

## SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, April 3, 1918.

The Senate met at 1 o'clock p. m.

Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

Our Father and our God, our hope and help in these days of stress and strain, we humbly supplicate Thy presence continually, so that whether we think of conditions at home or abroad we may be sure that the success of the arms of our soldiers with their allies shall be realized, and we trust speedily. Graciously guide Thy servants in all their duties and upon the President smile with Thine approbation. We humbly beseech Thee, in Christ our Lord's name. Amen.

The Vice President being absent, the President pro tempore assumed the chair.

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

## NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the secretary of state of the State of Delaware, inclosing, in accordance with instructions from the governor of that State, a certified copy of the ratification of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which was passed at the special session of the general assembly, which will be read and placed on the files of the Senate.

The communication is as follows:

STATE OF DELAWARE,  
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,  
Dover, Del., April 2, 1918.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with instructions from his excellency, John G. Townsend, jr., governor of the State of Delaware, I am herewith inclosing certified copy of the ratification of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which was passed at the special session of the general assembly.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of same and oblige,

Very truly, yours,

EVERETT C. JOHNSON,  
Secretary of State.

STATE OF DELAWARE,  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
DOVER.

I, John G. Townsend, jr., governor of the State of Delaware, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of house joint resolution No. 3, approved the 26th day of March, A. D. 1918, as the same appears on file in the office of the secretary of state of the State of Delaware.

Joint resolution ratifying the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes, and giving to the Congress and the several States concurrent power to enforce the same by appropriate legislation.

Whereas the Congress of the United States has proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America, as follows:

"SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"SEC. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress."

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware in General Assembly met, That the said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America be, and the same is hereby, ratified by the Legislature of the State of Delaware; and be it further

Resolved, That certified copies of this preamble and joint resolution be forwarded by the governor of this State to the Secretary of State at Washington, to the Presiding Officer of the United States Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.

HERVEY P. HALL,  
Speaker of the House,  
LEWIS E. ELIASON,  
President of the Senate.

Approved March 26, 1918.

JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR., Governor.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Delaware to be affixed at Dover this 29th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1918, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-second.

[SEAL.]

By the governor:

JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR.

EVERETT C. JOHNSON,  
Secretary of State.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the

following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 10265. An act to authorize the Secretary of Labor to provide housing, local transportation, and other community facilities for war needs; and

H. R. 11123. An act to amend an act approved September 24, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend additional credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes.

## ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 2469. An act to authorize the change of name of the steamship *Caldera* to *A. T. Kinney*;

H. R. 2617. An act to ratify the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish; and

H. R. 10365. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Forsyth special road district of Taney County, Mo., to construct a bridge across White River at Forsyth, Mo.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. WARREN presented petitions of sundry citizens of Pine Bluffs, Albion, and Lagrange, all in the State of Wyoming, praying for national prohibition as a war measure; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE. I present resolutions adopted by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the year 1918.]

Resolutions relative to the independence of Ireland.

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby requests that the Congress of the United States, if it shall be deemed expedient, shall recommend that the right of Ireland to be a free and independent country be considered at any peace conference which may be held at the termination of the present war; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the presiding officers of both branches of Congress and to each Senator and Representative in Congress from this Commonwealth.

In house of representatives, adopted March 14, 1918.

In senate, adopted, in concurrence, March 19, 1918.

A true copy.

Attest:

ALBERT P. LANGTRY,  
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Mr. McLEAN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Manchester, Conn., and a petition of the Council of Jewish Women of Hartford, Conn., praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Lyme, Conn., and a memorial of sundry citizens of Old Lyme, Conn., remonstrating against the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, Cal., praying for enactment of legislation to impose punishment upon all persons destroying or attempting to destroy property and committing other outrages in the United States, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented a petition of the Texas Aberdeen-Angus Breeders' Association, of Fort Worth, Tex., praying for enactment of legislation to provide for the eradication of tuberculosis and for indemnity to owners of tubercular cattle, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Board of City Development of San Angelo, Tex., favoring a boycott on German goods and that the teaching of the German language be discontinued in the United States, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. KENDRICK, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 3663) authorizing the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians residing in the State of Washington to submit claims to the Court of Claims, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 352) thereon.

Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Pensions, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 9506) granting pensions and increase of

pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War and to widows of such soldiers and sailors, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 354) thereon.

Mr. NUGENT, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 4910) to authorize the establishment of a town site on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, Idaho, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 353) thereon.

Mr. OWEN. From the Committee on Banking and Currency I report back adversely the bill (S. 4137) to amend section 5219 of the Revised Statutes, with the recommendation of its indefinite postponement, and I submit a report (No. 355) thereon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be indefinitely postponed.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERKS.

Mr. THOMPSON. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I report back favorably with amendments Senate resolution 75, and I call the attention of the junior Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER] to the resolution.

Mr. CALDER. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendments were, on page 1, line 2, after the word "Senator," to insert the words "having no more employees than one clerk, one assistant clerk, and one messenger, for himself or for the committee of which he is chairman"; on page 2, line 2, strike out "first" and insert "second"; and in line 3 strike out "\$4 per diem" and insert "\$100 per month," so as to make the resolution read:

*Resolved*, That each Senator having no more employees than one clerk, one assistant clerk, and one messenger, for himself or for the committee of which he is chairman, is hereby authorized to employ an additional clerk for the remainder of the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, at the rate of \$100 per month, said compensation to be paid out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate.

The amendments were agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED.

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

By Mr. TRAMMELL:

A bill (S. 4247) granting an increase of pension to Josephine A. Haley; and

A bill (S. 4248) granting an increase of pension to Annie Robbins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 4249) granting a pension to Sarah E. White (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 4250) granting an increase of pension to Alanson H. Nelson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4251) granting an increase of pension to Wesley C. Sharp (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McLEAN:

A bill (S. 4252) granting an increase of pension to Monroe Eddy (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOLLIS:

A bill (S. 4253) granting an increase of pension to Cyrus B. Norris (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 4254) for the relief of Marion B. Patterson, widow of the late Gen. Robert F. Patterson; to the Committee on Claims;

A bill (S. 4255) granting a pension to Ida E. Morrill; and  
A bill (S. 4256) granting a pension to Hannah M. Flaherty; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KING:

A bill (S. 4257) to amend the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHIELDS:

A bill (S. 4258) granting a pension to John H. Smith (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

#### PRICES OF FOODSTUFFS.

Mr. THOMPSON. I submit the following resolution and ask that it be read:

The resolution (S. Res. 221) was read, as follows:

Whereas the prices of meat, poultry, eggs, butter, canned goods, and other necessities of life alleged to be handled and controlled by the packing industries of the country have become so high that it is difficult for people of limited means or for laborers working for daily wages to purchase in sufficient quantities to properly sustain life, provoking dissatisfaction among the masses of the people; and  
Whereas the packing plants under private control seem powerless to so control and regulate the labor employed in their plants as to keep them contented and satisfied without striking and resorting to violent methods to redress their grievances, which has delayed and prevented the production to the full capacity of the plants and has caused failure to promptly fill Government contracts; and  
Whereas the high prices and unreasonable monopolistic control by the packers has greatly increased the cost of foodstuffs to supply the Army and Navy during the war, thereby diminishing our fighting power in the war; and  
Whereas the limited control through the Food Administration of said packing industries is so ineffective, and the allowance of a profit to the packers above all losses, no matter how caused, of from 9 per cent to 15 per cent on their investment, including all borrowed money, which, through the control by the packers of the financial institutions of the country, was borrowed at a very low rate of interest, is unreasonable and difficult to carry out owing to the peculiar methods of bookkeeping employed by the packers to arrive at the profit allowed by the Government, all of which, as shown by the investigation carried on by the Federal Trade Commission, the hearings conducted by the Senate Agricultural Committee and other congressional committees, has resulted in great injury and loss to the people of the country: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the United States of America*, That the United States Government take over, control, and operate all the establishments known and designated as packing houses or packing plants now existing in the United States, to the end that the greatest and most complete service to the people and the country be obtained during the period of the present existing war.

Mr. THOMPSON. I ask that the resolution may be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so referred.

#### AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. GORE. I move that the Senate reconsider the vote by which it insisted upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 9054) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and agreed to the conference asked for by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

Mr. GORE. I move that the House be requested to return to the Senate the bill with the Senate amendments and accompanying papers.

The motion was agreed to.

#### AMENDMENT OF ESPIONAGE ACT.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9504) to amend section 4067 of the Revised Statutes by extending its scope to include women, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, agree to the conference asked for by the House, the conferees on the part of the Senate to be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the President pro tempore appointed Mr. OVERMAN, Mr. FLETCHER, and Mr. NELSON conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 11123. An act to amend an act approved September 24, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend additional credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes," was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### EDUCATION OF ADULT ILLITERATES.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The morning business is closed.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 4185) to require the Commissioner of Education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the United States.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I desire to suggest the following amendment: On page 2, in line 3, after "and," strike out the word "others" and insert the words "those engaged in educational work in cantonments and camps."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is informed that for the moment the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia is not in order because an amendment was pending to which an amendment was offered.

The Secretary will report the pending amendment.

The SECRETARY. The Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] proposed the following amendment:

On page 2 beginning with line 14 after the words "nineteen hundred and eighteen," strike out "and \$50,000 for each succeeding fiscal year until June 30, 1928."

Before striking out, the Senator from Georgia moves to perfect the part proposed to be stricken out by striking out "1928" and inserting in lieu thereof "1922."

Mr. GALLINGER. I appeal to the Senator from Georgia to make that "1920" instead of "1922." That will give an appropriation for three years, and if it works well there will be no difficulty in getting future appropriations.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have reduced the time to 1922. I know that there can be good work done. That is a very small appropriation. I hope the Senator will not insist upon reducing it still further.

Mr. GALLINGER. Entertaining the views I do, and I should like to vote for the bill, I shall feel compelled to offer the amendment. Of course, the Senate can do with it what it pleases, but I hoped the Senator from Georgia would agree to it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not think it ought to be done. I think to reduce it below 1922 is unwise. If the Senate sees fit to do it, of course—

Mr. GALLINGER. Regretting that the Senator does not respond affirmatively to my suggestion, I move to amend the proposed amendment by striking out "1922" and substituting "1920."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Before that is acted upon I should like to have the views of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PAGE], who is equally interested with myself in the bill. It is the request of the Senator from New Hampshire that we put the period 1920 instead of 1922, giving only three years.

Mr. PAGE. The Senator from Vermont is something of a Yankee and he would suggest that the Senator from Georgia and the Senator from New Hampshire split.

Mr. GALLINGER. I accept that, Mr. President, and move to make it 1921.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I understand the proposition is to make it 1921, and I agree to it, so far as I am concerned.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment offered by the Senator from New Hampshire as modified, inserting "1921" instead of "1922," is agreed to. The Chair hears no objection, and it is agreed to. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING].

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The proposition of the Senator from Utah is to strike out the entire period beyond the first year. I think that would seriously injure the measure, and I hope the amendment will be defeated.

Mr. GALLINGER. If agreeable to the Senator from Utah to withhold his motion, I should like to offer two or three minor amendments.

Mr. KING. I shall be very glad to withhold the motion until the Senator from New Hampshire offers such amendments as he may desire.

Mr. GALLINGER. I call the attention of the Senator from Georgia to line 6, page 1. After the word "methods" I move to insert the words "and promoting plans," using the language in the title.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That is perfectly satisfactory.

Mr. GALLINGER. I move that amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER. In line 4, page 2, after the word "operation," I move to insert the words "and in carrying on the work night schools may be established and utilized."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I hardly think that is in harmony with the bill, because they are not allowed to use this money for schools; they are only to use the money to stimulate schools and work out plans for the schools conducted by local authority. None of this money can be used to hire teachers. This money can be used to work out the plans and to send representatives to cities to urge the organization in the cities and to help plan the way of conducting the schools.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, the Senator says they can not hire teachers; but they can accept voluntary teaching, of course.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That is true; to that extent it can be done.

Mr. GALLINGER. Or they might have night schools for that purpose.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. With that view I do not object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, in lines 16 and 17, on page 2, section 2, it is provided:

That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be used to pay teachers or school officers—

And so forth.

In view of what the Senator from Georgia said a moment ago I shall not offer an amendment at that point which I had in mind, but will simply content myself by suggesting to the Senator that if the bill shall pass and the amendment of the title comes up I hope he will see that the words "and the District of Columbia" shall be inserted in the title after the word "States."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I should like to make an inquiry of the Senator from Georgia having the bill in charge. I notice on line 7 the expression, which is rather extraordinary and certainly not usual statutory language, "meager education." I should like to inquire of the Senator how he defines "meager education"? Is it a lack of knowledge of Latin and Greek or of the higher mathematics? Where do we begin at the "meager" stage, and also who is to be the judge of the "meager" conditions?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The bill, as a whole, as has been stated a number of times, is simply intended to stimulate education among the illiterate and to seek to remove illiteracy. I would say that a lack of ability to write one's name would be a very "meager education," although such a person could read a little. This bill is designed to stimulate education among adults, and especially among the illiterates.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I fully understand the purpose of the bill, and I do not share the annoyance of some Senators at the inadequate character of the appropriation, for I feel entirely satisfied that if the Federal Government goes into a scheme of education—which, in the history of our Government, has heretofore belonged to the States—there will be an expenditure of many millions annually, instead of the insignificant sum of \$100,000 which is named in the bill; but before we start on this venture I am quite curious to know what is meant by "meager education."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If the Senator from Pennsylvania objects to the language, I am willing to have it stricken out and to leave the word "illiterates," if the Senator understands that better.

Mr. PENROSE. I certainly think the phrase a most extraordinary one. An adjective has no place in a statute anyway. If the Senator had any clearly defined idea in his mind when he used the word "meager," I have an absorbing curiosity to know just what it means.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have stated that I presented the bill, believing in its general purposes, not having prepared the bill myself.

Mr. PENROSE. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Senator from Georgia also stated that he entertained the view that bills of this kind presented in this way could with great propriety be considered and perfected upon the floor of the Senate, and that he was not one of those who objected to their being so perfected by the Senate itself. If the Senator from Pennsylvania desires to strike out the word "meager," I shall not object.

Mr. PENROSE. As the Senator from Georgia disavows the paternity of the measure, has he any objection to stating who is its author?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Not the slightest. I opened the consideration of the bill with that information. I obtained unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Secretary of the Interior commending the bill and fully discussing the occasion which brought to his attention the necessity for such legislation. It was the discovery that there were 700,000 illiterates, who were in part men who could not speak English, among those drafted and those covered by the present draft.

Mr. PENROSE. Well, the Senator from Georgia has defined "meager education" to mean an inability to sign one's name. Why not put that language in the bill?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not undertake to definitely describe it. It means certainly a very limited education.

Mr. PENROSE. I would suggest the insertion of the words "or including inability to sign one's name."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think the same purpose would really be reached if the word "illiterates" were simply left.

Mr. PENROSE. I have some reluctance to see the word "meager" go out of the bill; it is such an extraordinary word. Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then, suppose we leave it in.

Mr. PENROSE. But, in the interest of elegance of diction, I move to strike out the language "and men and women of meager education."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have no special objection to that, because I think the word "illiterates" covers it.

Mr. PENROSE. I hope the Senator from Georgia has no objection at all to that language being stricken out. I hope he cheerfully agrees to that being done.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have no objection to seeking to stimulate and improve the education of adults who have very limited education.

Mr. PENROSE. Then I move to strike out the language "and men and women of meager education."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 18, it is proposed to strike out the words "and men and women of meager education."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If the Senator from South Dakota will pardon the Chair a moment, the Chair calls the attention of the Senator from Pennsylvania to line 22, page 2, where similar language occurs.

Mr. PENROSE. Yes; the phrase occurs again in lines 21 and 22, where it reads "and men and women of meager education." That would be included in my original amendment to strike out those words also.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I desire to move an amendment going to the form of the bill. On page 1, line 8, I move to strike out the words "to aid," and in lieu thereof to insert the words "in aiding."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have no objection to that. It is simply a matter of language.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In the amendments heretofore agreed to, at the top of page 2, after the words "United States, to aid the States in teaching English to aliens and naturalized citizens," it is proposed to strike out the words "to aid" and to insert the words "in aiding."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will put the question in this way: The question is on reconsidering the amendment as adopted for the purpose of adopting the amendment now offered by the Senator from South Dakota. Is there objection to the reconsideration? The Chair hears none, and the motion by which the amendment was adopted is reconsidered. The Senator from South Dakota offers the amendment which has just been reported. Without objection, the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota is agreed to. The question now is on agreeing to the amendment as amended. Without objection, the amendment as amended is agreed to.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I desire to offer another amendment as a matter of form. On page 2, line 2, after the word "and," I move to insert the words "the commissioner shall," so that the language shall read:

The commissioner shall cooperate with the State, county, district, and municipal education officers.

I am not sure whether that language is included in the amendment or not. If so, I would move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was adopted.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 3—

Mr. STERLING. Line 2 of the reprint.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will state that he is informed by the Secretary that amendments are being offered to the bill in its reprinted form and not to the original bill as it is being considered. Senators will have to reduce their amendments to writing.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 3, before the word "cooperate," it is proposed to insert the words "the commissioner shall."

Mr. GALLINGER. So that it will read?

The SECRETARY. So that it will read:

To promote plans for the elimination of illiteracy, and the extension of education among the adult population, and the commissioner shall cooperate with State, county, district, and municipal education officers and others in putting these plans into operation, and in carrying on the work night schools may be established and utilized: *Provided*, That any action taken by the Commissioner of Education to remove illiteracy among the enlisted men of the Army or Navy shall be undertaken only by the approval and direction of the Secretary of War or Secretary of the Navy, respectively.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, the reading just given by the Secretary incorporates at the proper place the language I suggested as an amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Dakota.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, this bill, in my opinion, belongs to an ancient vintage. It is clearly an effort on the part of the head of a bureau to get hold of \$100,000 to expand his activities and perhaps create additional useless places in the midst of this war crisis, when the money could well be devoted to better purposes. I move to add the following as a proviso at the end of the bill:

*Provided*, That no additional salaried positions shall be permitted under this act, and no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the additional compensation of any employee in the Office of the Commissioner of Education.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I desire to voice my protest against the whole bill. My impulse when it was first presented to the Senate was to vote for it. I was attracted favorably to the measure by the suggestion that it was for the education of illiterates, particularly those amongst the soldiers that might return from the Army in France. Without meaning that this shall apply to the distinguished advocates of the bill, I wish to state, Mr. President, that it has sometimes been said with a good deal of truth "that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

This bill, as the Senator from Georgia has said, was not prepared by him; I am sure it was not prepared by him; and I think I can safely say that it had very little consideration at the hands of the committee. I voted yesterday to recommit it to the committee for the purpose of reconciling its inconsistencies and coordinating its provisions with legislation that now appears upon the statute books of our country.

I oppose this bill, Mr. President, first, because it proposes a duplication of work now done by a bureau of the Department of Labor. That is the first proposition. I oppose it, secondly, because the appropriation asked for is but a forerunner of immense appropriations that will be asked for a little later on; and I am going to prove by the advocates of the bill themselves that when they ask for fifty or even a hundred thousand dollars it is not sincere, and that it is their purpose later on to ask for much larger sums. Thirdly, I am entirely opposed, Mr. President, to the methods of the Bureau of Education in this and in other matters.

About a year and a half ago it developed here, in the discussion of an appropriation bill before the Senate, that this bureau had innumerable men in its employ at a dollar a year, paid by the United States, with their real salaries paid by private persons and corporations, representing all sorts of propaganda, some of which might have been in the interest of America but some entirely opposed to the institutions of our country. So a proviso was added to that bill to undertake, if possible, to limit the activities of the Bureau of Education and those who were affiliated with it.

I make no charge against the distinguished Secretary of the Interior, but I say that this bureau is being and has been operated in the interest of individuals and interests which in some instances are opposed to the best interests of our Government.

I am not going into the whole subject, as it was fully gone into at that time; but I call the attention of the committee to this proposition: A resolution was at that time introduced in and adopted by the Senate calling upon the different departments of the Government to furnish a list of men who were working at \$1 per year in the several departments and at the same time receiving salaries from private persons and sources. Amongst other names reported by the Bureau of Education and by the Secretary of the Interior was this list [indicating]. There are 152 names of persons thereon who were so employed. I think the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] stated at that time there were 152 of such persons on the list.

Mr. PENROSE. May I ask the Senator from what document he is reading?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am reading from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 26, 1917, at page 2308.

Mr. PENROSE. Is that an extract from the report?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am going to read an extract from the report of the Secretary of the Interior.

At least 150 names were furnished to the Senate of individuals receiving salaries, some of them as high as \$10,000 a year, from private sources, who were on the Government pay roll at \$1 a year, and many of these individuals were writing essays and other papers and sending them out through the Bureau of Education under the frank of the Government. I am going to show that the very association that is now here with this bill asking for the appropriation of \$100,000 have been in times past, and possibly are doing so now, sending out over this country thousands and hundreds of thousands of papers and documents at the expense of the Government in the franked envelopes of the Bureau of Education.

In the list that was furnished us by the Secretary of the Interior of the persons who were employed in the Bureau of Education at Washington and whose salaries were paid in part by organizations other than the Federal Government are the names of H. H. Wheaton, at a salary of \$2,500 a year, paid by the Committee for Immigrants in America; F. E. Farrington, who, I understand, has since gone out, and another employed in his stead.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Committee on Appropriations have now under consideration the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill. Dr. Claxton, the chief of the Bureau of Education, has been before us. He said nothing about this matter. Why does he not send down his estimate—and I was talking about this matter yesterday—in the regular manner, so that it may be considered by the committee and discussed? Instead of that, there comes on the floor a separate bill, calling for a separate appropriation, that has never been before the proper committee. We pass on these matters of appropriation. It has never been before us.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, the Senator does not expect to have estimates sent to the Appropriations Committee for matter that is not provided for by law, does he? It requires authority to do this work before the appropriation is made. This bill was drawn as an authorization. The Senator from New Hampshire amended it so as to make it an appropriation. It was originally an authorization of this work.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield.

Mr. KENYON. I am a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, and I should like to ask the chairman of the committee if this bill was ever considered by the full committee?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It was considered by those who were present.

Mr. KENYON. When was that? I have made it a point to attend the meetings of the committee.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It was Monday a week ago.

Mr. KENYON. I was unable to be here then.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, continuing what I had to say, we find here the name of F. E. Farrington—who, I believe, has since gone out, and somebody has taken his place—on a salary, paid by this same Committee for Immigrants in America, of \$2,400.

T. M. Ave-Lallemant, a French name—is on the same roll, paid by the same concern \$1,500 a year.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What is this?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is the same society under a different name that is now passing the pending bill. It purports to be for the education of illiterate aliens. The bill appeals to the tender side of Members of Congress, and I know it appeals to the generous side of the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, because it is to educate the illiterates of the country and to help the soldiers—an afterthought, by the way, which was never in the minds of this distinguished committee at the time the bill was first proposed, in 1915. Help for our soldiers was an afterthought for the purpose of taking advantage of this wave of patriotism and enthusiasm to impose upon the American people an institution that in the last analysis is bound to cost, not \$500,000, but \$10,000,000 in order to make it a success.

Continuing these names, we find the name of Martha B. Burznska, at a salary of \$1,200 a year, paid by the same association; Paul A. Malone, on a salary of \$720, paid by the same institution; Isabel Malone, at a salary of \$600 a year, paid by the same institution; all on the pay roll of the Government and

getting from the Government only \$1 per annum. That association, under another name, is now behind this bill, Mr. President, as its author and backer.

Mr. President, this distinguished body of men and women who are representing this committee for immigrants get into the Bureau of Education, and the Government franks are utilized for sending out whatever literature they prepare. Now, we will read a little bit from the confidential report of the society to its members, taken from the minutes under date of October 11, 1915:

Executive committee met Monday, October 4. Minutes and short program of work approved. Outlined to Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt plan for dinner conferences to get all leaders in preparedness together to agree upon essentials of a program for all parts of the country. Suggested Americanization dinners in cities to further this purpose.

I merely call attention to the beginning of propaganda for this measure. Here are a lot of distinguished people. I am not criticizing them. They have plenty of money and time and were doubtless impelled by a patriotic spirit to try to do something away back in 1915 for the poor illiterates; but the American soldier was not thought of then. He has crept into it here on this wave of patriotic enthusiasm that is going over the country.

Now note: When these people get on the Government pay roll at \$1 per annum they write all kinds of stuff and send it out under frank. Here, for instance, they state:

Seventy-five thousand posters urging night-school attendance and Americanization distributed over the country; 45,000 of these distributed to schools throughout the country by the Federal Bureau of Education at Washington; 50,000 post offices throughout the country authorized to post them; orders for posters received from 20 industries in different parts of the country, including Chicago stockyards; railroads that have ordered posters include New York, New Haven & Hartford, Chesapeake & Ohio, Philadelphia & Reading, Boston & Maine.

I just give you that item from the confidential report to show that they were sending out these things under the frank of the Bureau of Education. Now, think of four or five men and women on the nominal pay roll of the Government, at salaries varying from \$600 to \$2,500 a year, doing this immense amount of work! They do not do it. They have offices and suites in New York City where they are doing this very work, and duplicating the work that is being legitimately done under the Government of the United States without any expense whatsoever to the Government; and I am going to show that pretty soon.

But, now, we will see some other of these items that are being franked out. I assume that I am authorized to speak from this record, because it is their confidential record.

Here is a meeting of October 18, 1915:

The first of a series of Americanization dinners was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Astor October 15. Twenty-four were present. Commissioner Claxton, of the Federal Bureau of Education; Dr. Finley, of the University of the State of New York; \* \* \* were present.

This record recites also the fact that they were sending out an immense amount of circulars from the Bureau of Education. Let me, just in passing, show you one of the circulars that they were getting out recently, Mr. President. Look at it. It was "Uncle Sam and the laboring man" then. It is "Uncle Sam and the soldier" in the bill that is pending now. This is one of the circulars, gotten out at an immense expense, probably through contributions made by private citizens, but sent out under the franking privilege of the Bureau of Education.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do.

Mr. BORAH. Is this a circular which is sent out by the Rockefeller Institution or some organization separate and apart from the Government?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. No; there are persons connected with this immigrants' committee who are doing it. It is the same organization that is urging this bill, under a different name. Their agents are employed in the Bureau of Education. These are doing the work; and through their employment by the Government, at \$1 a year each, this stuff is enabled to be franked out.

Mr. BORAH. What I want to get at is this: The Senator says this stuff is enabled to be franked out in that way. Is it proper stuff to go out?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is nothing inherently wrong about it, except—

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will ask the Senator to tell us what is written at the head of it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. "America first. Learn English." It is in four or five different languages. "Attend night school."

Mr. BORAH. Well, that is good doctrine, no matter who sends it out.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is good doctrine. I said in the outset that it appeals to one because it is for the education of the

illiterates; but my contention is that the same work is being done by another bureau of the Government, and done just as effectively, and practically without any expense. It is done by the Department of Labor, as I will show the Senator in a little while, and show what an immense amount of work they are doing. The complaint I have to make of this is that we are transferring our educational system to an independent bureau or body.

Mr. BORAH. I do not know that I understand precisely the position of the Senator; but I take it from what he has said that the material they are sending out is not improper material.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Oh, no; I do not claim that. What I am claiming is that they are coming here for a little appropriation that will not pay the expenses for five months of an efficient body; that their purpose is to come a year from now and possibly ask for \$10,000,000, and all to duplicate work that is already being performed. The Senator from Georgia says, "Oh, no." I am going to read from a statement that was published, dated at Atlantic City in February.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes; I yield.

