt, Va. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

George E. Cunningham to be postmaster at Buena Vista, Va., in place of G. E. Cunningham. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

James S. Haile to be postmaster at Chatham, Va., in place of J. S. Haile. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

I. Henry Savage to be postmaster at Chincoteague Island, Va., in place of I. H. Savage. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

W. R. Rogers to be postmaster at Crewe, Va., in place of W. R. Rogers. Incumbent's commission expired August 20, 1917.

David W. Berger to be postmaster at Drakes Branch, Va., in place of D. W. Berger. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Samuel C. Cox to be postmaster at Galax, Va., in place of S. C. Cox. Incumbent's commission expired October 9, 1917.

Frank W. Sheild to be postmaster at Hampton, Va., in place of F. W. Sheild. Incumbent's commission expired October 18, 1917.

D. F. Hankins to be postmaster at Houston, Va., in place of D. F. Hankins. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Charles E. Clinedinst to be postmaster at New Market, Va., in place of C. E. Clinedinst. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1917.

H. G. Shackelford to be postmaster at Orange, Va., in place of H. G. Shackelford. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

John S. Scott to be postmaster at Parksley, Va., in place of J. S. Scott. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Eugene Monroe to be postmaster at Purcellville, Va., in place of Eugene Monroe. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Hoge M. Brown to be postmaster at Radford, Va., in place of H. M. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

H. Lester Hooker to be postmaster at Studrt, Va., in place of H. L. Hooker. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1917.

#### VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Bartholin R. Larsen to be postmaster at Christiansted, Virgin Islands.

August R. Bisserup to be postmaster at Fredericksted, Virgin Islands.

#### WASHINGTON.

Thomas J. Quirt to be postmaster at Blaine, Wash., in place of T. J. Quirt. Incumbent's commission expired October 27, 1917.

Henry A. Knapp to be postmaster at Camas, Wash., in place of H. A. Knapp. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

Archie Manson to be postmaster at Cashmere, Wash., in place of Archie Manson. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Joseph O'Neill to be postmaster at Castlerock, Wash., in place of Joseph O'Neill. Incumbent's commission expired September 29, 1917.

C. G. Thomas to be postmaster at Cle Elum, Wash., in place of C. G. Thomas. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

C. M. Durland to be postmaster at Colville, Wash., in place of C. M. Durland. Incumbent's commission expired September 29, 1917.

A. J. Peters to be postmaster at Deer Park, Wash., in place of A. J. Peters. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

S. J. Mothershead to be postmaster at Edmunds, Wash., in place of S. J. Mothershead. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

P. F. Billingsley to be postmaster at Ephrata, Wash., in place of P. F. Billingsley. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Willard E. Overholt to be postmaster at Farmington, Wash., in place of W. E. Overholt. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Ann E. Sykes to be postmaster at Grandview, Wash., in place of A. E. Sykes. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Martha E. Sprague to be postmaster at Ilwaco, Wash., in place of M. E. Sprague. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Edwin Schauble to be postmaster at Kalama, Wash., in place of Edwin Schauble. Incumbent's commission expired September 29, 1917.

Jefferson P. Buford to be postmaster at Kelso, Wash., in place of J. P. Buford. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Charles E. Guiberson to be postmaster at Kent, Wash., in place of C. E. Guiberson. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Guy A. Hamilton to be postmaster at Leavenworth, Wash., in place of G. A. Hamilton. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Maury C. Hayden to be postmaster at Lind, Wash., in place of M. C. Hayden. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

G. R. Patterson to be postmaster at Malden, Wash., in place of G. R. Patterson. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Nellie B. Burke to be postmaster at Mansfield, Wash., in place of N. B. Burke. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

Theo Hall to be postmaster at Medical Lake, Wash., in place of T. Hall. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Benjamin L. Smith to be postmaster at Okanogan, Wash., in place of B. L. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

John D. Medill to be postmaster at Yakima (late North Yakima), Wash., in place of J. D. Medill, to change name of office.

Paul L. Paulsen to be postmaster at Addy, Wash. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Thomas R. Arnold to be postmaster at Cathlamet, Wash. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Carl J. Gunderson to be postmaster at East Stanwood, Wash. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Charles A. Bergin to be postmaster at Wilkeson, Wash. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

James O'Farrell, jr., to be postmaster at Orting, Wash., in place of J. O'Farrell, jr. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Roscoe A. Belvall to be postmaster at Palouse, Wash., in place of R. A. Belvall. Incumbent's commission expired October 27, 1917.