Mr. FALL. I understand the Senator's point is that he is going to show that the Department of Labor is doing this same work, and doing it at little cost, and that he objects to the Bureau of Education doing this work, although it may do it at little cost, because some of the expenses are paid by individuals or by an independent association. What I want to ask the Senator is this: Why the objection to the Bureau of Education or the Commissioner of Education and his office receiving assistance from the outside when the Department of Labor avails itself constantly of civilian assistance from the outside in the performance of the very duties to which he is referring now? What is the difference? Why is the Department of Labor any more patriotic or sincere or honest than the Bureau of Education?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not claim that it is any more honest; but I do claim, and very strenuously, that it is a duplication of the work that is being done, and has been done efficiently, and is being done without much expense. If the Senator will just wait a little, I will show him how the bill proposes to duplicate work that is already being efficiently done.

Mr. FALL. I am perfectly willing to be shown; and if the Senator can show me that it is more proper, I am perfectly willing to vote for this bill with an amendment placing it under the Department of Labor rather than the Bureau of Education.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit one interruption?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator has referred to duplication. I want to call his attention to an instance of duplication which almost puts Mr. Hoover into the shade; and anyone who can overshadow that gentleman certainly is worthy of serious consideration.

Among the activities mentioned in the report which I hold in my hand are the following:

I. Food the deciding factor; plan of the United States Food Administration.

II. Food-conservation measures.

III, IV. Wheat conservation.

V. Conservation of meat.

VI. Sugar and fats.

VII, VIII. Preserving food in the home.

IX. Fundamentals of an adequate diet.

X. General.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is from the report of the Bureau of Education?

Mr. PENROSE. This is an enumeration of some of their special activities of a highly beneficial character.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is no doubt about that. Now, let me call attention to this circular. The precepts in the circular are all right. There is no question about that. It says:

Learn English. Attend night school. It means a better opportunity and a better home in America. It means a better job. It means a better chance for your children. It means a better America. Ask the nearest public school about classes. If there is none in your town write to the National Americanization Committee or to the United States Bureau of Education—

Linking the two together again. Now, those are not all of their activities, Mr. President, and I will say very frankly that if this were the only body doing this work I would vote very cheerfully to make an appropriation, but not on a false-pretense proposition that \$50,000 or \$100,000 would do any good. I would insist that we give them \$10,000,000 or more, in order to carry out the education that is sought to be accomplished by this bill. This is simply an opening wedge for a larger appropriation next

year. I venture to make this prophecy and prediction now, and I want Senators to bear it in mind: If this bill goes through, next year this association will come back here with the establishment of a bureau larger than any that this Government has ever had, invading the precincts of the States, the municipalities, and every other department of the Government, supplementing an educational system which the State has always maintained jealously in times past.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do.

Mr. PAGE. The Senator makes his predictions as to what will take place next year. Have we not rules to control that matter if it comes up next year?

I, for one, have studied this bill with a good deal of care. I have seen nothing in all of my investigations that leads me to believe that there was any such purpose as the Senator suggests, and I do not believe there is. I think the Senator is without any substantial proof. He may predict, as anyone has a right to do, as to what may happen.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the Senator knows by his experience in the Senate that, whenever you establish a bureau, nothing short of dynamite will get it out.

Mr. PAGE. But you are establishing no bureau here.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Well, the Senator may think he is not. I insist that we are—that we are laying the foundations for an immense one.

Mr. PAGE. We may be laying foundations, but there is nothing in the bill that shows that and nothing that has come before our committee shows it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is the reason why I say, with all deference to the Senator, that it is not honest on the face of it. I do not mean to impute dishonesty to the Senator from Vermont or to the distinguished Senator from Georgia, who has the bill in charge; but the men behind it have purposely withheld from the Senators their future purpose, and I am going to show what they intend to do by their own words.

Mr. PAGE. I hope the Senator will; but I also hope the Senator will debate this bill upon its merits, and not upon the assumption that there is a future purpose to defraud, for I do not believe there is. My opinion may be against his opinion, but I wish he would show us some facts that tend to convince us that there is something wrong.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am going to try to show them.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. Is the Senator aware that a bill is now pending in the Senate for the creation of a department of education, with a Cabinet officer at the head of it?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes, Mr. President; I am.

Now, here are some of the activities of this Americanization Society that fathers this bill, and these are from their own reports:

The educational extension work being outlined by the National Americanization Committee includes the following:

1. Civic lessons for pay envelopes or to be printed on the back of time cards, etc.

2. Posters to stimulate attendance at school and increase interest in naturalization.

3. Syllabus for night-school work.

4. Civic lessons to be inserted in foreign-language newspapers.

5. Guide to citizenship

6. Training course for colleges.

Mind you, this institution that has for its purpose only the education of aliens and illiterates—the Senator from Pennsylvania very properly struck out the words "meager education"—a part of its propaganda is a training course for colleges—

7. In preparation; no copies yet available.

Training teachers for immigrant education.

(a) Program for teachers' institutes.

Mind you, getting right down into the States, doing the work the States are doing and have been doing from time immemorial.

(b) Courses for normal colleges.

Getting still further into State business—

(c) Suggestions for teachers.

Can anybody tell me why the rights of the States should be invaded by this body?

Mr. President, in January, 1917, when the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill was under consideration, it was sought to curb the activities of private persons and corporations in governmental affairs by an amendment as follows:

Provided, That no part of the appropriations made for the Bureau of Education, whether for salaries or expenses or any other purpose connected therewith, shall be used in connection with any money con-

tributed or tendered by the General Education Board or any corporate or other organization or individual in any way associated with it, either directly or indirectly, or contributed or tendered by any corporation or any individual other than such as may be contributed by State, county, or municipal agencies; nor shall the Bureau of Education receive any moneys for salaries or any other purpose for the General Education Board or any corporate or other organization or individual in any way associated with it, either directly or indirectly, or contributed or tendered by any corporation or individual other than such as may be contributed by State, county, or municipal agencies, except by act of Congress authorizing the same. Any person violating any or either of the terms of this proviso shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not less than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, as the court may determine.

The purpose of that amendment was to limit and restrict the activities of the foreign bodies that were injecting themselves into the bureaus of the Government. That amendment was substantially agreed to, but in conference it was so emasculated as to render it almost harmless.

Let me show you what these people did when that amendment was first proposed in the Senate. It was read into the RECORD on the 26th of January, 1917, and immediately the Americanization committee got busy. They commenced to bombard their supporters in the field with the following telegram:

United States Senate yesterday passed amendment to general appropriation bill which will eliminate Education Bureau's Americanization activities by abolishing collaborators by making no appropriation to carry on this work now financed by outside organizations. Wire Senators SMOOR, BRYAN, and OVERMAN, of conference committee, that if amendment is retained the pending Pomerene-Parker bill, appropriating \$50,000 for immigrant-education work, should be made part of general appropriation bill, otherwise bureau's whole America first and immigrant-education work will be lost. Hearing Tuesday, so get industrial leaders and philanthropic organizations to wire. Rush SMOOR and your own Senator and Representative.

(Signed) NATIONAL AMERICANIZATION COMMITTEE.

The efforts of the National Americanization Committee having failed of fruition at that time, they have continued and are still active as shown by the following telegram which has been received by me and other Senators within the past few days:

Secretary Lane has announced broad Americanization plan. Council of National Defense has approved Bureau of Education's program for same. Does Calder bill, S. 2854, now Unanimous Consent Calendar, mix plans and duplicate work contemplated and rightfully in Bureau of Education plan if passed?

(Signed) W. C. SMITH,  
Chairman Legislative Committee of National  
Committee of One Hundred, America First.

I do not know what purpose this telegram has in it, but it seems to be an attack upon the Bureau of Naturalization and the intention to amend the naturalization laws as contemplated by this bill, S. 2854.

There are other activities of this legislative committee in which they have gratuitously undertaken to assault one of the established activities of the Government which is being carried on in full conformity with the law and in a most admirable way. I do not care to dignify this assault by referring at the present time any more directly to it. I can only say that the writer of the telegram who signs himself as "Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the National Committee of 100," is undoubtedly speaking with authority. Commissioner Claxton organized the Committee of One Hundred doubtless at the instance of these private sources or organizations for whom the bureau seems to be working and in whose interests he seems to be serving the Government. When he organized them and outlined their plan, the committee, his creature, is undoubtedly carrying out the instructions of their director.

They were not only active then but they are active now, and I have understood that this same association has been instrumental in getting some of the authorities of the Government to invite the governors of several States here in conference to-day to undertake to get them behind this bill. I understand so; I do not know anything about it. I simply understand that they have been invited here, possibly by the Secretary of the Interior, and the purpose of the visit is to get their support of this bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If the Senator will yield—

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. As I understand the position of these men, it is to get behind the work in their own States with their State agencies that this bill will seek to encourage and direct, and I think it is a splendid measure.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. But, Mr. President, the Naturalization Bureau, under the Department of Labor, is already an established agency engaged in this work now. And this bureau is working in cooperation with the States. Then, too, the States are operating alone and in their own way with regard to illiteracy.

Take the State of Kentucky, Mr. President. I am sorry the Senators from that State are not here, but I understand that the State of Kentucky has gone to work and has organized

to put illiteracy out of commission by 1920, and that the people of that Commonwealth are making splendid progress. What can the Government of the United States do with its \$50,000 or with \$100,000 to assist the work in all the States?

Mr. President, this bill is simply an entering wedge to get very much larger appropriations in the very near future.

I received the telegram last quoted a few days ago and I assume every Senator here received one like it. I replied to it as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 2, 1918.

W. C. SMITH,  
Chairman, Legislative Committee of National  
Committee of One Hundred, America First, New York City.

Answering your night letter of March 29. Bill mentioned is necessary for carrying on of authorized work of Bureau of Naturalization, and does not interfere with any other Government agency.

GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN.

Of course not; the Calder bill is a sane and sensible measure and simply supplements the work of the Bureau of Naturalization.

Mr. President, Mr. Claxton, you will find, has extended his activities into this realm as he has extended them into almost every realm, interfering with State policies and State politics, so far as education is concerned. You will find him present at all the meetings of the Americanization Association giving his advice. He is not so active in giving his advice to the established authority in the Department of Labor, which I am going to address myself to in a few minutes to show that it is doing most effective and efficient work without interfering with any of the State authorities or any municipality. That would not extend the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Education, and that is what he wants.

Note, Mr. President, an extract from the minutes of the session of the national publicity campaign for Americanization called by Hon. P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, at the Hotel McAlpin, New York City, July 4, 1916:

Commissioner Claxton outlined the plan and facilities of the Bureau of Education for assisting in this publicity campaign to get behind the bill.

A little later on the minutes recite:

Superintendent Cody, seconded by Superintendent Garber, moved that the Division of Immigrant Education of the Bureau of Education act as secretary of the committee until the committee can select its own secretary.

Then here is the legislative proposition; here is a prediction for this bill:

Upon a motion of Superintendent Cody and seconded by Superintendent Garber, Mr. W. C. Smith—

That is the same Smith whose telegram I read a while ago—of Troy, was appointed chairman of a committee, with power to select other members, whose duty it should be to prepare a bill to be introduced in Congress carrying an appropriation for the work of the Division of Immigrant Education.

There you have it. They prepared the bill under consideration, and they caused it to be introduced. They camouflaged or sought to camouflage the American people by putting a mere pittance in it, expecting to come back and ask for a larger sum later, in order to establish an immense institution or bureau.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. PAGE] wanted to know if we had any evidence of what these people were doing or that they were going to attempt any such thing as I suggested in the way of larger appropriations. Let us see. On the 27th day of February they had a meeting at Atlantic City, and here is the report of that meeting:

Educators want \$10,000,000 to push Americanization—

There you have it—

Common language in industry a vital need and Federal aid is wanted. Would save many lives.

Great educational convention a clearing house for superintendents.

Class system criticized.

Western man warns against kaiserization of education. Keep children at school.

There was a voice crying in the wilderness. Here is an undertaking not only to kaiserize the public-school system of America but to take it out of the hands of the States and centralize it in the power and in the hands of Mr. Claxton.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President—

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Let me read this into the RECORD. I have only read the headlines. Here is the substance of it:

ATLANTIC CITY, February 27.

Federal aid in the Americanization of aliens, and particularly of those from enemy countries, will come as one of the fruits of the greatest educational conventions America has known. Founded upon facts revealed this afternoon in a conference on legislation—

Legislation again—

and Americanization in the Breakers Hotel, a bill will be introduced in Congress within a few days appropriating \$10,000,000 for Federal aid to Americanization work in the various States under the same provisions as those set forth in the Smith-Hughes Act for the furtherance of vocational education.

There you have it. Now, the small appropriation carried by the pending bill does not amount to anything. It would not get them anywhere. It would not pay the salaries of the people who are now issuing the few hundred thousand posters they are getting out every year.

I am going to ask to have printed in the Record, without reading, for I do not want to take up any more time than is necessary, the recent activities of the Division of Immigrant Education. This comes out of the Bureau of Education. It is not mine at all. It shows their activities and shows that the amount appropriated in this bill would not get anywhere toward doing the work. I ask that it may be printed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
BUREAU OF EDUCATION,  
WASHINGTON.

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF THE DIVISION OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION.

The Division of Immigrant Education pursues activities which may be classified as follows:

"Surveys, field investigations, and research to ascertain conditions, facilities, and needs in order to establish the basis for constructive National, State, and local work.

"Publicity through news letters, circular letters, bulletins, articles in the daily and periodical press, exhibits, special reports, and by lectures and addresses.

"Organization of cooperation among public and private agencies by serving as a clearing house, by projecting plans of work, and by developing organized facilities upon request.

"Counsel given through conferences, committee meetings, personal interviews, and correspondence."

SURVEYS AND FIELD INVESTIGATIONS.

At the request of the Wilmington (Del.) Committee on Americanization, a survey of Wilmington was made to assist in the establishment of night schools for immigrants. Such schools were subsequently established. During the month of August the assistant specialist made a survey of the immigrant sections and of the evening-school facilities for immigrants in San Francisco. An official of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry also surveyed several communities in Pennsylvania in cooperation with the division.

A questionnaire was sent to industrial establishments asking for a statement of educational work, "safety-first" training, and other welfare activities for the benefit of non-English-speaking employees. Studies of the educational methods employed were made in many plants. From the returns a report was prepared setting forth the work of many plants.

RESEARCH.

The division prepared and published a "List of Cities of 5,000 Population and Over Having a Foreign-born White Population of 1,000 or More and no Evening Schools," "Citizenship of Foreign-born White Males of Voting Age in Each County of Pennsylvania With More Than 10 per cent of the Population Foreign Born," "Immigration to the United States from 1820 to 1915" (a chart), "State Constitutional Provisions Affecting Legislative Responsibility for Establishment of Evening Schools and Ages of Pupils Concerned" (a digest), "Educational Rank of Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island" (adapted pamphlet issued by the Russell Sage Foundation). The division prepared a list of "Textbooks for Foreigners Learning English."

To present the problem of Americanization the division prepared standard exhibit charts, diagrams, slides, and photographs, showing for the United States as a whole and for selected States: Inability to Speak English, Illiteracy, School Attendance, and Factory Classes. A questionnaire on immigration education was sent out to superintendents of schools and the information gathered from the replies presented in the first bulletin issued by the division under the title "Public Facilities for Educating the Alien." Previous to this survey the specialist in immigrant education had prepared an elaborate article entitled "Survey of Adult Immigrant Education," for the Immigrants in America Review. He also contributed a chapter on "Recent Progress in the Education of Immigrants" to the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1914, and a chapter on "Education of the Immigrant" to the report for 1916. To the first Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry the specialist contributed a chapter of 64 pages (Ch. 11) on "Immigration and Unemployment."

FORMULATION OF PLANS AND PROGRAMS.

Many new and constructive ideas developed by the staff of the division were formulated and published in circular letters bearing the following titles: No. 3, "Suggestions to Principals and Teachers"; No. 5, "Training for Americanization Service"; No. 7, America First Campaign, "How to Advise Night Schools"; No. 8, ditto, "How State Departments of Education Can Help"; No. 9, ditto, "How Chambers of Commerce Can Cooperate"; No. 10, ditto, "What Women's Organizations Can Do"; No. 11, ditto, "How to Organize an Evening School for Immigrants"; No. 12, ditto, "How Industries Can Cooperate"; No. 13, ditto, "How Libraries Can Help"; No. 14, ditto, "How Foreign-language Newspapers Can Cooperate"; No. 15, ditto, "What Some Members of the Committee of One Hundred Have Done"; No. 16, ditto, "How Labor Unions Can Cooperate"; No. 17, ditto, "How Sectarian Organizations Can Cooperate"; No. 18, ditto, "How Patriotic Societies Can Cooperate"; No. 19, ditto, "How Religious Organizations for Women Can Cooperate"; and No. 20, ditto, "A Call to National Service."

The specialist in charge of this division has prepared a schedule of "Standards and methods in the education of immigrants," which will in the future, as further elaborated, form the basis for the program of work of this division. One part of this has so far been made available for distribution.

PUBLICITY.

Over 250,000 circulars, news letters, news releases, and publications have been sent during the year to school superintendents, principals, and teachers; to college and university presidents; to women's clubs and women's organizations and agencies; to patriotic organizations;

to organizations of foreign-born men and women; to educational associations; to postmasters; and to English and foreign-language newspapers. Fifteen articles and papers were prepared by the specialist and the members of his staff and published in such publications as the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the American Leader (organ of the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers), the Bulletin of the National Association of Patriotic Instructors, Immigrants in America Review, the Immigration Journal, the Journals of the State Teachers' Federation of Kansas and New York, the Baltimore Labor Leader, and the Bulletin of the New Jersey State Department of Education.

To stimulate the school attendance of adult immigrants over 100,000 "America First" posters, printed in English and seven prevalent foreign languages, were distributed in large numbers to superintendents of schools, industries, postmasters, miscellaneous organizations, and individuals.

The exhibit charts and publications of the division were shown in the following places: The National Conference on Immigration and Americanization at Philadelphia in January, 1916; the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at Washington in February, 1916; the Life Conservation Exhibit of the United States Government at the National Museum, Washington, in February, 1916; the National Conference of Catholic Charities at the National Catholic University of America, Washington, in September, 1916; the conference of the Illinois Valley Teachers' Association at Moline and also at La Salle, Ill., in October, 1916; the annual meeting of the National Education Association at New York City in July, 1916.

ORGANIZATION AND COOPERATION.

The division has cooperated with many private organizations by formulating programs of work and by making suggestions. Special assistance was rendered to over 25 chambers of commerce, over 200 industrial establishments, over 20 educational associations, over 50 religious and philanthropic associations, and to a large number of miscellaneous societies.

The division is now conducting a nation-wide "America first" campaign in cooperation with the Committee of One Hundred appointed by the United States Commissioner of Education. The specialist in charge of the division is the chairman of the executive committee and in charge of the publicity campaign. The object of the campaign is to aid schools, at their request, in reaching the 3,000,000 non-English-speaking immigrants.

COUNSEL UPON PRACTICAL METHODS.

This division has given and received counsel by participation in conferences, committee meetings, personal interviews, and correspondence with officers and representatives of teachers' associations, business women's associations, State departments of education, associations of commerce, social workers, women's clubs, college and university presidents and faculties, and numerous individuals. Members of the staff have addressed over 75 meetings during the past year. While engaged in giving information, they are also seeking light upon every phase of Americanization. It is a fundamental aim of the division to be of national service in dealing with the complex problem of immigration and to cooperate with every possible agency in effecting its solution. (Division of Immigrant Education Circular No. 21, Jan. 17, 1917.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Note the headlines, I beg the Senators, which I repeat in order to show the impossibility of doing any of the work proposed with so small an appropriation.

The Division of Immigrant Education pursues activities which may be classified as follows:

Surveys, field investigations, and research to ascertain conditions, facilities, and needs, in order to establish the basis for constructive National, State, and local work.

Again:

Publicity through news letters, circular letters, bulletins, articles in the daily and periodical press, exhibits, special reports, and by lectures and addresses.

Again:

Organization of cooperation among public and private agencies, by serving as a clearing house, by projecting plans of work, and by developing organized facilities upon request.

Again:

Counsel given through conferences, committee meetings, personal interviews, and correspondence.

Those are the headlines of the activities of this body under the Bureau of Education, and when you come to a detailed statement of each of these headings there is not any organization in the United States that is big enough to handle it.

Mr. PENROSE. I should like to ask the Senator whether he is through enumerating the activities of the bureau?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. All I care to enumerate, but if the Senator has something in that line—

Mr. PENROSE. I know the Senator will be very much interested in knowing that after teaching agriculture and food conservation and social hygiene and a vast multitude of other matters, the bureau in its report for 1917 requests authorization to have control of 4,000 reindeer in Alaska, so that they may look to their better distribution.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think, if the Senator really wants the activities of the Bureau of Education he could not get it in as small a space as he has there. I will say to the Senator that their activities extend over every field of American life.

Mr. PENROSE. I can picture the pedagogue in the frozen fields of Alaska herding reindeer.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am not going into that further, but I am going just as deeply as I can to show that there is not any necessity for this bill.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Certainly.



Mr. DILLINGHAM. While the Senator is beginning that subject, I should like to call his attention to a statement made upon the floor this morning by the Senator in charge of the bill, which, if I understood him correctly, was that there are 700,000 drafted men of the United States who are illiterates. I should like to ask the Senator how many men have been drawn under the selective draft, as he is the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. How many altogether?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Altogether.

Mr. THOMAS. There are 700,000 subject to the draft.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Within the draft age.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Seven hundred thousand in the United States of the draft age, you say?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Who are illiterate?

Mr. THOMAS. Who can not speak or read the English language.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Who can not read or write.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course a greater number than that were actually drafted.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have here the report of the Secretary of the Interior upon which the statement was based. He says that there are now nearly 700,000 men of draft age in the United States who are illiterate and who can not read or write in English or any other language.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Of the draft age?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Of the draft age.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. What is the number in the United States of the draft age?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. About ten million.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. About ten million.

Mr. PENROSE. I assume that these illiterates are largely foreigners.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Nearly altogether so.

Mr. PENROSE. Practically altogether so. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that there are 700,000 illiterates of foreign birth.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President, I was surprised at the statement of fact; but taking the statistics of the last census I find that of the males of voting age there were only 8.4 per cent illiterate. Of course, they must be 21 years of age, and this classification includes all above that age. Of the negro race there were only 30.4 per cent; of those of foreign birth, only 12.7 per cent; and of the children of foreign and mixed marriages, only 1.10 per cent who are illiterate. It seems to me there must be some grave error in the statement which was made here regarding the proportion of the men of the draft age in the United States who are illiterate, and it seems to me a very unfortunate thing that any false impression should go out to the country regarding the character of the men who constitute our Army.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I desire to read a little further from the statement of Secretary Lane. He says:

There are 700,000 men who can not read or write who may be drafted within our Army within the next year or two.

Then I will read the balance of the figures which are given upon this subject by the Secretary:

There are in the United States (or were when the census was taken in 1910) 5,516,163 persons over 10 years of age who were unable to read or write in any language. There are now nearly 700,000 men of draft age in the United States who are, I presume, registered, who can not read or write in English or in any other language. Over 4,600,000 of the illiterates in this country were 20 years of age or more.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do.

Mr. LEWIS. May I be allowed to attract the attention of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM] and also of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH]? I am satisfied that there has been a great error which has crept into the assertion of the Secretary of the Interior, the consequence of which he would not wish to be responsible for. It is equivalent to an allegation that we are about to put into our Army a vast number of men—the Senator from Georgia says 700,000?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Seven hundred thousand.

Mr. LEWIS. Seven hundred thousand human beings who have not enough intelligence to know what they are doing, why they are summoned, or for what they are fighting.

It also intimates that our country's system of education in our different States must have been so deficient as to have left us this relic of such a vast sum of human beings who are alleged to be illiterate. May I assume that there has been misapprehension; that the word "illiterate" in that sense was meant merely to convey that in the English language they were not learned? May I assume that the foreigners to whom the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] has made allusion, may still be people of information upon general subjects, but happen not to have had an English learning, and are illiterate only in the sense that they are not scholars in the English language?

Mr. PENROSE. Will the Senator from Illinois permit a suggestion?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes; certainly.

Mr. PENROSE. Perhaps many of these men suffer from what has been called a "meager education," but the figures undoubtedly have been grossly exaggerated to bolster up this fraudulent bill.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, of course I can not enter—

Mr. PENROSE. I do not mean to make any reflection upon the Committee on Education and Labor, of which I am a member—although I did not attend the meeting of the committee that reported this bill—or upon the Senator having the bill in charge, but I am convinced that the Superintendent of Education needs careful watching.

Mr. LEWIS. I have only to conclude with this statement: I do not know whence these figures came; of course, I could not know what the inference, but I must, from my general knowledge of my country, from the appreciation we all have of our institutions, deny that there can exist in the United States of America to-day, under our system, 700,000 men capable of bearing arms for the country who are illiterate and ignorant.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois is entirely right. They are not there.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I have asked the Provost Marshal General and the Commissioner of Education regarding the matter, and I am trying to find out if either can give the information that is asked for, which I will insert in my remarks. Let me say this for the foreign-born illiterates who are in the United States Army: I was talking to a young colonel in the Army some months ago, who was being sent out to Chicago to train a regiment of foreigners. He told me that it almost broke his heart when he was instructed to go there and train those foreigners, because it had been his hope that he would have a distinctively American force in his command; but I saw him some time afterwards, when he told me he was perfectly charmed with the result of his effort to train those men. He said there were hardly any of them who could speak English when he assumed command, but that they immediately organized night schools in the cantonment, and the men promptly learned enough of the English language to obey every command of every officer who spoke English.

Not only that, but they showed their patriotic spirit when an announcement was read out at the head of the column to these young men—foreigners all them, Czechs, Poles, and men of every neutral nation represented around Chicago, where they came from—when this announcement was read out to them about the sale of liberty bonds they raised \$80,000 in subscriptions to those bonds. So the taking in of these illiterates among our American troops is not a disadvantage to them, even in cases where they can not read or write. It will teach them to read and write. The fact that a man can not write does not in the least make him a poor soldier, for such a man is frequently the most gallant soldier in the world. He is not afraid to die for his country. Illustrations innumerable might be cited from the pages of history to sustain these propositions.

But now, Mr. President, getting down to the statement that this is simply a duplication of work, transferring it to a body that can not do it as well as it is now being done, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the public schools of the United States, in conjunction with the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor, have this work in hand. In April, 1914, after years of contact with the public schools, this bureau undertook to cooperate with them as to the education of illiterates.

A plan was proposed by the Bureau of Naturalization for linking together the public schools throughout the United States with the Federal Government.

I have found, Mr. President, in studying the work of this bureau that, without any additional appropriations from Congress, while carrying on its regular work the Bureau of Naturalization has been working in direct cooperation with the public schools during the last four years. At the present time in 1,797 cities, towns, and small communities, extending clear into the mining camps, the public schools of the United States

have organized with the Bureau of Naturalization in teaching the candidate for citizenship the things he should know as an American citizen.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

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

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do.

Mr. HARDWICK. I merely want to suggest to the Senator, in connection with this subject, that the Bureau of Naturalization and also one of the intelligence bureaus of the War Department are trying to do this identical work for the foreign-born soldiers to-day.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. HARDWICK. And their representatives were in to see me this morning, as chairman of the Immigration Committee, insisting that certain additional facilities be afforded to do the work.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think so. That is what I am calling attention to. There is a sleeper in the bill that is now before the Senate which provides that, before the Bureau of Education touches the patriotic side of this question—the illiterate soldiers and sailors—it must have the consent of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. That is a little more camouflage. The bill was not intended for the soldiers of the Republic who are illiterate. Behind it is an alleged benevolent organization that intends only to supplant existing systems of schools and to coordinate industrial life with the system it has in view. Let our public schools do the work that the framers of our State governments intended they should do and that has been recognized from the earliest days of the Republic that they should do. Any attempts to interfere with them, whether made by Mr. Claxton or any other body of men outside of the jurisdiction of the several States, will result in dislocating the public-school system of the country.

Now, to show you what the Bureau of Naturalization has been trying to do, I will state that in July, 1916, they held a convention here in the city which was attended by educators from all over the country. Superintendents of public schools of all the States were here. I remember very distinctly meeting Superintendent Alderman, a very distinguished educator of my State. There were men here from New England, from the border States, from the whole country clear down to Mexico. At this convention the work of the public schools, in cooperation with the Bureau of Naturalization, was fully discussed. The public schools had furnished the Bureau of Naturalization with the material for the preparation of a textbook for the purpose of developing a standard course in citizenship instruction.

The Commissioner of Education and the members of his bureau attended that convention. Why did he not cooperate with the system that was then in vogue and is now in vogue instead of trying to sidetrack it and go to another proposition and confuse the existing system? They fully discussed with the public-school officials and officials of the Bureau of Naturalization the textbook matter submitted by the public schools to the Bureau of Naturalization. This textbook, therefore, has been completed

and is awaiting its publication to be distributed to the candidates for citizenship.

Mr. President, 438,000 foreigners applied for first citizenship papers last year. The Bureau of Naturalization has worked out a system, based upon the law, which gives it charge of all matters relating to the naturalization of aliens. Under this authority it has united the courts and the public schools with the bureau for the purpose of making it possible for candidates for naturalization to prepare themselves for the responsibilities of American citizenship. The Bureau of Naturalization received the names last year of approximately a million and a quarter foreigners. It has endeavored to induce these foreigners to attend the citizenship classes which the bureau has prevailed upon the public schools in nearly 1,800 cities and small communities to provide for them. All of this work has been carried on for four years without any additional appropriation for that purpose; yet, Mr. President, we are met here with a proposition for an appropriation of \$100,000, and we will be met by appeals to Congress hereafter for millions of dollars to do the work which is being done now by appropriations which are made simply for the carrying on of the ordinary business of the Department of Labor.

It seems to me that the experience which has been gained by this branch of the Government should not be overlooked in considering a measure of this kind. It has in four years attained practical results which can later be made the foundation for any further and wider scope of effort in cooperation with the public schools of the United States.

I desire to submit here the names of the cities and towns by States, together with their population in 1910, as well as their foreign population and the number of foreigners in those places who declared their intention to become citizens from July 1, 1910, to July 30, 1917, showing that this work is not local but is general; it covers the whole United States. A system has been worked out which has not only proven advantageous in the last five or six years but will prove more so, provided we do not dynamite it with a bill that destroys the work which the Bureau of Naturalization has undertaken in cooperation with the courts and the public-school systems of the country.

Mr. President, I will explain to the Senate what is meant by cooperation with the courts. The court holds the application for citizenship up until the alien goes to a school—some night school, perhaps, connected with the public schools—and tries to qualify himself for the duties of citizenship, with the result that these men are absolutely prepared for citizenship before their final papers are issued.

Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, without reading, the data or statistics to which I called attention a few moments ago, so that the Senate may see at a glance to-morrow morning just what the States are doing and what cities and towns all over the United States are participating in this work in conjunction with the common-school systems and in conjunction with the courts for the purpose of teaching these people the duties of citizenship.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the order is made.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns.

[Figures not available where blanks occur.]

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declarations.	Petitions.	Declarants.	Petitioners.	Candidates' wives.
Alabama:									
Birmingham (includes activities at East Lake, Ensley, Fairfield, Gate City, Pratt City, and Warrior).....	132,685	5,700	2,944	1,179	523	125	60	13	4
Bessemer.....	10,864	341	196	94					
Arizona:									
Bisbee.....	9,019	3,474	2,023	558	145	130	42	50	33
Blue Bell Mine.....					70	36			
Douglas (includes activities at Pirtleville).....	6,437	2,250	919	186			13	23	17
Morenci.....					35	19		6	4
California:									
Alameda.....	23,383	5,555	2,842	1,720			23	38	38
Berkeley (includes activities at Albany).....	40,434	7,653	3,627	2,096			67	43	51
Emeryville.....	2,613	636	374	224					
Colma.....							16		8
Corona.....	3,540	604	348	79	39	25			
Eureka (includes activities at Elk River, Fairhaven, Freshwater, Ryans Slough, and Samoa).....	11,845	3,600	2,228	1,076	161	49	8	9	8
Fresno.....	24,892	5,445	2,487	1,006	351	133	22	36	34

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declarations.	Petitions.	Declarants.	Petitioners.	Candidates' wives.
California—Continued.									
Gilroy	2,437								
Hollister	2,398				25	9	2	2	1
Long Beach (includes activities at Alimitos Bay, Seal Beach, and Wilmington)	17,809	1,942	901	470			9	2	7
Los Angeles (includes activities at Hollywood and Huntington Park)	319,198	60,584	29,576	14,007	2,814	1,163	383	343	324
Alhambra	5,021	983	585	174					
Manhattan									
Mountain View	1,161								
Oakland	150,174	39,822	19,334	10,237	1,124	130	241	243	259
San Leandro	3,471	1,108	559	279					
Ontario (includes activities at Alta Loma, Chino, Cucamonga, Etiwanda, Guasti, and Upland)	4,274	581	283	155	94	58	6	1	1
Oxnard	2,355	618	334	108	38	15		1	
Pasadena (includes activities at La Manda)	39,291	4,297	1,772	1,101			23	17	15
Playa del Rey							1		1
Pomona (includes activities at Claremont, Lordsburg, San Dimas, and Walnut)	10,237	882	438	219			2		
Redlands	10,449	1,343	649	372				2	2
Redondo Beach (includes activities at Hermosa Beach, Manhattan Beach, and Perry)	2,935	433	282	116					
Redwood City	2,442						2	3	1
Riverside	15,212	2,166	1,085	454			3	5	4
Sacramento	44,696	8,885	5,331	2,424	416	178	53	84	49
San Diego (includes activities at Chula Vista, Coronado, East San Diego, and National City)	33,578	7,396	3,845	2,057	316	164	29	293	106
San Francisco (includes activities at Daly City)	416,912	139,874	75,768	39,375	5,280	2,383	1,942	1,104	894
San Jose (includes activities at Berryessa, Edenvale, Hester, Milpitas, and Sunol)	28,946	5,817	2,983	1,637	367	126	22	25	16
Santa Clara	4,348	1,135	597	287					
San Mateo	4,384	1,031	538	333	238	103	7	15	10
San Pedro									
San Rafael	5,934	1,747	932	496	95	39	1	9	4
Santa Ana	8,429	884	498	246	53	41	1	2	1
Santa Barbara	11,659	1,793	877	417	157	57	20	12	19
Santa Monica (includes activities at Sawtelle, The Palms, and Soldiers Home)	7,847	1,248	576	293			4		3
Santa Rosa	7,817	1,318	697	376	198	89	14	6	7
South Pasadena	4,649	558	294	149					
South San Francisco	1,989								
Stockton	23,253	4,478	2,679	1,074	244	79	36	25	23
Venice							4	7	8
Westwood					28	12		1	1
Wisburn									
Colorado:									
Bowling Green	142								
Central City (includes activities at Black Hawk, Nevada, Russell Gulch, and Tolland)	1,782				6	11			
Colorado Springs	29,078	2,981	1,434	748	81	37			
Cripple Creek	6,203	849	473	367	27	24			
Delta	2,388				10	9			
Denver	213,381	38,941	19,204	10,959	841	353	65	122	121
Fort Collins	8,210	893	373	156	40	35	108	7	4
Frederick	268								
Gorham (includes activities at Marshall and Monarch)							23	1	1
Grand Junction	7,754	724	405	196	33	10	1		
Greeley (includes activities at Evans, Kersey, La Salle, and Lucerne)	8,179	691	357	172	124	68	9	5	6
Hastings	693								
Leadville	7,508	2,232	1,253	880	105	46	12	24	13
Louisville (includes activities at Monarch No. 2 and Sunnyside Mine)	1,708				35	20			
Oak Creek	222								
Pueblo	41,395	8,331	4,777	1,773	224	90	34	25	31
Rocky Ford	3,230	145	68	44	16	23			
Salida	4,425	499	256	159	45	11			
Somerset	527				11	11			
Sterling (includes activities at Atwood, Crook, Graylin, Hefl, Merino, Padroni, and Willard)	3,044	418	185	45	33	26	1	3	2
Superior	349						25		
Telluride (includes activities at Liberty Bell, Mine Smuggler, Smuggler Mill, Smuggler Mine, and Tomboy Mine)	1,756				42	16	4	1	1
Trinidad	10,204	1,293	654	368	149	39			
Connecticut:									
Ansonia	15,152	5,711	2,926	1,131			23	14	12
Avon	1,337						1		1
Bridgeport (includes activities at Long Hill, Nichols, Strentsfield, and Trumbull)	102,054	36,180	17,114	6,563	2,456	602	212	137	177
Fairfield	6,134	1,653	768	261					
Stratford	5,712	1,199	545	287					
Bristol (includes activities at East Bristol, Forestville, and Terryville)	13,502	3,982	1,985	695			15	9	16
Chester	1,419						5	4	2
Danbury	23,502	5,526	2,687	1,243			21	9	15
Bethel	3,792	502	248	161					
Elmwood							2		2
West Hartford	4,808	1,319	560	254					
Enfield	9,719	3,787	1,609	479					
Greenwich	16,463	5,080	2,301	784			15	16	16
Hartford	98,915	31,243	13,975	6,294	3,134	682	212	115	157
East Hartford	8,138	1,487	686	348					
Wethersfield	3,148	655	431	145					
Huntington	6,545	1,758	788	340					
Manchester	13,641	5,006	2,126	1,073			1	22	19
Meriden	32,066	9,390	4,346	2,308			16	12	13
Middletown (includes activities at South Farms)	20,749	6,398	2,804	1,025			9	11	5
Naugatuck (includes activities at Beacon Falls)	12,722	4,283	2,075	889	228	58	4	3	3
New Britain (includes activities at Newington)	43,916	18,015	8,843	3,054			114	42	56
Berlin	3,728	1,166	676	187					
Plainville	2,882	528	264	119					

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

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	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declarations.	Petitions.	Declarants.	Petitioners.	Candidates' wives.
<b>Connecticut—Continued.</b>									
New Haven.....	133,605	42,784	19,194	8,628	4,808	829	192	94	115
New London (includes activities at Mystic).....	19,659	4,561	1,993	701			23	18	23
Groton.....	6,495	908	416	151					
Montville.....	2,804	731	306	94					
Waterford.....	3,097	571	390	88					
Norwalk.....	24,211	5,686	2,473	978			15	7	17
Norwich (includes activities at Norwichtown, Taftville, and Yantic).....	28,219	8,405	3,558	1,456	605	154	13	11	16
Pogonook.....									
Rainbow.....									
Putnam.....	7,280	1,780	801	284	305	85	20	6	20
Rockville (includes activities at Toiland).....	7,977	2,764	1,238	686	248	42	2	5	2
Southington (includes activities at Cheshire).....	6,516	1,724	855	239			1	1	
Plainville.....	2,882	528	264	119					
South Manchester.....							23	2	12
South Norwalk (includes activities at East Norwalk and Rowayton).....	8,968						15	11	16
Westport.....	4,259	1,057	482	180					
Wilton.....	1,706								
Stamford.....	28,836	8,872	3,976	1,486			35	19	28
Darien.....	3,946	947	506	213					
Suffield.....	3,841	874	467	107			2	3	3
Thompson.....	4,804	1,871	789	140				5	4
Thompsonville.....							21	23	25
Torrington (includes activities at Burrville, Torrington, and West Torrington).....	16,840	6,064	3,003	1,198	439	74	9	9	4
Vernon (includes activities at Ellington, Talcottville, and Vernon Center, but not those for Rockville).....	1,110	291	124	68			1	1	
Stafford Springs.....	3,059	1,111	491	161					
Wallingford.....	11,155	3,302	1,570	563			12	17	21
Waterbury (includes activities at Middlebury, Prospect, and Wolcott).....	73,141	25,498	12,463	4,662			161	57	101
Watertown.....	3,850	974	328	109					
Westport.....	4,259	1,057	482	180					
Windsor (includes activities at Wilson).....	4,178	786	379	125			3	2	1
<b>District of Columbia:</b>									
Washington (includes activities at Hyattsville, Mount Rainier, and Rockville, Md., and Rosslyn, Va.).....	331,069	24,351	11,738	6,474	726	340	97	77	83
Alexandria, Va.....	15,329	320	179	86					
<b>Florida:</b>									
Jacksonville.....	57,699	2,488	1,308	587	201	67	7	19	14
<b>Georgia:</b>									
Atlanta.....	154,839	4,410	2,287	1,011	144	72	11	38	23
<b>Idaho:</b>									
Boise.....	17,358	2,283	1,555	548	112	32	15	7	6
<b>Illinois:</b>									
Alton.....	17,528	1,504	764	484	835	115	1	5	
Arlington Heights.....	1,943								
Aurora (includes activities at Montgomery and North Aurora).....	29,807	6,702	3,566	1,795	348	136	28	89	6
Belleisle.....	21,122	2,500	1,227	770			37	1	
Benton (includes activities at West City).....	2,675	229	122	17	284	105	120	6	
Berwyn (includes activities at Clyde, Morton, Park, and North Berwyn).....	5,841	1,570	751	536			6	8	
Bloomington.....	25,768	3,407	1,612	1,152	56	29	6	5	
Blue Island (includes activities at Burr Oak).....	8,043	1,903	1,015	625			6	4	
Harvey.....	7,227	1,784	974	385					
Morgan Park.....	3,694	662	310	230					
Buckner.....							58	1	
Chicago (includes activities at Austin, Hawthorn, Jefferson, and Kensington).....	2,185,283	781,217	379,850	190,693	38,269	8,895	3,162	3,153	3,032
Evanston.....	24,978	5,700	2,501	1,349					
Chicago Heights.....	14,525	6,077	3,539	1,135					
Christopher (includes activities at Hodgetown and Urbain).....	1,825						98	4	2
Cicero.....	14,557	6,072	3,196	1,354			25	26	38
Decatur.....	31,140	2,422	1,127	694	84	14	40	6	17
De Kalb (includes activities at Cortland, Creston, Elburn, Malta, Maple Park, and Rollo).....	8,102	2,584	1,478	637	107	41	5	9	8
Rochelle.....	2,732	420	195	126					
Sycamore.....	3,926	686	349	234					
East St. Louis.....	58,547	9,400	5,729	1,613	1,513	128	24	10	19
Galesburg (includes activities at East Galesburg).....	22,089	3,590	1,844	1,192	54	22	1	8	6
Glencoe.....	1,899						1		1
Granite City.....	9,903	2,784	1,863	344			231	1	2
Harrisburg (includes activities at Carriers Mills and Ledford).....	5,309	295	180	49	62	28	130	9	7
Herrin.....	6,861	1,080	565	205	131	26	51	10	39
Highland Park (includes activities at Highwood).....	4,209	864	341	120			3	3	5
Johnston City.....	3,248	696	379	131					
Joliet (includes activities at Rockdale).....	34,670	10,441	5,877	2,483	455	112	62	23	43
Lake Forest.....	3,349	1,106	478	251					
La Salle (includes activities at Utica).....	11,537	3,442	1,722	888	381	122	14	9	13
Madison.....	5,046	2,512	1,845	60					
Marion.....	7,093	294	140	31					
Maywood.....	8,033	2,053	947	515			15	7	8
Melrose Park.....	4,806	2,294	1,284	413					
Moline (includes activities at Silvis).....	24,199	7,211	4,089	2,229	644	294	138	155	130
East Moline.....	2,665	1,232	851	134					
North Chicago.....	3,306	1,325	738	246			10	8	10
Oak Park.....	19,444	3,325	1,380	934			14	9	16
Oglesby.....							8		3
Ottawa.....	9,535	1,502	745	532					
Pana.....	6,055	1,088	516	287	102	26	86	4	3
Peoria.....	66,950	8,810	4,661	2,598	350	107	52	4	12
Peru.....	7,884	2,135	1,048	703			5	6	6
Rockford.....	45,401	13,828	7,102	4,094	367	145	78	65	61
Rock Island.....	24,335	4,922	2,537	1,491			36	33	40
Royalton (includes activities at Bush and Hearst).....	357						50		1
St. Charles.....	4,046	1,572	877	381			17	5	45
Sesser.....	1,292								
Springfield.....	51,678	6,900	3,356	1,940	423	173	20	59	4
Spring Valley (includes activities at Cherry, Dalzell, Depue, Ladd, Marquette, and Seatonville).....	7,035	2,992	1,536	1,112	255	85	7	12	7

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declara-tions.	Peti-tions.	Decla-rants.	Peti-tioners.	Candi-dates' wives.
<b>Illinois—Continued.</b>									
Streator	14,253	3,432	1,705	1,063			5	1	4
Waukegan	16,069	5,624	3,176	1,087	450	142	18	32	28
Westville (includes activities at Georgetown)	2,607	1,253	720	389			23	16	25
Bridge Farm	967				99	37			
Woodstock	4,331	658	354	217			9	3	1
Zeigler							88	7	5
<b>Indiana:</b>									
Anderson (includes activities at Lapel, Middletown, and Pendleton)	22,476	977	548	255	72	25	45	5	11
Alexandria	5,096	451	248	151					
Elwood	11,028	812	409	241					
Frankfort	8,634	102	58	31					
Clinton	6,223	1,895	937	171	188	23			
East Chicago (includes activities at Indiana Harbor)	19,098	10,235	6,688	321	6,543	310	514	16	308
Elkhart	19,282	1,636	893	437	131	40	98		13
Fort Wayne (includes activities at Arcola, Hometown, and New Haven)	63,933	7,234	3,785	2,459	599	391	35	26	22
Gary	16,802	8,242	5,693	1,098			1,402	93	665
Hammond (includes activities at Cambridge City and Centerville)	20,925	5,553	3,131	1,022			108	34	84
Indianapolis	235,650	19,767	10,407	6,088	1,227	332	312	56	162
Kokomo (includes activities at Center Township)	17,010	719	389	236	55	8	2	3	4
Laporte	10,525	1,954	1,083	522	277	72	61	11	9
Logansport	19,050	1,405	777	414	179	16	132	5	12
Mishawaka	11,886	1,803	977	346			63	12	30
Peru	10,910	687	363	211				2	2
Richmond	22,324	1,173	599	320	18	13	103	30	17
South Bend	53,684	13,420	6,787	2,226	1,111	398	164	24	86
Sullivan	4,115	88	51	17	29	7		2	1
Vincennes	14,895	816	438	321	163	17		3	1
Whiting	6,587	2,888	1,715	463			83	27	68
<b>Iowa:</b>									
Burlington (includes activities at West Burlington)	24,324	3,938	2,037	1,283	31	10	106	8	5
Carney (includes activities at Delaware, Bloomfield, Enterprise, Oralabor, Saylor, and Swanwood)							1		
Cedar Falls	5,012	753	356	261	112	30	31	4	4
Cedar Rapids (includes activities at Benson, Cedar Heights, Janesville, New Hartford, and Parkersburg)	32,811	5,321	2,619	1,531	201	57	6	36	26
Charles City	5,892	821	455	289	19	5	48		2
Cherokee	4,884	754	425	183	29	7			
Clayworks									1
Clinton	25,577	4,880	2,615	1,697	88	32	89		10
Council Bluffs	29,292	4,208	2,309	1,302	126	49	34	10	22
Davenport (includes activities at Bettendorf and Rockingham)	43,028	8,101	4,132	2,597	219	65	11	22	35
Des Moines	86,398	10,395	5,231	2,807	302	109	42	39	
Valley Junction	2,573	175	93	54					
Dubuque	38,494	6,089	3,220	2,281			514	14	9
Fort Dodge	15,543	2,188	1,199	699	95	24	7	6	4
High Bridge					30	9		1	
Lyons							2		1
Mason City	11,230	1,508	825	322	95	31	190	13	6
Muscataine (includes activities at Blue Grass and Fairport)	16,178	2,145	1,089	713	35	13	25	2	2
Mystic	2,693	522	283	99	45	27	6	1	2
Oelwein	6,028	929	565	292	58	16	58	3	1
Scandia									
Sioux City (includes activities at Leeds, Riverside, and South Sioux City)	47,828	10,452	5,781	2,408	388	76	59	36	59
Waterloo (includes activities at Waterloo East Side and Waterloo West Side)	26,693	2,706	1,494	659			302	6	4
Yoder									
<b>Kansas:</b>									
Atchison	16,429	1,684	526	289	46	15	10	8	4
Barber									
Caney	3,597	219	113	67	29	11			
Capaldo									
Carona (includes activities at Cokedale, East Mineral, Hamilton, and Mackie)					36	11	3	2	1
Cherryvale	4,304	176	108	29					
Dearing	250								
Edson					1		8		
Fort Scott	10,463	386	209	106	7	2			
Franklin							165		1
Frontenac	3,396	1,572	798	253			186	3	4
Gross							17		
Horton	3,600	235	137	66	21	11			
Kansas City	82,331	10,344	5,710	2,427	942	72	282	16	32
Parsons	12,463	463	259	133	9	1	1	1	1
Pittsburg	14,755	1,137	588	322	311	61	182	9	9
Radley							74	2	2
Ringo							9	1	
Roseland	396						2		
Salina	9,688	749	376	222	18	7			
Skidmore							1		
South Radley									
Topeka	43,684	4,153	2,123	1,115	91	13	16	11	14
Wichita	52,450	2,855	1,591	653	103	40	124	11	6
<b>Kentucky:</b>									
Danville	5,420	69	40	12					
Lexington	35,099	936	509	330					
Louisville	223,928	17,436	8,334	5,794	284	90	13	19	13
Newport	30,309	3,405	1,534	1,009	53	23			
<b>Louisiana:</b>									
Amite (includes activities at Guletto, Independence, Roseland, and Shiloh)	1,677				32	11			
Hammond	2,942	154	72	18				1	1
Kentwood	3,609	159	72	8					
Natalbany									
New Orleans (includes activities at Algiers, Amesville, Chef Manteur, Gentilly, Gretna, Lakeview, Lee, Little Woods, McDonoghville, Milneburg, and Pontchartrain Grove)	339,075	27,686	13,486	6,138	1,217	328	95	96	85
Shreveport	28,015	1,004	325	248	105	10			

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declarations.	Petitions.	Declarants.	Petitioners.	Candidates' wives.
<b>Maine:</b>									
Auburn	15,064	2,574	1,090	454	209	70	3	6	4
Augusta	13,211	2,639	1,022	271	226	38	10	4	1
Hallowell	2,864	309	181	74					
Bangor	24,803	4,280	1,883	610	364	52	9	7	11
Bath	9,396	1,315	526	210	84	30	8	7	4
Biddeford	17,079	6,761	2,537	823			4	3	7
Brunswick (includes activities at Topsham)	6,621	1,539	602	270			14	3	8
Foxcroft	1,867								
Lewiston	26,247	9,418	3,502	1,405			9	29	18
Lisbon	4,116	988	427	165				3	3
Old Town	6,317	1,383	664	115				1	1
Orono	3,555	868	449	63				1	1
Portland	58,571	12,078	5,023	2,222	753	437	108	71	94
South Portland	7,471	1,003	415	147					
Westbrook	8,281	1,744	748	347					
Presque Isle	5,179	1,147	524	166	599	35			
Rumford (includes activities at Mexico, Smithville, and Virginia)	6,777	2,634	1,280	192	111	51			
Saco	6,583	1,168	463	158			2	1	
Skowhegan	5,341	783	346	144					
Waterville (includes activities at Winslow)	11,458	2,688	1,138	454	76	17	13	6	6
<b>Maryland:</b>									
Baltimore (includes activities at Arlington, Brooklyn, Catonsville, Curtis Bay, Dundalk, Franklinville, Gardenville, Govans, Hamilton, Hillsdale, Mount Winans, Orangeville, Roland Park, Sparrows Point, Towson, and West Arlington)	558,485	77,043	33,638	16,643	3,674	860	221	212	233
<b>Massachusetts:</b>									
Adams	13,026	5,097	2,042	766			10	2	8
Amherst	5,112	661	259	83			3		2
Arlington	11,187	2,758	1,157	602			24	10	20
Athol	8,536	1,638	779	176			8	6	7
Attleboro	16,215	4,453	1,919	808			32	16	31
Belmont	5,542	1,572	639	275			4	6	8
Beverly (includes activities at Hamilton and Wenham)	18,650	4,661	2,174	808			52	23	22
Danvers	9,407	1,908	790	385					
Boston (includes activities at Allston, Brighton, Charlestown, Dorchester, East Boston, Mattapan, Mount Hope, Rosindale, Roxbury, South Boston, and West Roxbury)	670,585	240,722	103,160	47,791	16,169	4,148	1,172	625	697
Hyde Park	15,507	4,442	2,077	905					
Bridgewater	7,688	2,317	1,623	482			10	8	7
Brockton	56,878	15,425	7,033	3,167	725	253	28	106	65
Brookline	27,792	8,345	2,307	1,274			87	19	26
Cambridge	104,839	34,608	14,636	7,162	898	214	126	62	85
Canton	4,797	1,156	489	252			7	14	13
Chelsea	32,452	13,748	5,883	2,133			83	55	66
Chicopee	25,401	10,036	4,330	1,280			22	15	19
Clinton (includes activities at Boylston, Lancaster, and Sterling)	13,075	4,798	1,916	1,029			6	13	10
Cohasset	2,585	520	217	85			4	2	4
Concord (includes activities at Bedford, Carlisle, and Lincoln)	6,421	1,649	738	292			4	5	4
Dedham	9,284	2,718	1,206	520	445	96	9	7	6
Douglass	2,152								
Dudley	4,267	1,579	704	172					
East Bridgewater (includes activities at Elmwood and Westdale)	3,363	547	253	113				1	1
East Falmouth									
Easthampton (includes activities at Southampton)	8,524	3,077	1,227	404			2	9	8
Easton	5,139	1,371	698	380					
Mansfield	5,183	1,020	470	141					
East Weymouth							3	1	
Everett	33,484	9,607	4,085	2,228			55	25	34
Fall River (includes activities at Swansea)	119,295	50,874	20,181	8,368	2,445	705	151	81	116
Somerset	2,798	706	295	102					
Westport	2,928	591	251	68					
Tiverton, R. I.	4,032	1,069	497	175					
Falmouth	3,144	544	245	79					
Pitchburg	37,826	13,611	5,933	1,950			9	13	14
Framingham (includes activities at Ashland, Hopkinton, and Sherborn)	12,948	3,156	1,341	557			24	5	9
Franklin (includes activities at Wrentham)	5,641	1,504	722	243			1		1
Medway	2,696	537	216	112					
Gardner	14,699	5,312	2,703	762			5	14	11
Glocester (includes activities at Essex)	24,398	7,484	3,980	1,743			9	13	14
Manchester	2,673	847	437	165					
Greenfield (includes activities at Deerfield)	10,427	1,918	916	366	232	41	7	13	14
Hanover (includes activities at Norwell and Pembroke)	2,326								
Haverhill (includes activities at Merrimac, Mass., and Newton and Plaistow, N. H.)	44,115	11,153	4,936	1,915			33	30	22
Amesbury	9,894	2,635	1,140	463					
Hingham	4,965	943	388	153			5	3	6
Holyoke (includes activities at South Hadley Falls and Willimansett)	57,730	23,238	9,457	3,765			70	47	47
Hudson (includes activities at Berlin, Bolton, and Stow)	6,743	1,790	863	293			4	3	3
Ipswich (includes activities at Hamilton, Rowley, and Topsfield)	5,777	2,251	872	175			2	3	2
Lawrence	85,892	41,319	17,414	6,588	3,072	799	185	104	141
Leominster (includes activities at Lunenburg)	17,580	4,875	2,058	645			25	7	19
Lexington (includes activities at Bedford and Burlington)	4,918	1,143	517	242					
Lowell	106,294	43,457	18,191	7,028			114	134	166
Dracont	3,461	1,035	482	231					
Tewksbury	3,750	1,670	872	89					
Ludlow	4,948	2,309	799	158					
Lynn (includes activities at Nahant)	89,336	27,344	12,038	4,931			247	120	143
Saugus	8,047	1,750	751	416					
Swampscott	6,204	1,369	580	250					
Malden	44,404	13,430	5,404	2,941			47	67	63
Melrose	15,715	3,091	1,182	718					
Mariboro (includes activities at Northboro and Southboro)	14,579	3,344	1,508	810			13	15	19
Maynard	6,390	3,002	1,403	349			11	5	9
Medford	23,150	5,126	2,134	1,196			58	44	63
Methuen	11,448	4,501	1,776	922			17	33	40
Milford	13,055	4,331	2,039	674			16	19	22