R. B. Smith to be postmaster at Prescott, Wash., in place of R. B. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired October 1, 1917.

John F. May to be postmaster at Republic, Wash., in place of J. F. May. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1917.

Dana Child to be postmaster at Spokane, Wash., in place of D. Child. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

Robert T. Johnson to be postmaster at Sumas, Wash., in place of R. T. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired July 19, 1917.

Jacob P. Pyles to be postmaster at Sumner, Wash., in place of J. P. Pyles. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

George P. Wall to be postmaster at Winlock, Wash., in place of G. P. Wall. Incumbent's commission expired September 3, 1917.

#### WEST VIRGINIA.

T. W. Ryan to be postmaster at Hendricks, W. Va., in place of T. W. Ryan. Incumbent's commission expired November 6, 1917.

Okey C. Dawson to be postmaster at Janelaw, W. Va., in place of O. C. Dawson. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

C. B. Riggle to be postmaster at Middlebourne, W. Va., in place of C. B. Riggle. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1917.

Herbert T. Davis to be postmaster at West Union, W. Va., in place of H. T. Davis. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Warren D. Cline to be postmaster at Williamstown, W. Va., in place of W. D. Cline. Incumbent's commission expired July 2, 1917.

Orrville A. Beerbower to be postmaster at Albright, W. Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Robert E. Morgan to be postmaster at Davy, W. Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

George B. Henthorn to be postmaster at Paden City, W. Va. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

William Pence to be postmaster at South Charleston, W. Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William B. Spurlock to be postmaster at Wayne, W. Va. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

#### WISCONSIN.

Elizabeth Croake to be postmaster at Albany, Wis., in place of E. Croake. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Theodore Buehler, jr., to be postmaster at Alma, Wis., in place of T. Buehler, jr. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

William A. Robbler to be postmaster at Colona, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Hubert S. Duquaine to be postmaster at Crivitz, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

W. E. Sherburne to be postmaster at Fremont, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Gustave Keller to be postmaster at Appleton, Wis., in place of G. Keller. Incumbent's commission expired September 10, 1917.

Albert Hess to be postmaster at Arcadia, Wis., in place of A. Hess. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

F. C. O. Muenich to be postmaster at Argyle, Wis., in place of F. C. O. Muenich. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

Birt E. Fredrick to be postmaster at Augusta, Wis., in place of B. E. Fredrick. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Henry Wachsmuth to be postmaster at Bayfield, Wis., in place of H. Wachsmuth, sr. Incumbent's commission expired October 21, 1917.

John V. Swift to be postmaster at Benton, Wis., in place of J. V. Swift. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Annie K. Blanchard to be postmaster at Blanchardville, Wis., in place of A. K. Blanchard. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

George E. Forward to be postmaster at Brandon, Wis., in place of G. E. Forward. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

John H. Moller to be postmaster at Bruce, Wis., in place of H. J. Moller. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Ernest D. Singleton to be postmaster at Camp Douglas, Wis., in place of E. D. Singleton. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

F. A. Partlow to be postmaster at Clear Lake, Wis., in place of F. A. Partlow. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

William J. Riedner to be postmaster at Columbus, Wis., in place of W. J. Riedner. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Herman H. Fiedler to be postmaster at Cuba, Wis., in place of H. H. Fiedler. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

Annie W. Bartholomew to be postmaster at Delafield, Wis., in place of A. W. Bartholomew. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Robert Horneck to be postmaster at Elkhart Lake, Wis., in place of R. Horneck. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

James F. Horan to be postmaster at Friendship, Wis., in place of J. F. Horan. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

J. M. Melchior to be postmaster at Gillett, Wis., in place of J. M. Melchior. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

F. A. Ferriter to be postmaster at Hillsboro, Wis., in place of F. A. Ferriter. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

Simon Skroch to be postmaster at Independence, Wis., in place of S. Skroch. Incumbent's commission expired December 22, 1917.

Fred Seifert to be postmaster at Jefferson, Wis., in place of F. Seifert. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

Paul E. Stiehm to be postmaster at Johnson Creek, Wis., in place of P. E. Stiehm. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

George H. Schmidt to be postmaster at Kewaskum, Wis., in place of G. H. Schmidt. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Adolph H. Dionne to be postmaster at Lena, Wis., in place of A. H. Dionne. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

Frank Leuschen to be postmaster at Marathon, Wis., in place of F. Leuschen. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Franz Markus to be postmaster at Medford, Wis., in place of F. Markus. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Henry W. Graser to be postmaster at Menomonee Falls, Wis., in place of H. W. Graser. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

John G. Solverson to be postmaster at Nashotah, Wis., in place of J. G. Solverson. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Arthur R. Curtis to be postmaster at National Home, Wis., in place of A. R. Curtis. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Nicolaus Elmer to be postmaster at New Glarus, Wis., in place of N. Elmer. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

John F. Flanagan to be postmaster at Oconomowoc, Wis., in place of J. F. Flanagan. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Francis J. Maher to be postmaster at Omro, Wis., in place of F. J. Maher. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Franklin C. Watson to be postmaster at Owen, Wis., in place of F. C. Watson. Incumbent's commission expired October 5, 1917.