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

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	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declara-tions.	Peti-tions.	Declar-ants.	Peti-tioners.	Candi-dates' wives.
<b>Massachusetts—Continued.</b>									
Monson	4,758	804	399	156					
Montague	6,866	1,936	923	375				4	4
Natick	9,866	1,997	926	499			4	4	4
Needham	5,026	1,584	644	268			7	4	6
New Bedford (includes activities at Acushnet and Freetown)	96,652	42,625	17,151	5,441			76	190	158
Dartmouth	4,378	1,072	488	116					
Fairhaven	5,122	1,232	538	173					
Newburyport	14,949	3,007	1,215	569				12	6
Newton	39,806	11,191	4,061	1,829			13	21	18
North Adams	22,019	6,046	2,561	1,266			4	8	7
Northampton	19,431	4,880	2,130	983	299	58	3	9	6
North Attleboro (includes activities at Plainville)	9,562	2,490	1,133	508			20	12	21
Norfolk	8,807	3,560	1,619	503				3	2
North Easton								1	1
Norwood	8,014	2,555	1,289	521			9	42	28
Palmer (includes activities at Bondsville, Thorndyke, and Three Rivers)	8,610	3,074	1,354	282			10	9	14
Peabody	15,721	5,341	2,931	783			10	25	9
Pittsfield (includes activities at Hinsdale and Lanesboro)	32,121	6,744	3,176	1,540	763	171	32	22	27
Dalton	3,568	462	199	138					
Lenox	3,090	754	350	178					
Plymouth	12,141	3,722	1,621	463			10	1	1
Quincy	32,642	10,875	4,996	2,367			86	51	72
Revere	18,219	5,331	2,400	1,407			78	48	71
Rockland	6,928	1,110	502	276				1	
Abington	5,455	885	399	153					
Weymouth	12,895	2,312	1,099	509					
Rockport (includes activities at Pigeon Cove)	4,211	1,029	478	200			37	41	31
Salem	43,697	13,539	5,696	2,443			1	2	1
Shrewsbury	1,946						101	77	83
Somerville	77,236	20,751	8,814	4,263					
Southboro									
Southbridge (includes activities at Charlton and Sturbridge)	12,592	4,315	1,943	657			2	23	21
Springfield (includes activities at Long Meadow)	88,926	22,999	9,942	4,182	2,818	595	152	83	120
Agawam	3,501	826	378	155					
Stoneham	7,090	1,362	615	316			4	1	5
Stoughton	6,316	1,439	666	266			2	4	4
Taunton	34,259	9,779	4,206	1,506			13	22	23
Uxbridge	4,671	1,243	601	144				2	2
Wakefield (includes activities at Lynnfield)	11,404	3,128	1,280	662			31	12	24
Reading	5,818	1,012	421	191					
Walpole (includes activities at Norfolk)	4,892	1,306	635	230			4	7	9
Foxboro	3,863	698	377	125					
Waltham	27,834	7,683	3,068	1,525			21	11	17
Watertown	12,875	4,057	1,773	804			14	10	10
Webster	11,509	4,096	1,839	680			1	10	7
Wellesley	5,413	1,559	530	234			1	1	2
Westfield	16,044	4,401	2,173	588			11	10	11
West Springfield	9,224	2,100	943	372			4	1	3
Whitman	7,292	1,108	481	218			2	3	3
Winchester	9,309	2,486	1,027	366			4	10	7
Winthrop	10,132	2,093	819	551			15	11	12
Woburn (includes activities at Burlington and Wilmington)	15,308	4,039	2,006	1,063			21	7	13
Worcester	145,986	48,492	22,816	9,126	3,283	704	161	153	146
<b>Michigan:</b>									
Albion	5,833	775	421	245			5	3	2
Alpha (includes activities at Dunn Mine Location)								1	1
Baltic (includes activities at Atlantic Mine, South Range, and Trimountain)								6	6
Battle Creek	25,267	2,616	1,259	570	144	26	9	67	63
Bay City	45,166	11,027	5,213	4,009	205	141	48	67	63
Belding	4,119	351	130	66					
Benton Harbor (includes activities at Coloma and Milburg)	9,185	1,187	538	340	174	61	15	18	25
Bessemer	4,583	2,144	1,260	427	426	117	47	11	17
Calumet (includes activities at Centennial, Centennial Heights, Kearsarge, Osceola, Tamarack, and Wolverine; exclusive of Laurium and Red Jacket)	20,097				632	206	90	65	77
Laurium	8,537	2,617	1,263	825					
Red Jacket	4,211	1,953	1,151	357					
Crystal Falls	3,775	1,501	818	358	274	73	12	6	1
Detroit	465,768	156,565	75,323	32,891	14,229	2,663	1,909	654	746
Ecorse									
Dodgeville									
Dowagiac	5,088	471	263	88	12	6		3	3
Escanaba (includes activities at North Escanaba and Wells)	13,194	4,095	2,236	1,365	165	48	11	6	7
Flint	38,550	6,662	3,628	1,579	811	83	65	22	12
Gladstone	4,211	1,423	753	352				56	
Grand Haven (includes activities at Ferrysburg and Spring Lake)	5,856	1,364	665	393	92	40	7	2	2
Grand Rapids	112,571	28,335	13,689	7,758	877	269	124	174	155
Gwynn (includes activities at Austin and Princeton)								1	
Hancock (includes activities at Franklin Mine and Quincy Mine)	8,981	3,162	1,611	786			46	31	34
Hemlock									
Highland Park (includes activities at Greenfield)	4,120	915	404	247			8	10	12
Hamtramck	3,559	1,261	568	262					
Holland	10,490	2,465	1,162	764			17	4	2
Ionia	5,030	744	366	268	82	17	1	3	1
Iron Mountain	9,216	3,741	1,878	1,208	115	90	16	5	11
Iron River	2,450						14	27	19
Ironwood	12,821	6,234	3,651	1,259			78	31	48
Ishpeming	12,448	4,732	2,478	1,550			29	3	13
Jackson	31,433	4,307	2,182	1,180	254	32	19	12	19
Kalamazoo (includes activities at Comstock, Galesburg, Plainwell, Schoolcraft, and Vicksburg)	39,437	6,857	3,149	1,505	187	74	28	27	29
Lansing (includes activities at Bath, DeWitt, Dimondale, Haslett, Holt, and Masons)	31,229	3,973	2,006	1,029	524	42	43	11	15
St. Johns	3,154	192	97	55					
Loretto (includes activities at Waucesaw)							2		

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1919, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declarations.	Petitions.	Declarants.	Petitioners.	Candidates' wives.
<b>Michigan—Continued.</b>									
Manistee (includes activities at East Lake, File City, and Oak Hill).....	12,381	3,610	1,828	1,480	39	21	7		
Marquette.....	11,503	3,574	1,930	1,117	249	135	12	10	9
Mohawk (includes activities at Ahmeek and Allouez).....					39	21	3		
Monroe (includes activities at Erie and La Salle).....	6,893	828	458	188	53	13		2	2
Muskegon (includes activities at Fruitport and Muskegon Heights).....	24,062	6,252	3,092	2,070	216	34	22	10	10
Negaunee.....	8,460	3,862	2,207	869			32	48	46
Owosso (includes activities at Corunna, Morrice, and Perry).....	9,639	1,352	674	398	98	18		5	4
Painesdale.....								8	7
Pontiac.....	14,532	2,683	1,290	619	274	48			
Port Huron (includes activities at North Port Huron, Salt Block, and Upton Works).....	18,863	5,979	2,541	1,917	187	24		1	1
River Rouge (includes activities at Ecorse, Ford City, and Navarre).....	4,163	1,227	581	284			5	2	3
Saginaw (includes activities at Birch Run, Bridgeport, Burt, Carrollton, Chesaning, Fosters, Freeland, Merrill, Oakley, Swan Creek, and Zilwaukee).....	50,510	11,701	5,584	3,799	339	108	42	14	36
Saginaw West Side.....							12	8	11
St. Charles.....	1,451								
Scottville (includes activities at Amber and Custer).....	891				19	12	3		
Stambaugh (includes activities at New Caspian and Palatka).....	1,322						19	7	3
Traverse City.....	12,115	2,009	1,042	634	16	9		1	1
Ypsilanti (includes activities at Saline and Wayne).....	6,230	614	251	155	164	98		1	1
<b>Minnesota:</b>									
Albert Lee (includes activities at Alden, Armstrong, Clarks Grove, Glenville, Hayward, and Manchester).....	6,192	1,192	591	337	61	44	1	2	
Aurora (includes activities at Adriatic, Messaba, and Stevens).....	1,919						1	8	6
Austin (includes activities at Brownsdale, Lansing, Lyle, Oakland, and Waltham).....	6,960	1,128	615	342	41	13	1	4	2
Bemidji.....	5,099	1,056	670	401	90	76	2	4	2
Biwabik (includes activities at Pineville).....	1,690							3	9
Brainerd (includes activities at Barrows).....	8,526	2,164	1,122	796	58	38	13	7	5
Buhl.....	1,005							7	4
Chisholm (includes activities at Hartley, Monroe Location, Myers, and Shenango).....	7,684	4,460	2,936	551			13	25	27
Clementson.....							2	12	7
Cloquet.....	7,031	2,959	1,794	753	61	24			
Coleraine (includes activities at Bovey, Calumet, Marble, and Taconite).....	1,613						5	4	2
Crosby (includes activities at Deerwood and Ironton).....							7	10	7
Duluth.....	78,466	30,652	17,653	8,359	3,360	703	146	140	140
Dunbar.....								3	2
East Grand Forks.....	2,533	773	422	220	63	44	1	4	2
Grand Forks, N. Dak.....	12,478	3,607	1,756	929					
Ely (includes activities at Winton).....	3,572	1,713	995	377			8	15	12
Eveleth.....	7,036	3,761	2,328	679			13	16	14
Fairmont.....	2,958	392	198	169	40	20	2	1	2
Faribault.....	9,001	1,443	695	445	40	17	5	4	2
Fergus Falls (includes activities at Battle Lake, Pelican Rapids, Rothsay, and Underwood).....	6,887	2,418	1,288	494	73	54	4	9	8
Gilbert (includes activities at Elba, Genoa Mining Location, McKinley, and Sparta).....	1,700						13	11	15
Graeton.....									
Grand Rapids.....	2,230				103	57	2	3	1
Hibbing (includes activities at Alice, Brooklyn, Carson Lake, Dupond, Glenn, Kittsville, Lambertson, Latonia, Mace, Mahoning, Mabel Hill, Mitchell, Morton, Penobscot, Pool, and Stevenson).....	8,832	4,342	2,879	730			13	15	17
Homestead.....									
International Falls.....	1,487				90	30	12	7	5
Keewatin (includes activities at Bennet Mine, Bray Location, and St. Paul Location).....	695							1	
Kettle River.....								2	6
Kinney (includes activities at Lucknow, Sharon, and Spina).....									4
Linford.....									
Little Falls.....	6,078	1,300	638	522	31	20	4	1	1
Little Marais.....									
Little Swan.....									
Mankato (includes activities at Eagle Lake, Kasota, Lake Crystal, and North Mankato).....	10,365	2,070	1,018	814	91	33	9	6	4
St. Peter.....	4,176	1,260	635	254					
Minneapolis (includes activities at Robbinsdale and St. Louis Park).....	301,408	85,938	45,159	23,462	2,473	841	480	356	355
Montevideo.....	3,056	571	304	177	36	15	1	1	2
Moorhead.....	4,840	1,384	751	458	51	23			
Mountain Iron (includes activities at Costin, Ellis, Hopper, Kinross, Leonidas Mine, and Parkville).....	1,343						4	5	7
Nashwauk.....	2,080						5	4	3
Owatonna (includes activities at Bixby, Havana, Hope, Medford, Meriden, Merton, and Pratt).....	5,658	1,104	520	400	36	9	4	2	1
Rosey.....									
St. Cloud (includes activities at Sauk Rapids and White Park).....	10,600	2,024	1,103	675			5	4	5
St. Paul (includes activities at North St. Paul).....	214,744	56,524	29,048	17,071	1,709	483	146	140	126
Section Thirty.....									
South St. Paul.....	4,510	1,723	934	423	24	15	2	8	5
Stillwater (includes activities at Oak Park and South Stillwater).....	10,198	2,774	1,578	1,151	25	19	3	4	5
Tofte.....									
Trout Lake.....									
Two Harbors.....	4,990	2,114	1,265	466	297	37	10	9	4
Virginia (includes activities at Franklin and Northside).....	10,473	5,340	3,397	958			17	27	22
Winger.....									
Winona.....	18,583	3,858	1,929	1,586	60	19	15	4	2
Williams.....									
Wilmar.....	4,135	1,281	631	434	34	28		4	
Wrenshall (includes activities at Banker, Carlton, Huson, and Wingate).....	755								
Wright.....									
<b>Mississippi:</b>									
Greenville.....	9,610	296	185	86					
Gulfport.....	6,386	269	164	64			6		



Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declarations.	Petitions.	Declarants.	Petitioners.	Candidates' wives.
Missouri:									
Cape Girardeau.....	8,475	375	208	162	7	2			
Ilasco.....									
Kansas City (includes activities at North Kansas City).....	248,381	25,327	13,032	6,953	1,050	204	184	101	158
Independence.....	9,859	412	203	116					
Rosedale, Kans.....	5,960	470	228	173					
St. Joseph.....	77,403	8,113	4,281	2,256	246	39	476	5	11
St. Louis.....	687,023	125,706	63,440	33,081	6,827	968	1,038	377	612
Maplewood.....	4,976	505	267	191					
Sedalia.....	17,822	801	413	225	2		8	1	3
Montana:									
Great Falls.....	13,948	3,662	1,943	1,018	446	33		16	9
Lewistown (includes activities at Glengarry, Hilger, Moore, and South Lewistown).....	2,992	411	219	123	137	28	63	4	11
Miles City.....	4,697	852	555	166	192	14	61	10	4
Missoula.....	12,869	2,997	2,020	785	87	7		1	
Red Lodge.....	4,860	2,099	1,314	420	53	12	3	8	7
Nebraska:									
Elyria.....					24	10			
Fremont.....	8,718	1,369	686	457	78	47	81	2	2
Grand Island.....	10,326	1,561	869	541	80	12	90		2
Hebron.....	1,778				17	13			
Lincoln.....	43,973	7,200	3,101	1,372	227	98	25	18	29
Norfolk.....	6,025	799	422	162	45	17			
Omaha (includes activities at Florence).....	124,096	27,068	13,788	7,079	2,315	386	919	109	574
Benson.....	3,170	484	237	155					
South Omaha.....	28,259	7,834	4,377	1,956					
Schuyler.....	2,152				89	29	30	1	1
Wilber.....	1,219				63	26			
Nevada:									
Reno.....	10,867	2,059	1,239	591	95	23	140	13	9
Sparks.....	2,500	522	338	113					
New Hampshire:									
Berlin (includes activities at Gorham and Milan).....	11,780	5,082	2,378	768	282	65		36	26
Claremont.....	7,529	1,819	731	298	53	23	1	7	7
Concord (includes activities at Penacook).....	21,497	4,309	1,984	962	310	50	9	21	14
Pembroke.....	3,062	878	358	230					
Dover (includes activities at Durham, Elliot, Madbury, and Rollinsford).....	13,247	3,206	1,475	747	137	39	4	11	2
Newmarket.....	3,348	1,340	497	106					
East Jaffrey.....							2		
Franklin (includes activities at Northfield and Sanbornton).....	6,132	1,613	596	262			1		
Jaffrey.....	1,895				103	17	19	2	15
Lebanon.....	5,718	961	395	153				1	1
Manchester (includes activities at Auburn, Bedford, Bow, Candia, Chester, Grassmere, Hookset, and Weare).....	70,063	29,692	11,486	4,566	694	285	40	108	84
Goffstown.....	2,679	515	265	66					
Nashua.....	26,005	8,957	3,748	1,190			43	40	49
Portsmouth.....	11,269	2,138	975	514	120	62		2	1
Salem (includes activities at Hampshire).....	2,117								
Tilton.....	1,866				95	10	2		2
New Jersey:									
Atlantic City (includes activities at Ventnor City).....	46,150	6,400	2,996	1,170	477	138	45	58	44
Pleasantville.....	4,390	304	170	56					
Bayonne.....	55,545	20,522	10,109	3,364			69	110	112
Bernardsville.....							6	3	5
Bloomfield.....	15,070	3,359	1,544	808			2	9	7
East Orange.....	34,371	5,677	2,079	1,187					
Boonton.....	4,930	1,090	505	207			6		
Bordentown (includes activities at Roebling and White House).....	4,230	1,349	162	63	244	64	3		2
Bound Brook.....	3,970	1,242	606	212	289	49	5	5	4
Carneys Point.....					120	17			
Cranford.....	3,641								
Dover (includes activities at Bowlbyville, Denville, Kenil, Mill Brook, Mine Hill, Rockaway, and Succasunna).....	7,468	1,313	667	385			10	4	4
Wharton.....	2,983	1,133	732	169					
East Newark.....	3,163	1,215	546	255			1	2	3
East Rutherford (includes activities at Lyndhurst).....	4,275	1,187	561	297					
Carlstadt.....	3,807	1,272	591	331					
Wallington.....	3,448	1,365	618	199					
Elizabeth.....	73,409	23,894	11,713	5,036	1,757	494	77	68	80
Englewood.....	9,924	2,500	950	422			15	2	5
Florence.....	4,731								
Hackensack (including activities at Bogota, Maywood, North Hackensack, Oradell, Teaneck, and Woodridge).....	14,050	3,255	1,473	564	1,347	420	28	12	14
Harrison.....	14,498	5,257	2,503	1,046			39	39	39
Hoboken.....	70,324	27,668	13,562	5,796			92	100	93
Irvington.....	11,877	2,480	1,192	737			58		
Jersey City.....	267,779	77,697	37,707	16,556	6,738	2,082	288	305	340
Kearney (includes activities at Arlington and North Arlington).....	18,659	6,024	2,888	1,430			17	31	33
Leonia (includes activities at Palisade Park and Ridgefield).....	1,486								
Edgewater.....	2,655	921	492	138					
Fort Lee.....	4,472	1,264	636	325					
Long Branch.....	13,298	2,529	1,250	496	324	90	15	20	24
Montclair (includes activities at Caldwell, Cedar Grove, Essex Falls, and Verona).....	21,550	5,141	2,023	771			4	10	6
West Orange.....	10,980	2,850	1,336	628					
Morristown.....	12,507	2,657	1,115	562	453	114	12	11	8
Newark.....	347,469	110,655	49,674	21,427	4,190	1,470	312	272	197
New Brunswick.....	23,388	6,048	2,278	846	2,166	451	32	44	50
Orange.....	29,630	8,069	3,660	1,822			70	39	41
Park Ridge.....	1,401						2		
Passaic.....	54,773	28,467	10,920	2,967			40	53	61
Paterson (includes activities at North Paterson and Totowa).....	125,600	45,398	20,182	9,817	1,477	619	96	157	156
Haledon.....	2,560	1,041	476	288					
Hawthorne.....	3,400	953	442	218					
Prospect Park.....	2,719	1,214	512	228					
Perth Amboy (includes activities at Fords, Keasbey, Sewaren, and Woodbridge).....	32,121	14,288	7,201	2,231				12	8

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

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<b>New Jersey—Continued.</b>									
Plainfield	20,550	4,144	1,670	830			9	7	10
Rahway	9,337	1,659	840	407			3	2	3
Red Bank (includes activities at Eatontown, Fairhaven, Little Silver, and Shrewsbury)	7,998	993	457	175			11	4	9
Ridgewood	5,416	768	316	162			4	3	6
Summit (includes activities at Chatham, Millburn, New Providence, Short Hills, and Springfield)	7,500	2,024	769	349			15	2	7
Tenafly	2,756	803	362	146					
Town of Union (includes activity at Weehawken)	21,023	6,665	3,133	1,723			66	46	55
Trenton	96,815	26,310	12,938	5,253	1,605	401	205	204	283
Westfield	6,420	1,057	471	232			8	3	2
West Hoboken (includes activities at North Bergen)	35,403	13,713	6,177	2,905			32	49	52
West New York (includes activities at Union Hill)	13,560	3,556	1,712	920			12	25	29
Guttenberg	5,647	2,187	1,104	452					
Woodbine	2,399				53	21	1		1
<b>New Mexico:</b>									
Albuquerque (includes activities at Barajas, Martinez Town, and Old Albuquerque)	11,020	1,269	624	430	31	12	5	3	2
Santa Fe	5,072	196	108	70	15	3			
<b>New York:</b>									
Albany (includes activities at West Albany)	100,253	18,165	8,192	4,827	842	249	57	99	61
Albion (includes activities at Fancher and Hulberton)	5,016	995	454	327	135	45	66	6	3
Amsterdam (includes activities at Craneyville, Fort Johnson, and Hagaman)	31,267	10,024	4,091	1,808	596	86	57	26	51
Auburn (includes activities at Aurelius, Fleming, Melrose Park, Owasco, Port Byron, Sennett, Skaneateles, and Throop)	34,668	7,620	3,788	1,743	402	89	28	41	40
Balston Spa	4,138	904	300	152	182	51	2	2	2
Batavia	11,613	2,133	1,026	474	111	25	4	5	6
Binghamton (includes activities at Endicott, Johnson City, and Union)	48,443	7,389	3,310	1,260	627	106	36	43	47
Buffalo (includes activities at Cheektowaga and Sloan)	423,715	118,444	56,337	29,409	4,897	1,556	341	309	442
Carthage	3,563	483	266	83			6	5	5
Cohoes	24,709	7,373	2,990	1,635			15	8	13
Corning	13,730	1,795	896	486	220	58	3	18	7
Depew	3,921	1,913	1,192	223			6	10	9
Lancaster	4,364	727	385	175					
Dunkirk	17,221	5,146	2,548	1,067			33	11	41
Fredonia	5,285	1,187	536	268					
Ellenville (includes activities at Greenfield and Napanoch)	3,114	316	157	112	187	77			
Elmira (includes activities at Horseheads and Wellsburg)	37,176	5,259	2,494	1,648	188	64	4	22	14
Elmira Heights	2,732	325	155	76			3	2	1
Geneva	12,446	2,215	1,050	635	138	43	10	7	7
Gloversville	20,642	4,008	1,777	829	364	84	34	41	23
Hornell	13,617	1,272	627	450					
Hudson (includes activities at Stottville)	11,417	2,209	1,142	336	141	43	3	11	6
Huntington	12,004				509	150	5	11	13
Ithaca	14,802	1,589	723	374	96	27	4	16	8
Jamestown (includes activities at Celeron, Falconer, Frewsburg, and Lakewood)	31,297	10,612	5,035	2,741	308	144	31	59	53
Lansingburg									
Little Falls	12,273	3,915	1,832	581	378	90	25	18	28
Lockport	17,970	3,235	1,558	887	762	199	7	12	10
Lyons	4,460	808	387	266	172	89	42	6	5
Malone	6,467	819	346	205	79	19			
Mamaroneck	5,699	1,641	781	344			12	8	10
Mechanicville (includes activities at Stillwater)	6,634	1,243	699	268			2	3	2
Medina (includes activities at Knowlesville and Middleport)	5,683	1,058	553	300			3	6	
Mount Vernon (includes activities at Bronxville and Pelham)	30,919	8,029	3,612	1,950			23	35	37
Tuckahoe	2,722	1,140	543	202					
Newark	6,227	759	325	176				14	10
Newburgh	27,805	4,823	2,241	1,125	465	209	9	19	21
New Rochelle	28,867	8,677	4,000	1,979			27	36	35
New York	4,766,883	1,627,703	828,793	318,091	82,009	27,077	2,807	9,162	6,192
Niagara Falls (includes activities at La Salle)	30,445	12,064	5,755	2,082			83	130	120
North Tonawanda	11,955	3,628	1,887	765			10	5	5
Tonawanda	8,200	1,854	948	573					
Olean	14,743	2,424	1,184	641	410	78	23	10	17
Oneida	8,317	876	422	234	99	22	9	2	2
Oneonta	9,491	741	428	200	47	15			
Poughkeepsie	27,936	4,534	2,122	994	504	168	28	45	34
Rochester (includes activities at Irondequoit, Brighton, Chili, Clarkson, Gates, Greece, Hamlin, Henrietta, Mendon, Ogden, Parma, Penfield, Perinton, Pittsford, Riga, Rush, Sweden, Webster, and Wheatland)	218,149	58,593	27,067	13,003	2,637	891	387	384	392
Rockville Center (includes activities at East Rockaway, Lynbrook, Malverne, and Oceanside)	3,667	420	209	133	1,039	294	1	4	5
Rome	20,497	4,114	2,254	809					
Schenectady (includes activities at Alplaus, Glenville, Niskayuna, and South Schenectady)	72,826	18,631	9,562	3,856	850	275	80	88	99
Scotia	2,957	374	186	105					
Shaleton									
Solvay	5,139	1,663	946	342			9	7	8
Syracuse (includes activities at East Sycamore, Eastwood, Liverpool, and Onondaga Valley)	137,249	30,781	14,944	7,036	1,395	347	89	87	88
Troy	76,813	15,432	6,554	4,388	357	115	29	33	35
Green Island	4,737	867	393	202					
Watervliet	15,074	2,750	1,226	667					
Utica (includes activities at Capron, Deerfield, New Hartford, New York Mills, and Whitesboro)	74,419	21,308	9,341	4,326	1,402	274	35	50	54
Watertown (includes activities at Brownville)	26,730	6,268	2,798	1,050	661	86	33	12	25
Westbury								1	1
White Plains (includes activities at Elmsford, Hartsdale, Kensico, Purchase, Scarsdale, and Valhalla)	15,949	3,898	1,914	777			26	33	37
Yonkers	79,803	26,590	12,295	5,629	3,249	1,131	52	145	118
<b>North Carolina:</b>									
Concord (includes activities at Kannapolis)	8,715	21	14	7	5	1			
<b>North Dakota:</b>									
Bismarck	5,443	965	514	301	56	15	13	4	3
Devils Lake	5,157	1,236	652	255	67	17	8	5	2

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declarations.	Petitions.	Declarants.	Petitioners.	Candidates' wives.
<b>North Dakota—Continued.</b>									
Dickinson	3,678	1,015	530	239	74	40		9	7
Edreley (includes activities at Berlin, Judd, and Medbury)	749				53	11		1	1
Fargo	14,331	3,200	1,669	1,011	171	57	16	21	11
Harvey	1,443								
Jamestown	4,358	878	426	203	97	25	2	5	4
Kulm	645								
LaMoire	929								
Mandal	3,873	1,293	739	276	64	37			
Medina	343								
Minot	6,188	1,150	587	325	187	22			
New Salem	621						18		
South Heart									
Valley City	4,606	1,072	540	317	81	22	3	3	1
Williston	3,124	653	364	171	82	49	57		
<b>Ohio:</b>									
Akron (includes activities at Kenmore)	69,067	13,241	7,051	2,459	1,156	217	1,525	131	48
Barberton	9,410	2,829	1,723	222					
Contra Costa Falls	4,020	470	246	129					
Alliance	15,083	2,659	1,606	350			14	10	13
Ashtabula	18,296	4,710	2,382	1,108	178	66	12	29	25
Bucyrus	8,122	872	489	255	27	6			
Byesville	3,156	332	181	85	111	45	2	6	7
Canton (includes activities at New Berlin, North Industry, and Osnaburg)	50,217	8,648	5,010	2,005	517	131	34	60	61
Caldicott	14,508	618	290	181	1	1		1	1
Cincinnati	363,591	56,792	23,723	17,253	1,766	544	335	257	184
Cleveland (includes activities at Euclid, Royalton, Shaker Heights, and West Park)	560,663	195,703	94,431	40,482	15,040	2,922	1,055	1,290	1,267
Cleveland Heights	2,955	692	257	132					
East Cleveland	9,179	1,418	557	397					
Lakewood	15,131	3,916	1,938	791					
Newberg	5,813	2,010	911	539					
Columbus	181,511	16,285	8,487	4,453	393	119	31	38	30
Cornwall (includes activities at Amboy, East Conneaut, and North Conneaut)	8,319	1,533	793	326				2	1
Dayton	116,577	13,847	7,303	3,451	477	139	44	51	55
East Youngstown (includes activities at Hazletown and Lowellville)	4,972	3,866	2,814	1,071	1,292	360	154	38	38
Elyria	14,825	3,061	1,709	556	1,038	122	13	9	15
Forsythe									
Franklin	9,939	1,057	516	385	48	10	7	6	8
Hamilton (includes activities at Coke Otto, Fairfield Township, St. Clair Township, and Symmes)	35,279	3,309	1,703	1,042	224	38	3	6	5
Leetonia	2,665	647	375	103			1	1	1
Lisbon	3,084	261	158	61	171	59	2		
Lorain	28,883	10,929	6,216	1,496				23	20
Martins Ferry	9,133	1,540	787	348	445	131	3	5	6
Mimsburg	4,271	196	103	85					
Niles	8,361	2,502	1,437	399	258	55	4	8	5
Painesville	5,501	595	294	138	77	24	20	1	1
Piqua (includes activities at Bradford, Covington, Fletcher, Pleasant Hill, and West Milton)	13,388	752	379	195	33	7	3	1	2
Troy	6,122	179	88	59					
Robins									
Salem (includes activities at Beloit, Green, and Washingtonville)	8,943	1,239	703	234			48	3	3
Springfield (includes activities at Cold Springs)	46,921	3,156	1,662	916	56	10	4	5	3
Staubenville	22,391	5,214	3,103	589	431	102	14	12	9
Struthers	3,370	1,055	606	109			12	1	7
Tiffin	11,894	944	455	313	31	10	8		
Toledo	168,497	32,037	15,826	8,752	1,887	328	323	186	182
Warren	11,081	1,352	667	275			4	2	1
Youngstown	79,066	24,860	14,027	4,268			91	47	61
<b>Oklahoma:</b>									
Bartlesville (includes activities at Dewey and Smelertown)	6,181	199	128	79	20	5	2	2	3
Coalgate	3,255	556	305	143	28	7			
Hartshorne	2,963	411	225	55	41	11			
Henryetta	1,671				16	13			
Hugo	4,582	52	35	22	3	4	1	1	1
Lehigh (includes activities at Midway and Phillips)	1,880							1	1
Moore	225				1	1			
Tulsa	18,182	412	245	105			2	1	1
Wilburton	2,277				13	11		1	1
<b>Oregon:</b>									
Astoria (includes activities at Hammond and Warrenton)	9,599	4,088	2,582	1,172	130	62	13	41	15
Portland	207,214	43,780	25,230	11,251	1,314	710	184	383	284
<b>Pennsylvania:</b>									
Allentown	51,913	6,234	2,705	904	611	125	42	24	27
Altoona (includes activities at Logan Township)	52,127	5,212	2,757	1,083	227	91	28	41	36
Holidaysburg	3,734	138	76	35					
Juniata	5,285	206	117	44					
Barnesboro (includes activities at Cymbria Mines, Elmora, Emeigh, Garman, Marsteller, and Saxman)	3,535	1,149	612	277			6	3	4
Spangler	2,700								
Beaver Falls	12,191	2,851	1,657	396	464	88	14	5	8
Berwick	5,357	365	218	43	71	16			
West Berwick	5,512	2,031	1,258	80					
Bethlehem (includes activities at Freemansburg and North Bethlehem)	12,837	797	378	233	767	130		2	1
Braddock	19,357	7,299	4,103	929			79	43	60
Bradford (includes activities at Custer City, Dagolla, Derrick City, Gilmer, and Lewis Run)	14,544	2,180	1,046	600	72	35	2	6	7
Butler	20,728	3,510	2,050	380	381	92	129	2	2
Carrick Station, Pittsburgh	6,117	924	454	329					
Chambersburg	11,800	172	87	60	9	5	1	3	2
Charleroi	9,615	3,356	1,679	448	199	22	4	9	9
Chester	38,537	6,673	3,476	1,137	653	151	31	35	22
Connellsville (includes activities at South Connellsville)	12,845	1,587	793	343			3	10	9
Corry	5,991	569	283	114			1		
Dubois (includes activities at Big Run, Falls Creek, and Sandy Township)	12,623	2,122	1,128	540	347	142	3	11	9

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declara-tions.	Peti-tions.	Decla-rants.	Peti-tioners.	Candi-dates' wives.
<b>Pennsylvania—Continued.</b>									
Juquesne.....	15,727	6,381	3,604	760			26	26	33
East Lebanon.....									
Easton (includes activities at Glendon, Redington, West Easton, Williams Township).....	28,523	3,122	1,452	646			29	23	17
East Pittsburgh.....	5,615							16	14
Eddystone.....	1,167							1	
Ellsworth.....	2,084						70		
Ellwood City (includes activities at Hazel Dell and Wurtemberg).....	3,902	1,067	686	125			7	10	12
Erie (includes activities at Lawrence Park and Wesleyville).....	66,525	14,943	7,562	3,348	546	176	42	54	68
Farrell.....								10	1
Ford City (includes activities at Cadogen and Manorville).....	4,850	2,314	1,361	256	286	104	22	23	29
Girardville.....	4,336	988	568	248	754	438	6		
Glenlyon.....									
Greenville.....	5,909	373	203	88			7		1
Harrisburg.....	64,186	4,134	1,979	917			6	4	6
Hazleton (includes activities at Hazle Township).....	25,452	5,994	2,972	1,457			23	22	32
Indiana.....	5,749	214	113	33		230	5	3	1
Jeannette (includes activities at Grapeville and Penn Manor).....	8,077	1,774	914	312	1,034	416	10	10	10
Jenkins Township (includes activities at Inkerman).....	4,196							16	12
Johnstown (includes activities at Conemaugh, Dale, Ferndale, and Franklin).....	55,482	15,316	9,275	1,621	900	344	142	46	44
Kingston.....	6,449	1,884	1,005	369			12	19	22
Kittanning.....	4,311	353	195	77	259	112			
Lancaster.....	47,227	3,203	1,472	1,028	77	36	14	23	25
Lansford.....	8,321	3,154	1,833	325	240	92	26	10	23
Larksville.....	9,288	3,099	1,646	645			6	10	14
Lebanon (includes activities at Lebanon Independent Borough, North Cornwall Township, South Lebanon, and West Lebanon).....	19,240	1,254	750	205	55	6	10	2	4
Lehighton.....	5,316	344	209	67					
McKeesport (includes activities at Dravosburg, Elizabeth Township, Port Vue, and Versailles).....	42,694	12,631	6,551	2,548			48	44	60
Maltby.....									
Midlands.....	1,244							1	1
Monessen (includes activities at Rostraver Township).....	11,775	5,475	3,210	462			30	71	62
Monongahela City (includes activities at Courtney, Finleyville, Hazel Kirk, Milesville, Manown Mines, and Sunny Side).....	7,598	1,487	795	272			14	8	9
Mount Carmel (includes activities at Atlas, Diamondtown, Keiser, and Kulpmont).....	17,532	4,927	2,727	1,285	209	110	18	17	13
Mount Oliver Station.....	4,241	672	328	270				3	3
Mount Pleasant (includes activities at Moorwood and Standard).....	5,812	1,107	583	219			48	16	19
Bridgeport.....	3,860	853	376	117					
Nanticoke.....	18,877	7,187	3,923	1,935				59	35
New Brighton.....	8,329	865	482	148				3	4
New Castle.....	36,280	8,620	4,707	1,325	401	64	16	19	21
New Kensington.....	7,707	2,376	1,389	227			18	23	19
Norristown.....	27,875	4,015	1,691	477	447	105	25	19	18
Oakdale.....	1,353							38	5
Old Forge.....	11,324	5,168	2,741	897				12	23
Parsons.....	4,338	1,216	655	325				1	
Philadelphia (includes activities at Germantown).....	1,549,008	382,578	167,072	69,415	14,906	4,490	1,664	1,396	1,686
Pittsburgh.....	533,975	140,436	70,148	28,797	12,205	3,626	442	508	451
Aspinwall.....	2,592	225	101	82					
Bellevue.....	6,223	658	261	136					
Crafton.....	4,583	451	184	118					
Homestead.....	18,713	7,068	3,942	835					
Portage.....	2,954	805	393	146				172	
Presston (includes activities at Pittock and Stow Township).....									
McKees Rocks.....	14,702	6,068	3,617	632					
Ramey.....	1,045								
Reading.....	95,071	8,812	4,528	1,430	385	81	29	36	27
St. Clair.....	6,455	1,827	1,103	243				3	
St. Marys.....	6,348	780	431	208		120		31	
Seranton.....	129,867	35,112	17,461	7,930	1,643	973	117	151	158
Shamokin.....	19,588	2,788	1,517	867				15	17
Sharon.....	15,270	3,819	2,249	519				8	3
Sharpsville.....	3,634	892	543	72					
South Bethlehem.....	19,973	8,362	4,423	655				10	12
Tamaqua.....	9,462	753	392	203				1	
Tarentum (includes activities at Creighton, East Deer Township, Glass-mere, and Hite).....	7,414	1,677	891	337					2
Brackenridge Borough.....	3,134	455	249	1					
Taylor.....	9,060	3,369	1,795	652					
Throop.....	5,133	2,361	1,213	545					
Titusville.....	8,533	1,554	805	452		77		19	
Trafford City.....	1,959							39	4
Uniontown.....	13,344	1,447	717	243	1,157	379	28	21	29
Warren.....	11,080	2,035	951	583	77	37	7	4	2
West Hazleton.....	4,715	1,555	802	282				2	3
Wheatland.....	955							4	
Wilkes-Barre.....	67,105	16,078	7,899	3,754	2,449	926	82	67	76
Williamsport (includes activities at Newberry).....	31,860	2,332	1,153	723	53	24	1	4	3
Woodlawn.....	1,393								
<b>Rhode Island:</b>									
Bristol.....	8,565	2,951	1,203	419				1	1
Burrillville (includes activities at Harrisville, Mapleville, and Masonville).....	7,878	2,454	1,090	528				1	1
Central Falls.....	22,754	10,664	4,391	1,870			58	69	91
Coventry.....	5,848	1,316	513	217	247	20		2	2
Cranston.....	21,107	5,674	2,646	1,310			2	8	7
Cumberland (includes activities at Ashton, Lonsdale, Manville, and Valley Falls).....	10,107	3,678	1,569	787					1
Lincoln.....	9,825	4,181	1,687	780				2	2
Newport (includes activities at Jamestown and Middletown).....	27,149	6,256	2,925	1,672	428	111	42	31	27
Portsmouth.....	2,681	770	384	74					
Pascoag.....									
Providence.....	221,326	79,303	32,863	12,988	5,955	1,537	237	293	349
East Providence.....	15,838	3,389	1,535	681					
Johnston.....	5,935	2,313	981	379					

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declara-tions.	Peti-tions.	Decla-rants.	Peti-tioners.	Candi-dates' wives.
<b>Rhode Island—Continued.</b>									
Warren.....	6,585	2,333	1,011	383				2	
Westerly (includes activities at Ashaway, Bradford, and Stonington).....	8,696	2,347	985	410	186	85	5	7	7
Woonsocket.....	38,125	16,533	6,540	2,300			17	18	24
<b>South Carolina:</b>									
Columbia.....	26,319	446	227	103	12	2		2	1
<b>South Dakota:</b>									
Aberdeen.....	10,753	1,865	897	509	107	22	104	7	4
Huron.....	5,791	822	498	216	41	10	47	2	8
Irene.....	283								
Lead (includes activities at Central, Terraville, Terry, and Trojan).....	8,392	2,393	1,447	547	121	106	77	29	33
Sioux Falls.....	14,094	2,215	1,119	658	144	13	14	5	2
Vermilion.....	2,187				23	15			
Yankton.....	3,787	791	355	248	43	15	10	1	2
<b>Tennessee:</b>									
Memphis.....	131,105	6,467	3,403	1,664	186	54	44	31	33
Nashville.....	110,394	2,993	1,433	951	132	35	3	6	3
<b>Texas:</b>									
Dallas.....	92,104	5,219	2,811	1,501	254	91	7	19	10
Galveston.....	36,981	6,164	3,503	1,962	362	123	35	9	12
Houston.....	78,800	6,318	3,496	1,754	435	165	21	37	29
San Antonio.....	96,614	17,407	7,554	3,114	381	206	21	31	27
Victoria.....	3,673	329	156	98	30	10			
<b>Utah:</b>									
Logan.....	7,522	1,518	658	399	41	35		1	
Park City.....	2,439	725	394	307	17	6			
Salt Lake City (includes activities at Midvale).....	92,777	19,035	8,675	4,335	864	257	44	67	60
Murray.....	4,057	1,301	703	236					
<b>Vermont:</b>									
Bellows Falls.....	4,883	996	503	219	5				
Bennington.....	8,698	1,103	470	365	14				
Bethel.....	1,943				8			1	1
Rutland.....	13,546	1,767	807	498	942	330		2	1
<b>Virginia:</b>									
Harrisonburg.....	4,879	60	39	27	12	2			
Lynchburg.....	29,494	450	250	130	16	16	5	7	3
Norfolk.....	67,452	3,564	1,820	931	714	210	77	20	29
Richmond.....	127,628	4,085	2,040	943	253	121	12	13	11
Roanoke (includes activities at Vinton and Virginia Heights).....	34,874	770	414	212	37	14	7	8	6
Salem.....	3,849	19	12	6					
<b>Washington:</b>									
Bellingham.....	24,298	5,152	2,818	1,439	167	60	52	36	41
Black Diamond (includes activities at Franklin).....	2,051						5	15	13
Blaine.....	2,289						6		3
Burnett.....	396								
Cle Elum.....	2,749	1,145	705	307	163	56	3	3	1
Clippier.....									
Everett (includes activities at East Everett, Lowell, and Pinehurst).....	24,814	5,472	3,294	1,673	237	113	57	39	31
Lynn (includes activities at Everson, Glendale, and Ten Mile).....	1,148							1	1
Olympia.....	6,996	829	467	289	49	15			
Renton (includes activities at Parlington).....	2,740	1,033	588	293					
Roslyn (includes activities at Beckman, Mine 5, and Ronald).....	3,126	1,556	894	301			57	36	28
Seattle.....	237,194	69,835	36,097	16,438	2,543	873	399	406	314
Spokane.....	104,432	21,220	12,389	5,495	1,296	226	129	79	78
Tacoma.....	83,743	21,463	12,191	5,808	707	242	194	117	120
Walla Walla (includes activities at College Place).....	19,364	2,361	1,239	682	90	25	18	16	19
Wilkeson.....	899								
<b>West Virginia:</b>									
Charleston.....	22,996	1,014	543	242	80	20	7	1	2
Clarksburg (includes activities at Adamston, Glen Falls, Henzibah, Meadowbrook, North View, Reynoldsville, in Tineher, and Wilsonburg).....	9,291	481	256	112	130	52	4	17	12
Fairmont.....	9,711	630	370	127	93	45	1	9	4
Huntington.....	31,161	514	304	175	22	6	17	3	3
Jenkin Jones.....					93	32	2		
Keyser.....	3,705	130	56	20	18	6			
Logan.....	1,640				35	6	8	5	8
Morgantown (includes activities at Sabraton and Westover).....	9,150	1,113	567	196	69	16	7	7	5
Parkeersburg (includes activities at Belpre and South Side).....	17,842	560	278	180	30	6	2	3	2
Piedmont (includes activities at Berry).....	2,054						5	1	1
Thomas (includes activities at Ben Bush, Copeton, and Pearce).....	2,354				29	16	50	9	6
Wellsburg (includes activities at Beech Bottom and Follansbee).....	4,189	262	122	55	40	21	5	4	7
Wheeling (includes activities at Bridgeport, Elm Grove, and Warwood).....	41,641	5,418	2,679	1,413	247	55	11	19	15
Benwood.....	4,976	1,846	1,124	159					
McMechen.....	2,921	213	105	35					
Williamson.....	3,561	227	147	16			12	7	1
<b>Wisconsin:</b>									
Appleton (includes activities at Kaukauna, Kimberly, and Little Chute).....	16,773	3,257	1,573	1,287	114	93	3	3	5
Ashland.....	11,594	3,475	1,864	1,290	173	74		11	5
Barron.....	1,499				61	51	1		1
Beloit (includes activities at Rockton, Ill., and South Beloit, Ill).....	15,125	2,395	1,307	654	210	118	37	8	16
Chippewa Falls (includes activities at Cornell and Irving).....	8,893	2,155	1,118	836	78	36	7	2	2
Cold Spring.....									
Cudahy (includes activities at Fernwood, St. Francis, and Stormy Hill).....	3,691	1,684	901	203			5	1	4
Eau Claire.....	18,310	4,245	2,173	1,411	109	54	14	13	12
Fond du Lac.....	18,797	3,062	1,585	1,035	204	149	10	8	9
Grand Rapids (includes activities at Bison Village, Port Edwards Village, Rudolph, Saratoga, Seneca, and Siegel).....	6,521	1,152	589	368	67	59	9	11	9
Green Bay (includes activities at Duck Creek).....	25,236	4,056	2,078	1,524	130	117	12	10	10
De Pere.....	4,477								
Janesville.....	13,894	1,997	979	646			15	4	7
Kenosha (includes activities at Pleasant Ferry and Somers).....	21,371	7,642	4,141	1,401	534	183	100	64	75
La Crosse (includes activities at La Crescent, Minn., Onalaska, and West Salem).....	30,417	6,043	2,965	1,759	120	111	15	23	26
Madison (includes activities at Burke, MacFarland, and Sun Prairie).....	25,531	4,174	2,106	1,174	238	160	22	15	12
Manitowoc.....	13,027	2,534	1,258	789	136	56	9	9	10
Marquette.....	14,610	4,027	2,059	1,544	71	68	7	22	15
Menasha.....	6,081	1,420	661	257				1	

Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910, naturalization papers filed in fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, and names furnished, by States and cities or towns—Continued.

State and city or town.	Population, 1910.		Foreign-born white males of voting age, 1910.		Naturalization papers filed in county July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.		Names furnished.		
	Total.	Foreign-born white.	Total.	Naturalized.	Declarations.	Petitions.	Declarants.	Petitioners.	Candidates' wives.
<b>Wisconsin—Continued</b>									
Menomonie.....	5,036	1,258	640	421	51	47	2	5	4
Milford.....									
Milwaukee (includes activities at East Milwaukee, town of Greenfield, and town of Lake).....	373,857	111,456	56,101	26,155	3,824	1,223	831	540	542
Wauwatosa.....	3,346	681	325	211					
Neenah.....	5,734	1,313	637	438			4	9	11
Oakland.....					8	12			
Oshkosh.....	33,062	7,406	3,598	2,106	212	157	44	28	41
Port Washington.....	3,792	889	534	251	34	27			
Racine (includes activities of Lake Side).....	38,002	12,509	6,590	2,834	721	229	115	87	89
Rhinelander.....	5,637	1,366	753	336	40	19		1	1
Rice Lake (includes activities at Cameron, Canton, and Haugen).....	3,968	708	381	258			1	1	2
Rome.....									
Sheboygan (includes activities at Howards Grove, Kohler, and Mosel).....	26,398	8,667	4,359	2,061	273	80	26	23	25
Shell Lake.....	902				15	11			
Stevens Point.....	8,692	1,712	856	516	41	41	2	8	10
Superior.....	40,384	13,772	8,201	3,735	384	142	29	66	40
Two Rivers.....	4,850	836	461	117			4		2
Washburn.....	3,830	1,158	631	438	96	55		1	
Watertown.....	8,829	1,949	914	608	135	250			
Wausau (includes activities at Rothschild and Schofield).....	16,560	3,918	1,920	1,310	157	117	7	2	5
West Allis (includes activities at West Milwaukee).....	6,645	2,420	1,491	386			12	20	11
<b>Wyoming:</b>									
Crosby.....					32	3			
Hanna (includes activities at Elmo and Evansville).....									
Hudson.....					26	21			
Kemmerer (includes activities at Conroy, Diamondville, Elkol, Frontier, Glencoe, Oakley, Quealey, and Sublet).....					88	31	30	1	1
Laramie.....	1,153	713	378	21	7	125	1	1	1
New Castle.....					23	8			
Rawlins.....	794	547	256	19	12				
Sheridan.....	809	540	272	123	29				
Sunrise.....					13	8	23		
Superior (includes activities at South Superior).....					139	57	6		
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>8,528,196</b>	<b>4,013,125</b>	<b>1,774,947</b>	<b>395,682</b>	<b>112,163</b>	<b>44,433</b>	<b>35,200</b>	<b>34,457</b>	

RECAPITULATION.

United States proper.....	91,972,266	13,345,545	6,646,817	3,034,117	437,368	131,982			
Cities listed.....	32,984,575	8,528,196	4,013,125	1,774,947	395,682	112,163	44,433	35,200	34,457
<b>Balance.....</b>	<b>58,987,691</b>	<b>4,817,349</b>	<b>2,633,692</b>	<b>1,259,190</b>	<b>41,686</b>	<b>19,819</b>			

NOTE.—The total population, 32,984,575, includes population of places shown in parenthetic notes wherever such figures are available.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, we have in the Bureau of Naturalization an established agency, presided over by Mr. Richard K. Campbell as commissioner and Mr. Raymond F. Crist as deputy, two splendid men, who are doing most excellent work in this line, whose hearts are in it, and who have developed it to a wonderful degree in the past four years. I was handed this morning a pamphlet prepared by Mr. Crist entitled "An Outline Course of Citizenship to be Used in the Public Schools for the Instruction of the Foreign and Native Born Candidate for Adult-Citizenship Responsibilities." I am going to ask to have it printed in the RECORD, so that people may see it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Oregon is agreed to.

The matter referred to is as follows:

AN OUTLINE COURSE IN CITIZENSHIP TO BE USED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE FOREIGN AND NATIVE BORN CANDIDATE FOR ADULT-CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES.

[Prepared by Raymond F. Crist, Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization.]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
BUREAU OF NATURALIZATION,  
Washington, January 12, 1916.

To superintendents of schools and others concerned:

The Bureau of Naturalization transmits herewith an outline of a course in citizenship, which is designed for use in the education of aliens to prepare them for citizenship.

While this course in citizenship is prepared for the use of aliens who have indicated their purpose to seek American citizenship and since the functions of the bureau with respect to aliens begin at the time they indicate such purpose, it is nevertheless equally useful in preparing all aliens in such an intelligent comprehension of the principles of our Government as will give on the one hand some assurance of their good behavior while in the state of resident aliens and on the other hand will enable them at any time thereafter to acquire citizenship with a due understanding of the significance of such step. Furthermore, it is no less useful in the training of native-born citizens, who, upon reaching their majority, and without exertion on their part, will be clothed with all the rights of American citizenship. Its use, how-

ever, otherwise than in the education of the aliens who have signified a purpose to apply for naturalization, is a matter that is outside of the authority of the Bureau of Naturalization.

The Bureau of Naturalization is the only Federal bureau which, by express provision of law, is given administrative authority over "all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens." The matter most intimately concerning the naturalization of aliens is such an understanding of the principles of the Constitution as to make credible the declaration that he is "attached" to those principles; for unless a court is satisfied in the case of any applicant by affirmative evidence that he is so attached, that court has no authority to naturalize such alien. It is to insure the possession of this qualification by the only known means, to wit, that of appropriate training, that the Bureau of Naturalization, realizing its responsibility, has prepared this outline of a course for instruction. Since it is given, in the language above quoted, an express authority upon this point, and therefore an express duty which excludes any other agency of the Government from such specific undertaking where such other agency has a general authority over the subject of education, the bureau has adopted this procedure.

In every other vocation or calling of life great effort has been put forth to insure a complete mastery of its details. This is true of every profession, trade, occupation, or calling save that highest of all professions, the profession of self-government. You, and the schools under your supervision, are in cooperation with the National Government, through the Bureau of Naturalization, in a systematic effort for the education in civic duties of the coming citizen. The cooperation is only partially complete. You are receiving the names and addresses of the candidates for naturalization, but there has been no course prescribed for their instruction.

The candidates have come to school with the statement that they have come because the United States Government wrote them letters and asked them to come. They will come all the more readily and give more thoughtful attention to the studies when they understand that the United States Government, through the same bureau which invited them to go to school, has sent to them a course of instruction. They will be further stimulated in their application to their studies and in their efforts toward proficiency when you tell them, through the teachers, that the United States Government, through the Bureau of Naturalization, will present a certificate of graduation to each student, man or woman, who attains proficiency in this course—both in English and in civics, including domestic arts and science—upon a satisfactory report of the appropriate United States naturalization examiner, who is the field representative of the Bureau of Naturalization. This examination will be made at the time the foreign-born resident files his petition for naturalization at the completion of this course of studies.

You are strongly urged to call upon the teachers to make careful notes of their experiences in the application of this course during the present scholastic year. It is desired that these notes be formulated in a report by you upon this course, and that this report be forwarded to the Bureau of Naturalization at the end of the present scholastic year. Assurances have been received from the superintendents of the schools of the principal cities of the United States that reports will be made by them. These reports will be assembled and presented in consolidated form in this bureau. It is purposed to call together the teachers and superintendents in all of the cities and towns in cooperation with this bureau in convention in the city of Washington during the week of July 10 next to formulate a course in citizenship representative of their best thought. This course will be based upon the experience of this year's observations.

The week of July 10 is selected because the National Education Association convention is to be held in New York during the preceding week of July 3 to 8. The railroad fare to New York and return by way of Washington City will be no greater, except in the eastern parts of the country, than the round-trip fare, with returning stop-over privileges in this city. In addition to formulating a perfected course in citizenship instruction, it is also desired to exhibit the work of the students who have pursued this course of citizenship instruction, and you are requested to preserve samples of their penmanship, original composition, and other work and submit them with a brief sketch of the life of the candidates performing the work.

It is also desired to exhibit photographs of the classes and of the entire school body in general assembly in any building. If arrangements can be made to assemble the entire student body in an out-of-doors gathering for photographing, this should be done. The bureau is preparing to furnish motion-picture exhibits of naturalization proceedings and of various phases of immigrant life from the landing of the immigrants at the ports of entry through their various stages of work in the shops and factories and in their homes to show conditions of improvement that have been accomplished through community development in various parts of the country.