Harvey Vincent to be postmaster at Park Falls, Wis., in place of H. Vincent. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

Agnes Scholl to be postmaster at Pewaukee, Wis., in place of A. Scholl. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Wigand B. Krause to be postmaster at Port Washington, Wis., in place of W. B. Krause. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

T. J. Griffin to be postmaster at Prescott, Wis., in place of T. J. Griffin. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

H. G. Bannerman to be postmaster at Redgranite, Wis., in place of H. G. Bannerman. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Charles F. Dillett to be postmaster at Shawano, Wis., in place of C. F. Dillett. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Frank Gottsacker to be postmaster at Sheboygan, Wis., in place of F. Gottsacker. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

George Wildermuth to be postmaster at Sheboygan Falls, Wis., in place of G. Wildermuth. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

Louis Locke to be postmaster at Shiocton, Wis., in place of L. Locke. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

George Paquette to be postmaster at Shullsburg, Wis., in place of G. Paquette. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

William M. Ward to be postmaster at Soldiers Grove, Wis., in place of W. M. Ward. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

John P. Rice to be postmaster at Sparta, Wis., in place of J. P. Rice. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1917.

E. A. Drotning to be postmaster at Stoughton, Wis., in place of E. A. Drotning. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Charles A. Gesell to be postmaster at Tomahawk, Wis., in place of C. A. Gesell. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

F. W. Keuper to be postmaster at Union Grove, Wis., in place of F. W. Keuper. Incumbent's commission expired July 15, 1917.

George B. Keith to be postmaster at Milton Junction, Wis., in place of G. B. Keith. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

P. F. Melchoir to be postmaster at Wausaukee, Wis., in place of P. F. Melchoir. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

John Vander Linden to be postmaster at West De Pere, Wis., in place of J. V. Linden. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Samuel Dewar to be postmaster at Westfield, Wis., in place of Samuel Dewar. Incumbent's commission expired September 2, 1917.

W. H. Weed to be postmaster at Weyauwega, Wis., in place of W. H. Weed. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

W. C. Kiernan to be postmaster at Whitewater, Wis., in place of W. C. Kiernan. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

George F. Mader to be postmaster at Winneconne, Wis., in place of G. F. Mader. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

G. W. Bishop to be postmaster at Wonewoc, Wis., in place of G. W. Bishop. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

#### WYOMING.

Nels J. Simpson to be postmaster at Cambria, Wyo., in place of Nels Simpson. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Charles G. Mudd to be postmaster at Powell, Wyo., in place of C. G. Mudd. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Louis Schalk to be postmaster at Rawlins, Wyo., in place of Louis Schalk. Incumbent's commission expired November 22, 1917.

L. E. Blackwell to be postmaster at Shoshoni, Wyo., in place of L. E. Blackwell. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

Juan Jenkins to be postmaster at Upton, Wyo., in place of Juan Jenkins. Incumbent's commission expired August 5, 1917.

John T. Jones to be postmaster at Worland, Wyo., in place of J. T. Jones. Incumbent's commission expired November 13, 1917.

Elizabeth W. Keiffer to be postmaster at Fort Russell, Wyo. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Catherine McCabe to be postmaster at Van Tassell, Wyo. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Charles O. Lyon to be postmaster at Burns, Wyo. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

#### CONFIRMATIONS.

*Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 17, 1918.*

#### EXPLOSIVES INSPECTOR.

Daniel F. O'Connell to be explosives inspector for the State of Massachusetts.

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE COAST GUARD.

Capt. John Cassin Cantwell to be a senior captain.

First Lieut. William Joseph Wheeler to be a captain.

Second Lieut. Thomas Andrew Shanley to be a first lieutenant.

Third Lieut. Frank Joseph Gorman to be a second lieutenant.

#### POSTMASTERS.

##### GEORGIA.

Bolling H. Jones, Atlanta.

##### MISSOURI.

Colin M. Selph, St. Louis.