It is intended to make suitable awards to the students upon the samples of their work submitted, with prizes to the teachers who evidence the highest interest in this course in citizenship in its application as shown by the proficiency of the students and by their recommendations for strengthening and bettering the course as submitted. You are therefore urged to support the Federal Government in this plea from the Bureau of Naturalization by your hearty, complete, and full cooperation in all of the matters presented in this letter and the accompanying course in citizenship instruction.

Very truly, yours,

RICHD. K. CAMPBELL,  
*Commissioner of Naturalization.*

**AN OUTLINE COURSE IN CITIZENSHIP TO BE USED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE FOREIGN AND NATIVE BORN CANDIDATES FOR ADULT-CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES, PREPARED BY RAYMOND F. CRIST, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF NATURALIZATION.**

This course is offered with the understanding that in many respects it is imperfect. It is in part a compilation of practices which have been in use for some years in various public schools. This course presents the mature conclusions of the National Government, as represented by the Bureau of Naturalization, after a study of over a decade of the existing relations of the Government with the resident foreign body. A new relationship must be established. It should be based upon intelligent mutual understanding and knowledge of the respective hopes and aims of the resident alien and of the Government. Restriction and repression, entirely out of all proportion to their importance, have been in evidence. The purpose of this outline is to lead to the establishment in the curriculum in each of the public schools throughout the entire country of a course in citizenship training applicable to the candidate for adult-citizenship honors, privileges, and responsibilities, from whatever origin he may come. It is a recognition of citizenship and an emphasis of the mutual helpfulness, assistance, and aid inherent in this National Government rather than of restrictive and repressive forces of government.

This course is submitted in response to the demands upon the Bureau of Naturalization to prepare a standard course in citizenship. These calls have been presented to the Bureau of Naturalization by public-school authorities, chambers of commerce, and by patriotic, labor, fraternal, industrial, commercial, and other organizations from many parts of the country. It is issued by the Bureau of Naturalization in conformity with the authority conferred upon it by the United States Congress by the act of June 29, 1906, as amended, which provides that "the Bureau of Naturalization shall have charge of all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens." Of paramount concern in the naturalization of aliens is their better equipment to supply their daily needs and for the assumption, with intelligence, of the sovereign rights, privileges, and prerogatives which attach to the high estate of American citizenship. In no vocation open to manhood or womanhood is the calling as high as that of self-government. In every other calling the highest development of specialized training has been attained that intelligent effort can accomplish. The didactic and laboratory elements of instruction are mandatory for any vocation. In the graded schools, business, manual, domestic arts and science training supplement the three rudiments of education. This is the laboratory of the secondary schools. In the higher schools the laboratory is highly developed in applying the precepts of the rostrum in chemistry, physics, bookkeeping, stenography, banking, commercial life, carpentering, mechanical and electrical engineering, and other vocations. In the universities the laboratories again make possible the professions of engineering, theology, medicine, law, pharmacy, farming, stock raising, truck gardening, etc., but nowhere has there been a laboratory for practical training in the highest profession conceived by the mind of man—the profession of self-government. This outline presents for the first time to the public schools of the United States a course designed to establish a citizenship laboratory in each public-school building. As this deals with citizenship, it properly comes from the National Government through the only Federal bureau specifically authorized by the law to deal with the question of citizenship within the Nation.

Much of the success which will attend the adoption of this course will be dependent upon the spirit with which it is received and applied. The interest and enthusiasm of the teacher will in a large degree reflect the attitude of those in higher authority in school administration. It is urged, therefore, upon all to whom this course may come, including the boards of education, superintendents of schools, supervising and other principals, as well as teachers of the public schools, that it be received in the spirit in which it is sub-

mitted—to wit, an earnest purpose for united cooperation between the public schools and the National Government for the solidarity of American citizenship—because of such features of value as it possesses notwithstanding the admitted presence of defects. All are urged, therefore, to become fully conversant with this outline, so that in its application to the student body it may be broadened in its scope and applied so as to arouse among them an enthusiastic response. By the loyal and faithful support of the public schools to the United States in this the first cooperative movement ever perfected for them with the National Government the value of this course will be increased, its weaknesses strengthened, and the undesirable portions eliminated. All branches of pedagogics owe their present perfectness to that same devoted intelligence to which this course is intrusted.

It is undesirable that instruction in any part of this course be given save through the medium of the English language. It should not be interpreted through a foreign tongue. It is intended to make possible a mastery of English speaking, reading, and writing, and by gradual steps to lead into a realization of the full sense of the sacredness of the greatest rights of sovereignty which attach to the estate of American citizenship.

While this course is intended primarily for the candidate for citizenship by naturalization, its application to the curriculum of high schools and public schools is strongly urged, so that on the attainment of their majority all may have a full grasp of the functions of citizenship such as no preceding generation of the Nation has ever possessed. Let this course be applied in such a manner as to evidence to all that a cooperation in a national sense may be possible, and from such cooperative effort the maximum of good can result. The subject is citizenship. It is therefore as large as the country. No nation is larger than its sense of citizenship, be that sense great or small.

There is no intention to attempt a system or to require any particular form of instruction. Results are desired. The best results can be obtained by following the prevailing local system. The sole purpose of this course is to submit text and subject matter for thorough application. Thorough application will lead to the strengthening and the development of desirable and the elimination of undesirable features of the text. Through the laboratory of the schools perfection of the text will be accomplished.

Do not be deterred from undertaking full cooperation through fear that the schools will be overcrowded by the large number of eligible aliens. It will take a long-continued struggle to induce even a fair proportion of the foreign resident body to attend. Information regarding any additional subjects or parts of subjects which have been taught in your schools will be gladly received and brought to the attention of all to whom this course has been sent.

It is urged that the public schools be guided fully by this course for the present year and that full and complete notes be made upon it as it is developed; that these notes be submitted to the appropriate school authorities for forwarding in approved form to the Bureau of Naturalization at the termination of this scholastic year. These reports coming from throughout the United States will be assembled in working form and a convention called by this bureau to be held in Washington City immediately following the National Education Association convention in New York City. Its purpose will be to enable the officers and teachers of the public schools to formulate a course representing their best thought in this most vital field of instruction. It is believed such a course can be distributed both to the teachers and students without cost, or at most at the bare cost of publication under plans which the Bureau of Naturalization is now perfecting.

It is desired to direct attention to the cards and the method which has been proposed to superintendents of schools in some of the large cities and adopted by them to secure the maximum attendance with the least expense and clerical labor. The cards are sent to the superintendent of the schools, who has them assorted according to the various school districts, being guided by the addresses on the cards. The cards relating to any district are then sent to the supervising principal of that district and by him sorted according to the addresses and sent to the various schools under his supervision. The principal of the school hands them to the teacher of one of the classes, who retains the cards that bear the names of the students in that class. The other cards are then sent from class to class until all of the cards bearing the names of students have been removed. The names on the cards that are left are then called off to the students, and where they are known, such cards are taken out and the students urged to prevail upon the candidates to attend the classroom on the next class night. When this has been done in all of the classes the remaining names are assigned to the students by nationalities and location of residence and the students instructed to visit the candidates whose names they are given and induce them to come to the school at the earliest possible moment. This is done with all the candidates for citizenship, whether they need the course of instruction or not, so as to complete the records in the cases where the course is not needed by the candidates.

By this means the work of securing the attendance of the candidates for citizenship is distributed so that no one feels the work to be a burden. This builds up a personal contact between the United States Government and the alien candidate for citizenship through the Bureau of Naturalization, the public-school authorities, the public-school teachers, the student body, and the individual student. Through this personal contact the attendance of all the candidates for citizenship who need instruction will be assured. This will embrace, however, but a small portion of the resident alien body in any community. Many of the foreigners are anxious to increase their understanding of our language, but for many reasons and because of many influences upon them are unable to do so.

The bureau therefore proposes as a measure for the betterment of each community that the school authorities secure copies of cards 1 and 3, have the names and addresses of the parents of the foreign-born children in attendance upon the day and night classes transcribed thereon by their teachers, and have them distributed to the classes for adult foreigners, in order that the foreign student body may be prevailed upon to secure the attendance of their friends and members of their nationalities. If this be continued with vigor, there will be launched in this manner an active campaign, with the personal touch in direct evidence, for the betterment of the entire resident foreign body of the country. The simplicity of this plan, its freedom from any great expense, and the good that will flow from it must commend itself to every thinking person.

**GENERAL CLASSIFICATION.**

The true basis for classification of adult foreign-born students is their educational development. Students should not be classified by nationality. A great deal has been expressed in favor of the classifi-

cation of students by nationality and their instruction by one of their nativity by reason of the bond of sympathy of the common tongue. The inherent, fundamental weakness of this is shown by stating that such segregation means perpetuating the national groupings instead of merging them into one common American nationality. No greater bond is recognized than that of a common tongue. None has a stronger desire for the development of that bond than the non-English-speaking foreigner. No greater tie of sympathy can be found than that which grows up between the intelligent, patriotic, and devoted American school-teacher and his foreign-born non-English-speaking students through the acquisition of our tongue. We do not need to import individuals to teach American institutions and instill American patriotism in the mind of the candidate for citizenship. Segregation imposes an unnecessary burden. The student has far more interest in learning what the teacher has to impart than what nationalities his fellow students represent.

The students should first be assembled regardless of sex or nationality, although the women may be separately taught where conditions admit. The classification should be (1) those who can not speak English, and (2) those who can speak English. A closer subdivision can later be resorted to if desirable. Those who can not speak English will be found unable to read or write in our language. Those who can speak English may or may not be able to read or write. Soon the necessity will arise for a regradation—elementary, intermediate, and advanced. Upon this basis the following outline is submitted.

THE ELEMENTARY GRADE.

Knowledge, elementary.

Purpose, equip as quickly as possible with a practical working vocabulary.

Individual notebooks should be obtained immediately and copious use early required.

BRANCHES FOR STUDY.

- |                               |                        |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Conversation.              | 5. Spelling.           |
| 2. Reading.                   | 6. Writing.            |
| 3. Language forms and idioms. | 7. Memory gems.        |
| 4. Phonics.                   | 8. Simple number work. |

CONVERSATION.

This should be conducted by the object and action method. Begin with the names of objects nearest at hand that may be seen and handled. The human form is the most ready of use. Write the names of the parts on the blackboard, as head, eye. Drill in pronouncing and identifying names with parts. Point and have the students point at parts. "This is my \_\_\_\_\_, That is your \_\_\_\_\_, his \_\_\_\_\_, her \_\_\_\_\_," etc.

When a vocabulary of nouns and verbs has thus been systematically built up, enabling the pupils to understand simple statements about objects in the schoolroom and in the building, gradually extend the vocabulary to the larger environment outside, being careful to confine such vocabulary to the field of simple daily experiences. New words, as rapidly as given, should be written on the blackboard and in notebooks and from the beginning should be put into sentences.

READING.

The conversation and blackboard work, as above suggested, naturally will carry over to reading from the printed page, charts, and textbooks. The aim, of course, is to give command as quickly as possible of the printed page. Have the pupils each bring a copy of the same edition of some daily newspaper to the classroom to read and to discuss the topics read. Let discussions be undertaken at the earliest moment. The subject matter of the printed page should also be used in conversation in order to be sure that the students are comprehending the thought and not merely pronouncing the words. Biographies of foreign-born Americans of former days should be read and discussed to inspire the student to his maximum interest and effort.

LANGUAGE FORMS AND IDIOMS.

These should be carefully noted both in the conversations and in the reading and should be written upon the blackboard and in the notebooks. The students should be drilled on model forms of simple language, both in speaking and in writing, using blackboard and notebooks. Here the teacher should commence the mind training in the discriminative selection of healthful reading matter, beginning with the daily press or other simple subject matter. Discussion of the comparative values of the best newspaper and other articles with the worthless should follow under the guiding intelligence of the teacher. The teacher should assign topics to the students for discussion, laying the foundation for future debates upon public questions in the succeeding periods of study. The newspaper should be used constantly in language lessons. It is universal in subject matter and most inexpensive.

PHONICS.

The analysis of words by sound can begin profitably much earlier in the teaching of the adult classes than with children. It is imperative that it be undertaken from the beginning and that upon such analytical work there be daily drill upon the sound values of both vowels and consonants. In teaching sound values there should be kept upon the blackboard a considerable list of words containing the particular letter whose sound is being taught. Excellent books on enunciation and articulation are available for the teacher. It is essential that the teacher articulate slowly and distinctly, especially all final consonants, whether at the end of syllables or of words. In learning to pronounce the English language it is vital that the correct relation of the letters to the words be learned at the beginning. To train the ear, the individual should repeat the word after the teacher until the ear catches the true sound and it is reproduced by the student. Every foreigner wants to learn to speak English with the American accent.

SPELLING.

The words chosen should be those used in conversation and in reading. Dictation should be freely resorted to. The words taught should be carefully listed by each teacher and student. Emphasis should be placed upon words in common use. A list of such words as a measuring scale of ability in spelling, issued in 1914 by the Russell Sage Foundation, has been recommended. Spelling bees are used with excellent results.

WRITING.

This can be taught from the blackboard, but should be supplemented by the use of leadlets showing penmanship forms to be furnished each student and used in home work. Startlingly rapid progress is made through the home practice work. In the elementary schools the principle of home work which is early applied in the training of the

adolescent mind is no less applicable to the adult mind. Practical tests in writing dictation in language work and original composition should be practiced later.

MEMORY GEMS.

These are of much value for pronunciation and for the acquisition of a vocabulary. They should be chosen with special reference to the building up of high ideals of character and of conduct in the minds of the students. Patriotic poems and songs should be learned, and the singing of "America," "Hail Columbia," etc., should occur at each session.

SIMPLE NUMBER WORK.

This should be given not for the teaching of arithmetic in itself merely, but for the teaching of the language of numbers to the advantage of the students in their daily experiences.

THE INTERMEDIATE GRADE.

The same general methods should be followed in this grade as in the elementary grade, selecting for instruction subjects of a more advanced nature.

CONVERSATION.

The topics of conversation naturally will be chosen from the reading matter and from the daily experience of the students. Conversation lessons are extremely important and should receive careful daily preparation on the part of the teacher. Periods of open conversation among the students on topics of common concern will be found to increase the interest of the class, and produce the desired spirit of homogeneity and congeniality, and lay the foundation for their American unification. Continue the use of the daily press, broaden the scope in American biographical studies, and at the same time require the students to read from the various readers.

READING.

In this grade the pupils should read from the somewhat advanced readers that are prepared for teaching English. Geography and history, especially United States history, are of absorbing interest to the students. Patriotic poems should be read, studied, and the best of them memorized.

LANGUAGE FORMS AND IDIOMS.

In this grade emphasis should be laid as early as admissible upon the correct use of words and upon the inflections of nouns and pronouns, etc. Letter writing, consisting of simple business and social letters, will be found desirable along with reproduction exercises.

PHONICS, SPELLING, AND WRITING.

These subjects in advanced form should be presented as in the elementary grade.

MEMORY GEMS.

These should be taught as in the previous grade, but with a broadened scope.

UNITED STATES HISTORY.

The teaching of this should be based upon reading elementary histories of the United States. The teacher should cause discussions of various chapters of American history. This will develop the instinct for the further use of the schoolroom for discussions of public questions and will be aided by the assignments of students and topics. The students should be stimulated to select their own topics from each subject and full discussions of these selections obtained.

CIVICS.

This chapter should be very generally presented by the teacher solely as preliminary to the course in citizenship for the advanced student, so as to enlarge the field of vision preparatory to full participation by the members of the student body in the activities of the citizenship course embraced in the year preceding admission to citizenship. The entire student body should be urged to obtain from the libraries such books as present the principles of the three branches of our Government.

The following outline is submitted as an indication of the subject matter for the teacher in presenting the subject of civics:

1. General principles of government: Necessity of laws for establishment and development of government; protection of society and individual; its purpose to aid in matters of health, life, property, business, education, surroundings, and environment. Sources of laws: Constitution, franchise, legislation, administration, adjudication, citizenship, political parties. General governmental divisions: City, county, State, Nation.

2. The city government: Executive—The office of mayor or commissioner and its functions; various departments and their functions. Legislative—Aldermanic or councilmanic. Judicial—Courts of the city.

Emphasize conditions to naturalization, suffrage qualifications, and the obligation resting upon each individual to perform his part as a good citizen.

THE ADVANCED GRADE.

CONVERSATION.

The students in this grade should be able to carry on, with a fair degree of facility, conversation concerning any topic with which they are familiar. Use topics of current events having a bearing upon good citizenship as subjects for discussion and debate. Make a persistent and free use of that inexpensive medium, the daily newspaper, for topics for frequent discussions, making them short and pointed, to develop powers of ready expression of the mind.

READING.

Students of this grade should be able to read with a fair degree of proficiency. Train more or less in silent reading and test the comprehension of the reader by requiring him to tell the class what he has read. Supplementary readers in civics, American biography, geography, history, literature, and science are useful for this class. Guide the students to the selection of good books from the public libraries; encourage them to bring such books to class, to report to the class the general plot and especially interesting and important parts of the books in which they are interested. Do not abandon the daily newspaper.

LANGUAGE.

The elementary principles of grammar may be effectively taught from the language lessons, both oral and written, and by continuing drills in models of ordinary English develop a keener sense of sound discernment to operate in correcting their English and producing the American accent. The essentials to be taught are the different kinds of sentences and the adjective and adverbial idea in the use of words, phrases, and clauses; different parts of speech and their functions; inflections of nouns and pronouns; the principal parts of the more



common irregular verbs. Grammar thus taught becomes not an end in itself, but a means to show the students why they use the kind of English they have been taught to speak. Instruction should be oral, with outline placed on blackboard to be copied in notebooks by the students.

#### PHONETICS, SPELLING, AND WRITING.

These subjects should be presented as in preceding grade. Occasionally there should be a few minutes' drill on the more difficult sounds of the English language by means of word lessons involving these sounds. Be particularly careful not to let incorrect articulation, enunciation, or pronunciation pass unnoticed.

#### MEMORY GEMS.

As in preceding grades.

#### UNITED STATES HISTORY.

This should include the study of more advanced textbooks. Care should be taken to emphasize the more important steps of development in our country's history and to leave in the minds of the students a clear picture of its several periods of development, as (1) the early history and settlement of America; (2) the Revolutionary War, its conditions and causes; the Declaration of Independence should be read thoroughly and its principles discussed; (3) the formation of the Constitution of the United States and the development down to 1860, including (a) means of transportation, (b) inventions, (c) increase in manufactures, (d) growth of population; (4) the economic development of the North and South, contrasted in the light of slavery, as a background to conditions and causes leading up to the Civil War; (5) the Civil War, its causes, results, and significances; (6) the development of our country since the Civil War, politically and industrially; emphasize the significance of immigration in this development not only from the standpoint of our industries but from the standpoint of our political institutions; (7) encourage the students to use the public libraries in consultation of historical authors; endeavor in the teaching to raise problems of interest for discussion by the students; this can only be accomplished in full by their consistent participation in free and mutual discussion of each topic as it is presented and studied.

#### CIVICS.

Review briefly the topics of the previous grade. Let the presentation of each of these subjects be free discussion by all. Make assignments to students who are not participating.

1. Explain the naturalization laws.
  2. The qualifications of a voter.
  3. Primary and final election laws, and the importance of independent judgment on the part of each citizen in registering at the primary and final elections his choice of candidates for the various offices.
  4. The short ballot and its significance; the Australian ballot.
  5. The significance of the initiative, referendum, and recall.
  6. Extend the relation of local government to the (a) county, (b) State, (c) National Government, explaining the forms and functions of each kind of government.
  7. This will lead naturally to the study of the Constitution of the United States, (a) its origin and (b) its provisions.
  8. Compare our form of representative government with the forms of government of the leading nations of Europe and explain the full meaning of democracy.
  9. From such comparison deduce the responsibility resting upon every citizen of this Nation to see that able and honest men are put into office.
- In teaching civics the chief emphasis should be laid not upon the forms of government but upon its functions and its practical workings.

#### CITIZENSHIP LABORATORY.

##### CITIZENSHIP IN THE CITY.

Assemble the classes of each school building in one room, men and women together, and tell them that they represent the city, that they will soon become citizens of the United States, and that they are to learn how to assume the responsibilities and rights and perform the duties of citizenship. For this purpose they are to be considered as the entire adult voting population of the city. Briefly outline the form of government in the city, defining the offices of mayor or commissioner, councilman, alderman, or their local equivalents, the various administrative departments of the municipality, and describe the city judiciary. Explain how these offices have been filled by their incumbents and the relation of the individual voters to the incumbents.

##### DUTIES OF OFFICIALS OF CITY.

The mayor and other officials of the city government should be prevailed upon to define fully the duties of their respective offices. All of this will be most interestingly and profitably received by the students, who should be encouraged to make as extensive notes as possible, and will prove a source of inspiration to those officials who are prevailed upon to address the student body upon the duties of their respective offices. The President, in his address to the newly naturalized citizens in Philadelphia on May 10, 1915, said, "I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American to be here."

#### DISCUSSIONS.

Discussions of the subject of each of these addresses should be engaged in by the student body after each talk, and the duties of the offices debated so as to fix them in the minds of the prospective citizens. Outline for discussions will be found later in this course.

#### FRANCHISE AND BALLOT.

After the duties and responsibilities of the different offices of the city government have been described by the incumbents of these offices or their representatives, and the student body has fully discussed these subjects with evident understanding, the students should be assembled for instruction in the franchise, its rights, powers, purposes, and uses. The ballot, in the exercise of the franchise, both in primary and final elections, should be made known to them and the necessity for purity in its use fully dwelt upon by the teacher, followed by discussions upon the franchise and the ballot and their relation in this country to government and to the individual citizen; the good that will flow from its wise and proper use, and the evil from its unwise and improper use emphasized; the purposes and powers of the ballot and its relationship to the election of municipal, State, and National officials clearly shown.

Each of these subjects should be fully discussed and debated by pupils. In their treatment the teacher should always keep prominently in mind the necessity for developing the sense of individual responsibility and relationship to the whole political organization. Assignments of subjects should be made by the teacher so as to include and stimulate the diffident and backward to a participation in this work.

#### NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS.

When understanding has become general throughout the student body its members should be required to put into practice the lessons which they have learned. The necessity for purity of the ballot should again be fully emphasized. As an entire body they should be told that they will be expected to make use of their knowledge of the franchise and of the use of the ballot and will be guided through the steps of electing the city government, commencing with the mayor or the local equivalent. The local form of nomination may prevail, but as they have been taught both the convention and primary methods they should be allowed and urged to exercise the utmost freedom in their choice of method.

Self-government should be the keynote in this entire course and should be developed to its fullest possibilities consistent with intelligent progress. The teacher should not dominate but steady and guide the students in their endeavors to emerge from their ignorance of our institutions into an intelligent comprehension of them. The only functions which the teacher should exercise in this stage of the course are to insure regularity and purity in the entire proceedings, to stimulate the backward ones to participate in some manner in the consideration of the subject, and to urge full discussions of both the qualifications of the candidate and the duties of the office, so as to bring out prominently the cardinal purpose of each election—the selection of the candidate best suited to the office.

The teacher or principal should preside over this meeting. Tellers should be appointed for the election, both for the primary and final elections if the primary form of nomination should prevail. The purpose of this election is to remove the preconceived notions of government and former national prejudices and to unify and harmonize the different national views into one national spirit to accord with the spirit of our Government. The choice made will represent not a nationality but an expressed desire of a majority of the entire student body. The successful candidate should be only the one having a majority over all. The plurality should not be sufficient. The object of an absolute majority over all is to prevent the domination by one nationality by sheer preponderance of numbers.

City chief executive: Nominations from the entire student body for the position of mayor should be invited. From three to five or more candidates should be placed in nomination, the number to be based by the teacher upon the size of the student body. But one candidate should be allowed for each group or nationality. The candidates for election should be the three receiving the highest number of votes on nomination. All should be encouraged to participate in the submission of names in nomination and to engage in large numbers in urging the qualifications of their respective candidates.

In the entire student body assemblage activity should be stimulated by the principal, supplemented by each teacher individually endeavoring to inspire confident activity in the members of his individual class. This activity should take the shape of speeches in favor of the respective candidates whose names are put in nomination not only by the one nominating and the one seconding the nomination, but generally throughout the entire student body. The individual teachers should devote their attention to the members of their respective classes and an effort should be made to elicit some expression from each member of each class, and in this way from each member of the student body. The greater participation on the part of the students the greater will be the influence of the spirit of the occasion on the entire body and correspondingly on each and every individual. The enthusiasm of the teachers will be reflected in the enthusiasm of the students. In proportion to the sympathetic interest of the teacher will be the response of the individual. The development of the responsibility of the individual to the entire State and entire Nation underlies all of this participation. The principal and teachers of the various classes should only guide in an advisory capacity.

As but one candidate may be chosen and must receive a majority over all, it will at once be evident that at this point will commence the obliteration of the various national lines and prejudices. At this stage of this course in the laboratory of citizenship the school is a crucible in which the polyglot elements of American society have been placed in a scientific flux and are being fused in the refining fire of intelligent patriotic influences into true, comprehending, and hence loyal American citizens. The melting pot is what has been used in the past. There has been nothing but a dumping of the elements of society into the pot, with the resultant nondescript conception of our institutions. It should be abandoned and the crucible, with its scientifically prepared flux, substituted to produce the pure and unalloyed American citizen. Assimilation of the fundamental idea of American government is here effected through the requirement of the various nationalities present to unite upon a representative, regardless of nationality, in the choice of their presiding officer. The common choice will force the obliteration of the national lines. The selection should be upon merit and an effort made to prevent the development of vote trading or other practices. Corruption of the ballot should be eliminated not only from the actions but from the thoughts of the candidates and their supporters.

If the interest, enthusiasm, or circumstances be sufficient to warrant an unanimous rising vote, it may be taken upon explaining the circumstances under which such action occurs and to remove from the minds the possibility of confusion from regarding this as usual in general elections.

Induction into office: Upon election the mayor should be escorted forward by members of the student body and with suitable ceremony inducted into office by the administration of the oath of office by the teacher. The custom usually prevailing should be followed, and the oath to well and faithfully perform the duties of the office should be administered in the presence of the entire school body. The teacher should place the burden of the responsibilities upon the student body and the mayor, who should preside at all subsequent general assemblages of the student body as one of his official duties.

Election of other city officials: As they have all learned of the duties of the officials of the departments of city government, the members of the student body should next select their city legislators and organize the appropriate departments of city government and select their respective heads. This should include at least the health department, police department, and judicial department, with such others as local conditions may justify. In the election of the aldermen or city legislators the unit of representation should be the classroom, one or more representatives from each class being determined by the mobility and efficiency of the entire body.

Duties of city legislative body: The legislators should formulate rules of government for the observance of the student body. These rules should apply to the conduct of the students in and around the school buildings, relate to the disposition of their outer clothing, deportment in the classrooms, promptness and regularity of attendance, participa-

tion in debate (to insure sharing in the exercises by each member of the entire school body, even though but slight participation should result on the part of some of the most backward and diffident), and with special attention to rules requiring the students to bring in the large number of alien residents to the night schools. The advantages to be gained from this are too great and vital, too far-reaching in their effect for most substantial good, to pass by without a consistent emphasis being laid upon its accomplishment. The teacher should have papers prepared and debates arranged upon such topics as "Why should each student bring a new student?" and kindred topics. They should formulate rules governing their conduct in the places of their vocation, in their homes, and on the street, and rules relating to sanitary habits and practices.

Discussions: These rules should be discussed as much as possible in the entire assemblage. They may be worked out, however, in committee. The students should be given to understand the various methods and be permitted to follow their own choice of proceeding as long as progress is made.

Papers dealing with housing, with especial reference to tenements, large and small, should be prepared and read by the students. This is referred to because of its intimate relation to the resident foreign body. The laws governing tenement houses, especially with relation to sanitation, should be made known to them and their merits discussed, in order to bring home to the individual his relationship to this phase of law and order for the betterment of his home life.

The police department should be required to see that the rules are observed and the judicial department to impose penalties for failure of observance of the rules. The development of a regard for law and order and individual responsibility for their maintenance should be established.

Other branches of government of intimate concern to the resident foreign body, such as recreation grounds and park commissions, should be brought prominently before the students.

Appointive offices: When appointive offices are to be filled by the mayor care should be taken to see that national lines do not influence the selection, but that, so far as possible, the class standing should have its place.

#### SUMMARY.

From the foregoing it is seen that the laboratory has been made possible. The efficiency of its working is dependent largely upon the inspiration received by the students from the school authorities. This is the first opportunity presented to the entire system of the public schools for a direct cooperation with the National Government where the efforts of these two agencies are linked together. Each superintendent of schools, each principal of schools, each teacher of the public schools is called upon to lend his highest and most intelligent effort to the perfection of this course by its thorough application. This call is made with the full knowledge that there is sufficient patriotic devotion to the cause of citizenship in each public-school teacher to insure its success and the development of this course to that state of high efficiency which characterizes every other vocation and profession except that of the profession of American citizenship. With the combined effort of all public-school authorities with this branch of the National Government success is assured.

The students should be taken into the public buildings and administrative offices of the city, so that they may become actually acquainted with the purpose of the buildings and the machinery of the municipal government.

No elaboration has been undertaken of county, State, and National Governments, partly because the new citizen will exercise the rights of citizenship oftener in the city in which he lives than in any other relation to government. The analogy of county, State, and National Government can readily be shown, so that he will not lose sight of his vital relation to the State and Nation.

#### CLASS ALUMNI.

When the students have completed their course and become citizens their experiences in the classrooms should induce them to return and further participate in this work, so that the schoolhouse may be felt by them to be the legitimate place of assemblage for discussion of questions of public policy. This spirit should be inspired by the teachers during the early period of this course and be so developed as to bring about this result. Alumni or other public nonsecret organization should be encouraged to implant in them a love for this, the alma mater of their school of American citizenship.

The public schools have taught virtually every other subject relating to the vocations of life and they have developed these courses to the highest efficiency. These various phases of the city government are outlined generally with the knowledge that the local offices of the city government may differ in principle as well as in particularity. This is submitted, however, for adaptation to local conditions.

*Outline of topics for presentation by officials and discussion by student body.*

#### CITY GOVERNMENT.

##### EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

Mayor: Duties and responsibilities, patronage, veto power, general powers. Relationship to board of aldermen, common council, or similar body regarding commission form of government. Relationship to Chief Executive of Nation and State.

##### LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

The common council, the general lawmaking branch: Composition, total membership, number for each ward, how chosen, term of years, powers and functions. City ordinances: Ordinances relating to welfare, business, property, and finances of community; preservation of order; suppression of vice; regulation of places of amusement, saloons, weights and measures, building operations, charitable organizations; licenses of vehicles, pawnbrokers, etc. Relationship to revenues and expenditures, to various administrative departments of the city, to State legislative power.

##### JUDICIAL BRANCH.

Administrative head: Magistrate courts, police courts, higher courts, juvenile courts. Describe each court; show necessity for maintenance of public order; benefit to city; to individual. Jurisdiction of courts; source and tenure of office; source of revenues; method of expenditure; relationship of individual to revenues and expenditures.

Jury: Qualifications, duties, individual privileges, rights, and responsibilities of juror in determining facts; relationship to the court in defining and determining questions of law in a given case.

#### SOME TYPICAL DEPARTMENTS OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT.

Police department, fire department, health department, street and park department, education department, water department, tax department, excise department, law department.

Police department: Administrative head. The individual policeman's duties as a guardian of safety rather than a minion of the law, the oneness of purpose of the police officer and law-abiding, peace-loving individuals. Location of precincts. Individual protection at home, in the shops, on the street, at night; benefits to the individual; necessary for life of city. Penal institutions, their management, purpose, necessity, source of revenue, method of expenditure, relationship of individual to revenues and expenditures. Bring in the police to aid firemen in fire drills for better acquaintance with helpful side of police force.

Fire department: Administrative head. Fire chief, duties and powers. Firemen and duties. Safety first—care of matches, care of inflammable and combustible material; safety in keeping matches in receptacles away from children; teach fire precaution. Have fire drills under personal supervision of member of fire department for double purpose of training the foreigners to escape from a burning building and of allowing them to become closely associated with firemen in order to teach them calmness in time of fire. This latter is very desirable, as over 80 per cent of our foreign-born residents are employed in factories, mills, mines, etc., where at times the loss of life in fires on account of panic has been appalling. Location of fire-alarm boxes; demonstrate how to ring and call by phone.

Health department: Administrative head. Collection of refuse of various kinds; sanitation in the schoolrooms, homes, workshops, and on the streets; ill effects which will follow failure of these activities. Source of revenues, method of expenditure, relationship of individual to revenues and expenditures. Safeguarding health of communities and individuals by requirement of pure food; enforcement of regulations regarding contagious diseases; medicine and medical aid to indigent sick; free hospitals and free clinics. Emphasize personal cleanliness by elaboration, individual observance of health regulations, and practical benefits in avoidance of ordinary sickness and contagious diseases.

Street and park department: Administrative head. Personnel, source, and tenure of office. Functions: Traffic regulations, opening of new streets, repairing pavements (both street and sidewalk), franchises for street railways, public lighting, anti-spitting regulations, street cleaning, public recreation grounds, city beautifying, trees, etc. Attitude of individual to civic cleanliness, keeping streets clear of skins, paper, and other waste; benefits derived by the individual as well as the municipality. Source of revenues, method of expenditures, relationship of individual to revenues and expenditures.

Education department: Administrative head. Constitution of department. Source and tenure of office; powers and duties; provide school buildings and their equipment; teachers; textbooks and other supplies; course of study and general administration; source of revenues, method of expenditure, relationship of individual to revenues and expenditures; construction and relationship of entire system. Board of education, general superintendent, day superintendent, night superintendent, supervising principals, principals of schools, teachers, students. Present in a practical manner the advantages of public-school instruction to the individual and its relationship to their everyday life, explaining any embarrassment as to insufficient funds, the necessity for extending the night schools to the same time that is devoted annually to the day course, with special relation to citizenship and the system of the Bureau of Naturalization based upon the monthly filing of declarations of intention and petitions for naturalization and the monthly transmission of the names of these to the school authorities, so as to show the necessity for and advantages of conducting the schools from the 1st of October until the end of June, all leading to the objective of having certificates of graduation and annual commencement functions.

Schools: Free libraries, books for coming Americans, and other literature without cost. Vocation and industrial work, community centers, wayward or incorrigible children. Teach regularity and promptness of attendance and show advantages in business resulting from this habit.

Water department: Administrative head. Water supply, wastefulness, economy in use, individual responsibility, source of revenues, method of expenditures, sewer system. Relation of individual to revenues and expenditures.

Tax department: Administrative head. Revenues, sources, necessity, relationship to individual.

Excise department: Administrative head. Control over issuance and revocation of licenses for intoxicating liquors; cost of licenses.

Law department: Administrative head. Relationship to contracts for public construction and prosecution for the people of offenders. City comptroller; source and tenure of office; functions. City auditor; source and tenure of office; functions. City treasurer; source and tenure of office; functions. Advantages of and necessity for observance of law.

#### COUNTY GOVERNMENT.

Teach geography, nature of various industries. Teach city and county government, showing lines on which they parallel and analogies of laws. Administrative officers, their sources and tenures of office, their functions. Describe governments of communities throughout county and their relationship to the entire county organization, county roads, bridges, buildings, hospitals, development, control, and management, both as to personnel and methods, ways and means of administration of county government.

#### STATE GOVERNMENT.

Analogy to city and county governments, respective jurisdictions, and rights and powers of each. Location of State capital.

#### EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

Chief executive; source and tenure of office, authority, functions of office, constitutional and legal functions, and authorities.

#### LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

Period of meeting. Functions of the legislature. Following course of bill from introduction through the various stages to the final enactment and approval by the chief executive.

Houses of legislature: Upper house (senate): Presiding officer, composition of membership, source and tenure of office, representation of the State, extent of constituency, districts. Lower house (house of representatives, assembly, house of delegates, etc.): Apportionment of members, source and tenure of office, composition of assembly as to numbers, and apportionment to population.

## JUDICIAL BRANCH.

Courts of original, appellate, and supreme jurisdiction.

## NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Analogy to State and city governments; respective jurisdictions; rights and powers of each. Location of National Capital. Source of power. Outline colonial history, period under Articles of Confederation, period under Constitution, using textbooks approved by local educational authorities.

## EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

The President; voters' Electoral College; tenure of office; Cabinet advisers; powers and duties of the President.

Executive departments: Department of State, Department of the Treasury, Department of War, Department of Justice, Post Office Department, Department of the Navy, Department of the Interior, Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, and Department of Labor.

## LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

The Congress of the United States, two Houses. Periods of meeting. Functions of Congress as a whole. Trace course of bill through both Houses, showing origin of all revenue measures in the House of Representatives, and various stages through to Executive approval of each bill in its enactment into law. Powers of Congress. Place of meeting in Washington, the Capital of the Nation.

Senate. Presiding officer; composition of membership; source and tenure of office; Members representatives of the States; functions.

House of Representatives: Apportionment of Members by population; Members representatives of the people; source and tenure of office, presiding officer, functions.

## JUDICIAL BRANCH.

Supreme Court of the United States, nomination by President, confirmation by Senate. United States circuit courts of appeals, United States district courts, Court of Claims, Territorial court, United States commissioners. Jurisdiction of various courts.

## POLITICAL PARTIES.

Relationship to individuals, powers of their expression of desires for specific laws and on political questions. Nominations by convention, by direct primaries; platforms, registration, the ballot. Necessity for parties in representative government. Distinguish between local and National Government; show need of intelligent citizens.

The interest of the National Government in the well-being of the candidate for citizenship should be pointed out, dwelt upon, and kept constantly before the student body, as the influence of national government is strong upon all foreigners by reason of its general absoluteness and force as felt by the subject of any nationality in his relation to government in the old countries. The importance of the certificate of graduation which the Bureau of Naturalization will furnish, and its issuance by the Federal Government jointly with the State government should be so presented that regard for it will be enlarged and the highest enthusiasm and interest stimulated in the candidate by the receipt of this certificate of graduation. Students should be given to understand that it will represent efficiency on their part and will be given only to those who are proficient. Its presentation should be understood as carrying a high reward and high recognition by the National Government of their individual efforts. They should be led to realize that the Federal Government will be ready to stand by all who pursue the entire course and attain high proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing our language and acquire an intelligent understanding of our institutions; that it will bring them to the attention of their employers to secure recognition of their higher efficiency, and will also endeavor to aid them in their ambitions and advancement not only in this but in bettering their condition in other fields of activity. The importance and value to the individual in relation to his personal advancement of a thorough mastery of English and the citizenship branch of this course should be constantly held before them to stimulate them to the highest degree in both attendance upon the classes and attention to the studies.

*Fundamentals for the American home.*

Women should be encouraged to participate in all of the foregoing as far as practicable in common with men. This applies to all places, regardless of whether the women have the right of suffrage, but particularly where women are voters. It is not the purpose to develop the desire of suffrage, but to bring the women out of the European and foreign atmosphere into the very heart and soul of things American. Emphasis is laid particularly upon this so as to insure an extension of the influence of the school to the other foreign-born women with whom the women in the classes come into daily contact and to have them inspired to enter the sphere of this Americanizing influence.

## DOMESTIC ARTS AND SCIENCE.

The following course in domestic arts and science is a presentation of the subjects which are now actually being taught in the most important cities of the United States and some of the smaller but more advanced cities and towns. No instance, however, is known to this bureau where a city or town is teaching all the subjects presented herein. The Bureau of Naturalization is therefore fulfilling its function as announced by the Department of Labor "as a clearing house of information on civic instruction."

For convenience this chapter is presented under the two heads of "Domestic arts" and "Domestic science."

## DOMESTIC ARTS.

Plain sewing, advanced sewing, dressmaking, costume designing and coat making, tailoring, millinery, crocheting (elementary and advanced), art needlework, lace making, embroidery.

Plain sewing: (a) Elementary work for beginners in cutting, fitting, and constructing simple garments; patching; darning. (b) Advanced work—Dressmaking, waists, skirts, dresses, buttonholes, ribbon and flower work.

Sewing—Hand and machine work: (a) Elementary—Sewing and adjusting of commercial patterns; cutting and fitting new and renovating and remodeling old garments. In this work the individual should bring her own garments or those of her family. The following is a suggestive list: Waists, using thin material and demonstrating buttonhole work; petticoats, ruffling; skirts, outside and of wash material; seam finishing and fastening; children's plain garments; corset covers and underwear; household articles. (b) Advanced—Making new garments of cotton and woolen material and renovating and remodeling; tailored skirt waists; plain dresses of wash material; tailored skirts of woolen material;

advanced and original work in one-piece dresses of gingham, percale, cotton, cotton voile, lawn, poplin, linen, foulard, and woolen materials; children's plain garments.

Millinery: Making and trimming hats. Instruction should be under competent and experienced trade milliners, to equip the student to become a more intelligent judge of materials and of values and costs. Demonstrations should be made of various articles both in millinery and in piece goods. A cost system should be evolved. A value should be placed upon the time of the student, to be computed in the cost of production of the article. The most practical step toward the development of American appearance will be a discussion of the benefits of remodeling and renovating of millinery. The individuals should be led to use their own hats in work, after the method prescribed in the sewing classes. Interest will at once be aroused in the transformations in the headwear and clothing when the possibilities are ascertained and accomplished under the guidance of the milliner and sewing teaching.

## DOMESTIC SCIENCE.

Table service; bread making, cake making, family cooking; elementary food selection (buying and preparing taken up by meal sequence); advanced cookery, fancy cookery practically taught, invalid cookery, nurse cookery, quality cookery; home economics; household chemistry and physics and sanitation; catering; homemaking and housekeeping; household accounting; furnishing and decorating; music, dramatics, household arts; physical culture.

In practically every school where domestic science is taught a well-formulated plan has been adopted. The Bureau of Naturalization therefore recommends the continuance of the prevailing plans with enlarged scope, and that a chapter be devoted to domestic arts and science in the reports (for which desire has heretofore been expressed) to be made by the schools to the superintendents and by them forwarded to the Bureau of Naturalization at the termination of the present scholastic year.

The branches of domestic science in themselves suggest too clearly the line of development to necessitate a detailed presentation in this outlined work.

Neatness and hygiene in the home and of the person should be taught. Emphasis should be laid upon commencing in earliest childhood.

The following publications are available upon application to the Bureau of Naturalization: Prenatal Care, Infant Care, Baby-saving Campaigns (for cities), Baby-saving Work (for small towns and rural districts), Child-welfare Exhibits.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is not any suggestion in that document to indicate that they have interfered with the normal-school courses in this country; there is not any suggestion that they try to teach the colleges of the country what sort of a curriculum they shall have; it is simply a plain statement of the duties of citizenship addressed to the plain man, the uneducated man, if you please, the laboring man, the man who has not the time to figure on colleges and on the schools or anything else, but simply wants to learn the fundamentals of the American Government and citizenship, so that he may get out his final papers and so become a useful American citizen.

Mr. President, I have already taken more of the time of the Senate than I ought to have taken. I am going to move to amend this bill at the proper time, to carry out the suggestion which I have in mind, and that is to eliminate everything from it except the skeleton of a bill, which will not interfere with or conflict with the law now on the statute books that provides for the education of aliens under the act of June 29, 1906, as amended by certain later acts authorizing the Bureau of Naturalization, under the direction of the Secretary of Labor, to take charge of these matters.

Mr. KING. Mr. President—

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

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield.

Mr. KING. I hope the Senator will not do that; I hope he will vote with, I think, a majority of the Members of the Senate to defeat this bill, as it ought to be defeated, and then, if necessary legislation shall be required, that a proper measure, after due consideration, may be brought out for the consideration of the Senate.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes; I shall follow that course, but it is perfectly proper to try to amend the bill so as to make it as good as possible, and then vote to defeat it.

May I say in conclusion that the Provost Marshal General advises me that he has no statistics as to illiterates of the draft age, but I have obtained the following from the office of the Commissioner of Education:

Forty-one thousand nine hundred and fourteen of those certified in the first draft were unable to speak English or needed English instruction in order to make military training effective.

Sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven of those likely to be certified will be unable to speak English. This is estimated, and is based on statistics of the 1910 census.

*Non-English-speaking drafted men.*

Camp Upton.....	1,275
Camp Devens.....	2,482
Camp Gordon.....	381
Camp Meade.....	1,331

Mr. President, with these remarks I submit the matter to the Senate. I feel that if the Senate will give it their earnest consideration they will vote to defeat this bill.

Mr. HARDWICK obtained the floor.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President—

Mr. HARDWICK. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania desire me to yield to him?

Mr. PENROSE. I desire to make a few further remarks on the bill for three or four minutes, but I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. HARDWICK. I shall not occupy the attention of the Senate very long. I have only a word or two to say.

Following the last suggestion made by the Senator from Utah and the suggestion of the Senator from Oregon, there is quite an extensive legislative proposition submitted by the Bureau of Naturalization undertaking to deal with this subject matter, so far as it affects aliens and people who are applying for citizenship in this country. It is pending now before the Committee on Immigration, and we hope at an early day to be able to give that bureau certain additional machinery and certain additional money to carry on this great, and I think necessary, work; but it does look to me like if we start now another bureau to do the same kind of work it is going to be more or less of a duplication.

I have been very much impressed with the suggestion that we either ought to stop the Bureau of Naturalization from doing the work that has been committed to it by statute laws here through many years, by different Congresses, or keep this Bureau of Education out of it. We ought to do one or the other, and avoid duplication.

I do not feel, and I never have felt, that vocational or any other sort of education was a proper function of the Federal Government. I think we have now at least enough ways to spend our money without embarking in that particular field of expenditure; and it certainly seems to me that only some of the duties and rights and responsibilities of the States ought to be left, but also some of their opportunities to attend to matters of this sort. I think from the beginning one line of demarcation has been that the course of education itself should belong to the local authorities, and the responsibility should rest on them.

Therefore, for every reason—first, because generally the Federal Government ought to have nothing to do with this sort of matter; second, because so far as concerns the particular way in which this thing is sought to be applied now, the Naturalization Bureau of the Department of Labor is already undertaking this work; third, because so far as the soldiers in the Army are concerned the bureau is already trying to do everything that can be done in the short time at hand; and, fourth, because we have not time now, with the emergency that is on us, to start to educate these soldiers in much except how to shoot straight and shoot quick. I do not think I can support this bill. Of course, since my colleague offers it, it is unpleasant to have to oppose it; but my judgment is against it, and upon all of those grounds I shall, therefore, oppose it.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I have only a few words to add to what I have already said, because after the very elaborate and clear explanation of the Senator from Oregon it seems to me that further comment on this bill is unnecessary.

I offered an innocent little amendment that no part of this appropriation should be applied to salary increases or to the creation of permanent positions, and I immediately encountered the indignant opposition of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] on the ground that I was engaged in taking all the perfume from the rose and destroying the bill. It seems to me, Mr. President, that if there ever was a measure that was presented to this body under a false aspect, it is this bill.

All this talk about the 700,000 illiterates, repeated throughout the country without the slightest foundation, has only one purpose—to bolster up this measure and get \$100,000 out of the Treasury. I have here a memorandum from the Provost Marshal General's Office, sent here at the request of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], in which he states that they have not collected any data on illiterates in connection with the draft; but it requires a universal genius, like Mr. Claxton, to discover these startling figures overnight.

But the cause is not difficult of ascertainment, Mr. President. It is found in this wall which we frequently hear from the administrative officers of the Government, and is thus stated in the report of the Commissioner of Education:

The statutory salaries of the administrative officers of the bureau are conspicuously low; they have remained unchanged for many years. The chief clerk of the bureau, who is the administrative head of the office and acts for the commissioner in the latter's absence, receives \$2,000. The editor, who must have, in addition to the technical editorial qualifications, a clear conception of Government policies—

It would require a great editor to have a clear conception of Government policies just now—

And a broad knowledge of the special field of pedagogy—

Which will ultimately include herding reindeer in Alaska—

Sufficient to enable him to review critically the work of highly trained specialists in the office and prominent educators outside, is also paid \$2,000. The specialist in higher education, whose business it is to judge of university and college standards—

A rather vague line of business—

To report upon academic policies and to analyze institutional management—

High-sounding phraseology, Mr. President, which does not convey to my mind any clear idea of the arduous duties imposed upon this gentleman.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

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

Mr. PENROSE. Yes.

Mr. KING. What authority has Dr. Claxton, or any representative of the Government, to analyze the duties and responsibilities and the methods of teaching of the various States, or the institutions within the States?

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, there is apparently no limit to the universal genius possessed by Dr. Claxton. Any man who can teach gardening in Baltimore, and herd reindeer in Alaska, and compete with Hoover in food conservation has as universal a talent as was possessed by Shakespeare or any of the great men in history.

This man, with these high-sounding duties—

Whose business it is to judge of university and college standards, to report upon academic policies, and to analyze institutional management—

A most arduous task—

for the largest as well as the smallest college plants in the United States—

Think of it—to analyze their institutional managements, great and small—this man receives a salary of only \$3,000, Mr. President, under the act of Congress—

The statistician, in charge of the bureau's fundamental task of collecting educational statistics for the entire Nation, receives \$1,800.

Here Dr. Claxton is not fair to himself, because he undertakes to collect similar statistics from every civilized and uncivilized nation in the world.

The whole report is one continuous wail about low salaries; and yet the Committee on Appropriations, Mr. President, has fixed these salaries. They are thought to be commensurate with the duties performed, and analogous to the salaries of similar positions in other branches of the Government.

It is lamentable, Mr. President, to read in the report that—

The position of specialist in foreign educational systems, replete with enormous possibilities for leadership in the development of American education and industry on the basis of foreign experience, pays \$1,800.

To think that the man who tells us what they are doing in Japan and Burma and Siam and Haiti should only receive, for this notable consecration to the public service, \$1,800!

Who can not sympathize with the lamentations contained in the report, wherein it says:

The situation with regard to salaries paid under lump-sum appropriations is only slightly better.

I had thought, Mr. President, that the possibilities of the lump sum were limitless; and it is some comfort to me, in these days of enormous expenditures, to find that the lump sum has its limitations.

With great regret, Dr. Claxton says that—

The limit of \$3,500 placed upon salaries paid out of these funds means that the bureau can not expect to secure and hold permanently men who have a right to speak with authority in their special fields.

That is the real underlying motive behind this measure, in my opinion, Mr. President, and the reason why my amendment was so strenuously objected to, which endeavors to hold at least the present salaries and the present places down to their statutory status, and not permit the bureau to run riot, raising salaries and creating additional places.

Look at the recommendations in the report. There is hardly a recommendation here that does not relate to an increase in the salary of some employee in the department or which does not relate to the creation of an additional place. I shall not detain the Senate by more than referring to this highly interesting phase of the aspirations of the Bureau of Education, which seem chiefly to relate to salary raises and additional places.

Mr. President, from the fraudulent and false-pretense aspects, we conclude with the ridiculous when we read in the report that the bureau should be authorized to sell some of the 4,000 reindeer belonging to the Government in Alaska and to distribute the remainder to the fields wherein they shall be herded.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I have listened to the speech of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], and also to the speech of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], with surprise.

As I understood the amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania, it forbade the use of any of this money in paying employees. I may have misunderstood him.

Mr. PENROSE. The amendment provided that no part of this appropriation should be applied to increasing salaries or creating permanent salaried positions.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I did not understand it, then. I thought it was to prohibit the use of any of the money to pay employees. That, of course, would destroy the bill. I have no desire that any of the fund shall be used to increase the pay of present employees of the bureau, and would have no objection to such a direction with reference to the fund; but, of course, if the fund could not be used to pay employees hereafter to be employed, or employees assigned to this special work, nothing could be done under the bill.

Mr. PENROSE. Nothing will be done.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Something will be done. I enter my opinion against that of the Senator from Pennsylvania, and I think mine is worth at least as much as his upon this subject.

I am very familiar with the work of the Bureau of Education. I know it has done a vast deal of good. I know it has not interfered with the work in the States. I know it has not assumed the task of education which has belonged to the States. On the contrary, it has cooperated with State superintendents; it has cooperated with city superintendents; it has cooperated with county school commissioners; it has been a clearinghouse of information, gathering material that they needed from all parts of the Union, and furnishing it to them to help them advance in the splendid work of training the boys and girls of our country. This is a subject which to me has always been most dear, and to which I have given a great deal of attention, one that always delighted me, one where I feel that the broadest opportunity for public service is furnished.

Now, what is this bill? This bill is not to place the Commissioner of Education in the States to teach the illiterate of mature years. It is not that. That never has been the province of the Bureau of Education. It has not been the province of the bureau to teach the children; but it has been the province of the bureau to be a clearing house of information and help the State officials to gather the information they needed and contribute to their work, helping to unify the work of the entire country and advance it in its breadth and in its strength.

What is this bill? This is a bill to authorize the Bureau of Education to go among the adult illiterates, to help prepare plans to strengthen the adult illiterates, to help by furnishing plans the work to be done by the State officials, the work to be done by the State commissioners of education and superintendents and the city commissioners of education and superintendents and the city and the country teachers. But the Bureau of Education here, national in its scope, is to help prepare the line, to help point the way, to help stimulate the work. It may go further. It will help stimulate the good women in the cities and the good men in the cities and in the country to take up this problem of adult illiterates and help reach out to them and organize day and night movements to remove illiteracy among the adults.

Where does this bill come from? Senators have ridiculed the source of the bill. They charge the Commissioner of Education with seeking to build up a new, great bureau. Why, he already has the bureau. The bill did not come to us from him. It came to us from one of the broadest and best men in our country, the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lane. Let me read to you a sentence from his letter. I introduced the bill because the Secretary of the Interior sent it to me and wrote a letter upon the subject which appealed to my judgment. He called attention to facts that appealed to my judgment. Let me read a line or two from his letter. Before I do so, I challenge the statement of the Senator from Pennsylvania that there are not in this country 700,000 persons of draft age unable to read and write.

Mr. PENROSE. What does the Senator found his statement on?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I will give the Senator my facts. That is the reason why I challenge his statement.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator does not give me any facts.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am going to, if the Senator will sit down and listen to me.

Mr. PENROSE. I will.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There are 5,516,163 adults in the United States who can not read and write, according to the census of 1910.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President, let me correct my friend from Georgia—above the age of 10.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Above the age of 10; yes.

Mr. PENROSE. Has the Senator any evidence that they are males or females, or both?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am going on with my statement. I again suggest to the Senator that he sit down.

Mr. PENROSE. I was making a civil inquiry of the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have not finished. I will give the Senator all my information.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator says there are 5,000,000 men and women who are illiterates.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That is true over the age of 10 years.

Mr. PENROSE. That is not a question involving the draft age.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes; that furnishes information about the draft age also, because the proportions run through.

The percentage is about 8. Now, then, there are 10,000,000 within the draft age, or about 10,000,000. That percentage makes those within the draft age over 700,000. The Senator asks for the calculation for his information, and that is the calculation made by the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lane, found in this letter, and that is what the Secretary based his letter upon, that there were approximately 700,000 within the draft age subject to the draft who could not read and write. Now let me read the conclusion of the letter of the Secretary.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The morning hour having expired the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 3771) authorizing the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, while I have the floor I wish to finish the line I was presenting.

Mr. OVERMAN. Does the Senator want to speak on this bill?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; I will speak on the bill that was before the Senate before the unfinished business came up.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator can not speak unless he speaks on this bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think I know my rights, and I shall use them.

I desire to call attention very briefly to one or two more things, and then I intend to defer my further remarks until a later time.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator intend to try to get a vote on the bill to-day?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; I can not. I wish to complete at this time my reference to the statement by Secretary Lane, and my answer to the efforts to prejudice this measure upon the theory that it originated with the Commissioner of Education in an effort to enlarge this bureau. The conclusion of the letter of Secretary Lane to me is in this language:

What I have said here leads to a respectful request that you give early consideration to House bill 6490, which provides for a modest appropriation for the Bureau of Education to begin and conduct a vigorous and systematic campaign for the eradication of adult illiteracy. If the bill can be passed soon, special attention can be given to teaching illiterate men of draft age, and especially those who are classified in Class A.

So, Mr. President and Senators, this bill came from the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lane. It came in a letter from him to me, and also a letter to the chairman of the Committee on Education in the House. He pointed out the extent of illiteracy above the age of 10 in the United States, 5,500,000; he pointed out the illiterates within the draft age, 700,000; and he appealed to us for this meager sum to be used by the Bureau of Education that it might speedily begin work to organize and stimulate work that as far as possible illiteracy might be removed from the boys in the cantonments and from those of draft age.

One more word and then I shall defer my further remarks until the bill is formally before the Senate.

The Senator from Oregon called attention to a picture the use of which he seemed to condemn, and he said it was being sent in great quantities from New York by the National Americanization Committee for the United States Bureau of Education. It is true, I presume, that this picture is being distributed generally throughout the United States among those who can not speak English. It is probably true that the Bureau of Education has stimulated the work of the National Americanization Committee, and that this committee is spending vastly more in this work than we have contributed to the Bureau of Education for leading in such work. If so, I congratulate the country on the work of the Bureau of Education cooperating with the National Americanization Committee. What is this circular? What is this picture? It presents Uncle Sam shaking hands with an immigrant laborer who can not speak English, and Uncle Sam is inviting the immigrant to do what?

To learn English; to attend night schools.

The circular tells the immigrant to do this because—

It means a better opportunity and a better home in America.

It means a better job.

It means a better chance for your children.

It means a better America.

Ask the nearest public school about classes.

If there is none in your town, write to the National Americanization Committee or the United States Bureau of Education.

Senators, can anything but good come from the circulation of matter of that kind? Does anyone question the value to the Nation of inducing immigrants to learn English and attend night schools? If that is the kind of work Dr. Claxton and the Bureau of Education are doing, then I ask you, Can we not well encourage them to do more of the same work? We spend a few dollars on the Bureau of Education, but under the leadership of the bureau large sums are contributed by which great service to our Nation is accomplished.

I shall not detain the Senate longer now, as the unfinished business is the regular business, and we should proceed with it.

REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3771) authorizing the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government.

Mr. OVERMAN resumed and concluded the speech begun by him on yesterday. The speech entire is as follows:

*Tuesday, April 2, 1918.*

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, in my humble judgment, the bill now under consideration has been very much misunderstood. A remarkable thing happened in connection with it. It was introduced one afternoon about 4 o'clock, and the next morning, almost before the bill had even been printed, and before anyone could have read it, there were great headlines in the newspapers and interviews with various gentlemen denouncing the bill. That was an astonishing thing to me, but as Senators and Members of the other House have read and understood the bill it has come into very much stronger favor than it was before, and when Senators come to consider this bill as it has been amended I do not see how any Senator can oppose it. There are no horns in this bill.

I desire now to come to a discussion of its provisions. I wish to discuss the precedents for it; I wish to discuss its limitations, and I wish to show the absolute necessity for this legislation.

The President of the United States is the executive officer of the Government, made so by the Constitution. He executes the law. Under the Constitution, under our form of government, Congress makes the law, the Supreme Court of the United States declares what the law is, and the President is charged with the execution of the law. The pending measure does not propose to give the President any substantive power whatever. Congress, in its wisdom, has passed certain laws which, under the Constitution and by virtue of his great office, the President of the United States is charged to execute. The question is, How shall he execute the laws which Congress has enacted? That is the only question before the Senate. Shall he be authorized to execute them in the best interest of the Government and in order to fight the war more efficiently?

The Constitution prescribes the duties of the President. Senators, of course, are familiar with the provisions of the Constitution, but I will read a portion of section 3, Article II:

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may on extraordinary occasions convene both Houses—

And so on.

The President is charged, under a joint resolution which we have passed declaring war, to prosecute that war to a successful termination. The declaration of war was in the following language:

*Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.*

So, it is made the President's duty to fight the war not only by the joint resolution declaring war but by the authority granted to him under the Constitution as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. He has sent to the Senate, the same as if it were a message to Congress, a request for certain authority—the authority which is conferred in this bill. The question with the Senate is whether in this emergency, in this great crisis of our country, when men are fighting and dying, and the world is, as it were, burning up, and democracy and liberty itself hangs in the balance, will we grant to the executive head of this great Nation, whom by joint resolution we have charged to fight this war, not any new power, but the authority he asks for. He says it is necessary and tells you he must have this authority. Shall we give it to him?

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, even if these were not war times, I would be in favor of this bill. Everybody familiar with the history of this country knows, and especially, perhaps, I will say to the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOR] and those 18 members of the Appropriations Committee, with whom I have the honor to serve, know that there is the most utter confusion and great duplication of work among the departments of this Government. No man knew that or could know it better than former President Taft. Before he became President of the United States he had been Solicitor of the Treasury; he had been Secretary of War; he had been Governor General of the Philippine Islands, and he knew the conditions existing.

In January, 1912, he sent to Congress a message, in writing, in which he said that the departments, bureaus, and agencies of the Government had been built up by Congress during a hundred years without any system, without any coordination, and that there was utter confusion and duplication of work everywhere. In response to that message, in which he asked for a hundred thousand dollars to appoint an efficiency commission to look into the matter, the necessary legislation was enacted, and subsequently a report was made by the commission. After reading that report, Mr. Aldrich, a great Senator from the State of Rhode Island, said upon the floor of the Senate that if we would carry on the Government as any business concern is carried on we could save the enormous sum of \$300,000,000 annually. Mr. President, if this Government was run according to business methods, he was not far wrong in this statement.

Mr. President, in time of war we ought not to be too sensitive or squeamish about these things. In time of peace I introduced a resolution, which the Senate passed and which I am going to read, which practically gave the authority now sought by the pending measure, but in relation to one subject only. Time and time again, as I am going to show, Congress has acted upon this question and given this authority for special objects.

Mr. President, we have got to give the President power in these times to carry on the war in order that it may be carried on successfully. We have got to stand by him. President Lincoln—

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KNOX in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield.

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from North Carolina said a few moments ago that the President had asked for the power which this bill would confer upon him. Will the Senator from North Carolina point out the message of the President to which he referred in making that statement?

Mr. OVERMAN. I said it was the same as a message in writing. The bill was advocated by the President and sent to me by the President, and I have no hesitation in saying so.

Mr. CUMMINS. I did not quite gather that qualification, and I simply wanted it to appear before we proceed further that the President had not communicated to Congress any desire for the power which is conferred by this bill.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, everybody has been making criticism about the "red tape" in the departments. The President wishes to cut it. Let us give him the scissors with which to do so.

Mr. President, before I show the action of President Taft in these matters, which I want to read, let us see what the provisions of this bill are. It has certain provisions and certain limitations. What does it propose to do? Simply, during the term of the war, to redistribute functions. What functions? New functions? No. What functions? Functions that Congress has enacted; functions that it is the duty of the President, as Commander in Chief and as President, to discharge in executing these laws. How shall he execute them? He tells you how he wants to execute them. He does not want new laws or any substantive power, but he wants the authority simply to redistribute these functions so that he may coordinate the great machinery of this Government, which is now loose, with a monkey wrench in it, with no lubricating oil, and running rusty. He asks you to give him the authority to redistribute these functions, and also authority to transfer certain agencies and to transfer certain persons from one bureau to another. That is about all there is in the bill, with what limitations, Mr. President? Let us see what the limitations are.

It is provided—

That the authority by this act granted shall be exercised only in matters relating to the conduct of the present war.

I thought, Mr. President, that the language of this bill was sufficient without that clause, as the following language in the

first section of the bill is a limitation simply for the period of the war:

That for the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, for the better utilization of resources and industries, and for the more effective exercise and more efficient administration by the President of his powers as Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces, the President is hereby authorized to make such redistribution of functions—

And so forth. But some Senators on the committee said, "That limitation is not sufficient. We want to make it more explicit, so as to confine it absolutely to the war," and therefore I accepted the amendment that the authority by this act granted should be exercised only in matters relating to the conduct of the present war in order to make the limitation more explicit.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. JONES of Washington. In view of that amendment proposed at the close of section 1, what effect has the preceding provision—

That this act shall remain in force during the continuance of the present war and for one year after the termination of the war.

It seems to me that those two provisions are really contradictory.

Mr. OVERMAN. So far as the committee is concerned, that is only a question of detail. The idea of making it 12 months was, as there is another provision in the bill requiring that these functions should go back to where they were before they were redistributed, that there should be sufficient time for adjustment of those matters where changes had been made. There is a provision that—

Upon the termination of this act all executive or administrative agents, departments, commissions, bureaus, offices, or officers shall exercise the same functions, duties, and powers as heretofore. \* \* \*

So that if the President should redistribute any of these functions or the duties of these officers, they should go back. The only question is, How long would it take to do it? So we made it 12 months; and if the Senator desires a shorter time, I have no objection to it. We only want time enough to enable them to readjust these matters after the war.

Mr. JONES of Washington. No, Mr. President; this is all that I was trying to get the view of the Senator upon: It seems to me that those two provisions are contradictory. If you have a provision that this act shall remain in force for one year after the expiration of the war, it seems to me that carries the authority to act for a year after the war; and yet you put in an amendment providing that the authority by this act granted shall be exercised only in matters relating to the conduct of the present war. Now, the war ends, and the conduct of the war ends, with the treaty of peace; and I just wanted to ask whether the Senator regarded those two provisions as contradictory?

Mr. OVERMAN. They would seem to be somewhat inconsistent; but when you take them in connection with the language I have already read, it will take some time to readjust matters. This certainly is not intended to confer any authority to act after the war is over.

Now, there is another limitation, Mr. President. The limitation is:

That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, any moneys heretofore and hereafter appropriated for the use of any executive department, commission, bureau, agency, office, or officer shall be expended only for the purposes for which it was appropriated under the direction of such other agency as may be directed by the President hereunder to perform and execute said function.

The President is not only given no new power or new function, but he is limited to spending only the money appropriated and only for the purposes for which it was appropriated.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator inform the Senate as to his definition of the term "governmental agency"?

Mr. OVERMAN. Any agency established by Congress.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is the entire definition the Senator wants to give?

Mr. OVERMAN. Or any other agency that the President has established himself, if he has any power and he has established any agency.

Mr. WADSWORTH. There comes a very important distinction.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. NELSON. The bill has been amended so that it refers only to governmental agencies established by law. It is limited to that.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; it is.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Apparently the chairman of the committee did not know that.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; I remember the Senator's amendment. So those limitations are there, Mr. President. It is limited to governmental agencies established by law. It is limited to expending money only for the purposes for which it was appropriated. It is limited to using only the functions which Congress already has established.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I was going to ask, in a specific case, if the Senator will be good enough to answer, Does the Senator consider that the War Industries Board is a governmental agency under that definition?

Mr. OVERMAN. If it was created by an act of Congress, it would be created by law.

Mr. WADSWORTH. It is a close question in my mind, and I am really in doubt about it. The Council of National Defense was established by an act of Congress, and so, as I understand, was the Advisory Commission. They, in turn, created the War Industries Board. Is that a governmental agency established by Congress?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, this language is "now existing by law." It does not say "established by law." If it was legally created, without regard to an act of Congress, it would exist by law, though not established by a statute.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The thing is exceedingly important, because there are a large number of subcommittees of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense; and I should like to have their status thoroughly understood, in order to understand what this bill applies to.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, Congress passed what is called the national defense act, and the national defense act confers no power whatever. It authorizes the President to establish this council. It authorizes certain agencies to be established; and, acting in accordance with this act passed by Congress, conferring no power, the great business heads of this country were summoned to Washington. Advisory committees were established, agencies were established; and there, as the Senator from New York has so vividly set forth, has been the trouble. They took this evidence before the committee, Mr. President—I wish the Senators would read it; the Senator has quoted very largely from it—in which it was testified that the best business men in America came here, as patriotic men, to help fight this war, and they had an act before them which gave them no power whatever, and the bureaus and agencies did not comply with their demands, and there was confusion everywhere.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. CUMMINS. I think there is a little confusion about the immediate subject of which the Senator from North Carolina is speaking. It is true, as the Senator from North Carolina says, that the law confers no power upon the Advisory Commission or any of the committees created through it or under it; but the Advisory Commission is a governmental agency existing under the law, and by the terms of this bill the President can take any department, any commission, or any office, no matter how extensive its functions and its powers may be, and transfer those functions and powers to any committee of the Advisory Commission, even though the latter now has no power or function at all save an advisory one. That is the exact situation. The power here is to transfer from one department or office of the Government to another. I am sure the Senator from North Carolina will agree with me.

Mr. OVERMAN. I agree with the Senator. He has a right to transfer.

Mr. CUMMINS. For instance, under this bill the President can transfer all the powers and functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission, or the Federal Reserve Board, or the Federal Trade Commission, or the Federal Farm Loan Board, to any officer of the Government, or to any agency of the Government, or to any department of the Government, or to one of these committees created under the Advisory Commission.

Mr. OVERMAN. Now, I want to ask the Senator a question which he asked me when I had charge of the espionage bill. The Senator asked me when that bill was up for consideration if it was absolutely necessary in order to fight the war successfully and save the Union and the Constitution, whether I

would be willing to prohibit the publication of newspapers. Now, I want to ask him this question: If it is absolutely necessary, in order to save the Union and to fight this war successfully, to transfer the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to some other department or service, would the Senator be willing to do it?

Mr. CUMMINS. Why, Mr. President, there is but one answer to that question. If it is necessary to save the Union, I would be willing to abolish permanently the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Farm Loan Board and the Federal Trade Commission. I would be willing to abolish any agency of the Government. But it is for me, as a Senator, when I cast my vote to determine whether it is necessary, in order to save the Union, that the President be granted the power to transfer the functions of one of these tribunals, independent in their character, to another officer of the Government. When I am convinced that it is necessary to save the Union that this sort of power shall be given to the President, I am willing to give it, and would without hesitation give it; but I not only believe that it is not necessary to grant such power to the President in order to save the Union, but I believe that if granted it would be an influential step toward destroying the Union.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, the Senator has answered the question as I did, with one exception. He would do it in order to save the Union; he would do it in order to fight a successful war; but he must exercise his own judgment here, and practically say: "I distrust my Commander in Chief; I have no confidence in his judgment. I am afraid he will do so-and-so." We have our Commander in Chief; we have instructed him to fight the war; and does the Senator think he would do that?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from North Carolina will not press me too closely and too far with regard to my trust or confidence in the President of the United States. I have the utmost confidence in his good intentions; but I answer him by saying that I would not grant this power, unless I was convinced that it was necessary, to any man, whether this President or any other President, whether of my own party or of any other party.

The very moment that the Senator from North Carolina can convince me that to prosecute the war successfully, to save the Union, and to save free institutions and to save civilization, it is necessary that this power shall be conferred upon any man in the Republic, famous or obscure, I will be the first to grant it; but the task is first upon the Senator from North Carolina to convince me that any such power as that is necessary in order to conduct the war properly.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. Let me answer the Senator from Iowa first.

Mr. CUMMINS. If the Senator will allow me just a moment more, I want to say that, so far as concerns every illustration which has been given to the committee of a need of further power in the hands of the President, there has been no difference of opinion whatever among the members of the committee. I stand ready to give to the President, so far as Congress can give it, every power which has been specified by the advocates of this bill; but I am unwilling to extend that grant into a nameless, undefinable ground, so that the President, under the guise of transferring power in order to properly prosecute the war, may transfer it for another and a different purpose.

Mr. OVERMAN. Notwithstanding, Mr. President, there is a limitation in this bill that provides that he shall do nothing, he shall exercise no authority, except in matters relating to carrying on the war and necessary for the public defense—there is a limitation—yet with this limitation in this bill which says that the President shall have no authority to do anything not relating to the war, the Senator says the President will exercise that power, notwithstanding he has sworn not to do it. The Senator would not trust him. I have a different opinion of the President, and I am willing to give to him this general authority both as Commander in Chief of the Army and as the great executive head of this Nation, elected by the people to execute the laws.

Why, sir, in 1861 Congress met, and adjourned in August, and left President Lincoln to do things; and for what he did do he was denounced as a dictator and a czar, and yet he saved the Union. He signed without any authority whatever the emancipation proclamation. There was no law for it, but he did it to save the Union; and every man, North and South, today indorses that great act. Mr. John Hay said that like a

tycoon he went about doing things without regard to law or the Congress; but President Wilson does not do that.

It has been said in our committee by some Senators that the President having been given the right to fight the war with the Navy and the Army, he can perhaps do all these things anyhow; but instead of doing them, he comes to Congress, and says to Congress: "Instead of being called a dictator, as Lincoln was called, I would rather have the authority of Congress to exercise my judgment in matters relating purely to the war"; and yet Senators say, "I can not trust him. He may do something he should not do." All the law says is: "You shall not exercise this authority except in relation to war matters."

That is the difference between the Senator and myself. The Senator has stood faithfully with the committee for all matters except his pet measures, which are amendments relating to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and, I believe, the Department of Justice. He has stood with us on everything else. I am glad he has, but I do not want him to make those exceptions. I do not want him to assume that the President of the United States will disobey the law, violate his oath, and do an unconstitutional act. That is the reason why I do not agree to those amendments.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. NELSON. I want to remind the Senator from North Carolina that practically the Senator from Iowa was willing to give all the powers granted in this bill with regard to all the departments of the Government except the Department of Justice, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Federal Reserve Board. He was willing to give all these powers, and he did not have the compunction of conscience that he has indicated now about the dangers of the bill.

Mr. CUMMINS. No, Mr. President; the Senator from Minnesota is wrong—

Mr. NELSON. I am not wrong.

Mr. CUMMINS. As I am sure he will admit in a moment.

Mr. NELSON. No, sir.

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from Minnesota will remember that before the committee I took the position that the power which the President desired should be specified, and, if we believed it to be necessary or helpful in the prosecution of the war, that we ought to grant it.

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

Mr. CUMMINS. Just a minute.

Mr. NELSON. Did not the Senator offer an amendment to the bill to that effect?

Mr. CUMMINS. If the Senator will just sit down a moment, I will tell him just what I did. That view was not accepted by the committee; and in order to limit the powers which we are asked to grant within at least those fields that have hitherto been recognized as executive fields, I offered an amendment in which I proposed to give these powers to the President so far as all the executive departments are concerned—that is, the departments of which Cabinet officers are the heads—with the exception of the Department of Justice, and I included also the United States Shipping Board.

I would go with great reluctance to that extent, but I will go, although it does not meet my approval. But when it is proposed to extend this power so that the President may abolish every other agency of the Government and transfer those agencies to any officer or department whom or which he may select—agencies over which the President has no control, agencies that he ought not to attempt to influence in any way whatsoever—I found it impossible to bring my judgment to approve a course so radical and, as I thought, so unnecessary.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; the Senator stood in the committee and advocated an amendment to the bill that would have given the President all the authority granted in this bill, except with reference to the judiciary—and that is very important—and the Treasury Department, and the Interstate Commerce Commission. The truth about it is, my countrymen and Senators, we are too squeamish about these things. Let me tell you: I stood here for three long weeks and contended for the passage of a bill known as the espionage bill, and yet here to-day we are coming back because, under the condition of things, by reason of certain words being stricken out, we can not punish anybody. We come back and ask for amendments to that bill, contained in a bill which I have introduced here to-day, in order that we may punish men for these things. Yet some people want to use the word "intent" when men are destroying the property of the United States, and we have got to come back



here and strike out certain words in a bill because Senators in time of war, when the world was on fire, came here and said: "We must protect the liberty of the citizen."

Mr. President, the liberty of the citizen must be protected; but in times of war we must do all those things that are necessary to bring about a successful conclusion, and we must trust the man that the Constitution and the people of these great United States have trusted to be the Executive of this country. The Constitution makes him the Commander in Chief. Miller, in his work on the Constitution, says that the reason the Constitutional Convention put in the words "Commander in Chief" and made the President the Commander in Chief was because Senators and Members of Congress were denouncing George Washington, the Father of his Country, all over the floors of Congress and hindered him at every step; so, in order to give him the power to fight the war successfully, the Constitution itself made the President the great Commander in Chief. Now, being the Commander in Chief, and with this joint resolution passed putting upon this good man the terrible burden of fighting this war, you propose to deny him certain authority that he says he must have. Why? Because you can not trust him. It is your duty as a patriot to trust him. If he does wrong, we can deal with him afterwards. If he does things contrary to law and does not confine his action to matters relating entirely to the war, and no others, then we can deal with him. I, for one, believe that we ought to trust him with this power, and that he will exercise it according to the law of his country. That is the difference between the Senator and myself. The Senator says that if it is necessary, in order to save the Union and fight the war successfully—I do not know whether it will be necessary or not, and the Senator does not know—to transfer the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, he is willing to have that done. But if it should be necessary, and you have not given to him that power or any other power, what is he to do? He is to do like Mr. Lincoln did, I suppose, and then he will be denounced as a usurper. Whether some Senators trust him or not, the people of this country trust him, without regard to party, as no other President has been trusted in our past history.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. REED. Will the Senator be so kind as to point out to us how, by any possibility, it would be necessary for the President to wipe out the Interstate Commerce Commission in order to win the war?

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not intend to do it. I say he will only exercise powers according to this bill, which confines him to using those powers only in matters relating to the war.

Mr. REED. But, Mr. President—

Mr. OVERMAN. Many things might happen of which I can not conceive at this time. Why, the Senator from Missouri has asked me time and time and time again to show him what the President wants, and said that he might grant it.

Mr. REED. Yes; and the Senator has been as mum as the proverbial oyster when the question was asked.

Mr. OVERMAN. Ah, I will show the Senator why I can not do it. There is something arising every day in connection with which the President ought to have a right to transfer and redistribute these powers.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, will the Senator tell us what has already arisen during this year?

Mr. OVERMAN. I will tell the Senators. Wait until I get to it. I have had contests with these three Senators for about three weeks. I know what they are asking. The committee has reported out this bill and asks the Senate to pass it. I know what you are going to say about it. I expect you to make a speech along that line on this floor.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. REED. Sometimes we get help by direct questions. If the Senator has been asked these questions for three weeks he ought to be able at the end of that time to answer some one of them. The question I am asking him is to point out to the Senate how, by any possibility, it is necessary to take away the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and transfer them to some individual? It might be Mr. Creel or it might be Mr. —

Mr. OVERMAN. Still "harping on my daughter."

Mr. REED. No; he is no relative of mine, either male or female; but that witticism was worn out weeks ago. Now, I

want the Senator, who has had three weeks to think it over, to answer the question how it is necessary, in order to win the war, to take the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and confer them on some other individual? I think the Senator ought to answer that question or else say he can not answer it.

Mr. OVERMAN. I want to be frank with the Senator. I can not see why he would.

Mr. REED. Then, if the Senator can not see how it is possible, why did the Senator refuse to vote for my amendment, offered in the committee, to eliminate the Interstate Commerce Commission from the remarkable provisions of this bill?

Mr. OVERMAN. Because we limited it purely and solely to fighting the war and let the President decide that question.

Mr. REED. But the Senator's argument now is that it is not included.

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not think it is.

Mr. REED. If it is not included, why did the Senator vote against an amendment that a considerable number of the members of the committee thought was necessary in order to make it plain that it was not included?

Mr. OVERMAN. As I said to the Senate, because I wanted to give the President this general power that he has asked, trusting that he will comply with the law, trusting him as the people of the United States have trusted him, trusting him as two-thirds of the Senate, I believe, are going to trust him with this matter, that he may exercise the power in his own good judgment. If he thinks it necessary to use it, he will do it; but he will have a good reason for doing it, and it will be in the interest of the national defense.

Mr. REED. The Senator first states that he can not tell us any reason why it is necessary to interfere with the Interstate Commerce Commission. Then he tells us that the Interstate Commerce Commission is not included in the bill at all, and that that is the reason why he objected to excluding the Interstate Commerce Commission. Then he tells us finally that he wants to leave in the power just because he wants to trust the President to do everything. Now, I want to ask the Senator if he did not change this bill himself by his own amendments not less than five times from the original draft?

Mr. OVERMAN. I read the limitations, and one of them was the limitation I am talking about, that it must be limited to fighting the war.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President—

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KELLOGG. Do I understand the Senator to claim that the bill gives the President the power to transfer the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. OVERMAN. I say it gives him the power, just what it says, to distribute the functions of any department in this country for war purposes.

Mr. KELLOGG. Now, one further question. I suppose the Senator is aware of the fact that in the railroad bill, after a discussion for many days, both the Senate and the House voted to leave the power ultimately to fix rates in the Interstate Commerce Commission. Is there any reason why the Senate and the House should reverse their action on that proposition in this bill?

Mr. OVERMAN. This bill does not reverse it.

Mr. KELLOGG. It gives the power to the President.

Mr. OVERMAN. It gives him power if necessary to save the country and more efficiently fight the war. That is what it does. That is the authority given.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to the fact that this assumption that because we give the President the power and the authority to consolidate these departments therefore he has the power and will exercise it and discontinue and dismantle the departments is a most violent assumption. Under the Constitution and the law we give the President plenary power to make war after we have declared war. What is to hinder the President to-day, if he saw fit to exercise the power, to direct Gen. Pershing over in France to surrender our Army to the Germans and leave that country? There is nothing in the law to prevent it, but we know that the President will not do anything of that kind.

In respect to the Interstate Commerce Commission, we have in another bill given the President the power to take possession of and regulate the railroads and to fix the rates. Now, why should not the President in connection with that have the authority to utilize the functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission in connection with the rate-making power? We have no right to assume that because he will utilize some of the employees of the Interstate Commerce Commission he is going to wreck and dismantle and destroy that commission.

This opposition is founded on the assumption that the President from first to last will do nothing but wrong; that he will

discontinue and dismantle all the departments instead of the proper assumption that he will utilize them to the best of his ability to carry on the war successfully.

Let me illustrate it, if the Senator from North Carolina will yield to me another moment. Take the matter of sending supplies to Europe. There are three or four branches of the Government interested in it. The Shipbuilding Board is interested in it, the Navy Department, the War Department, and the Department of Commerce, that has to do with exports. Those departments and the Shipbuilding Board are all interested in this matter. In order to carry on the transportation of food and supplies to Europe it is necessary to have all these branches of the Government function and work together. That is all there is in this bill, and there is no use of slandering it.

Mr. OVERMAN. If the President wanted to remove some of the best-trained men in the United States and call them in to serve in some department of the Government from the Interstate Commerce Commission, why should he not have the power?

Mr. CUMMINS. I, for one, am willing to give it.

Mr. OVERMAN. Of course, the Senator is willing to give nearly everything except his one pet measure.

Mr. CUMMINS. No.

Mr. OVERMAN. As the Senator pointed out that the President may have to use that power, but he will never use it unless it be for war purposes.

Mr. CUMMINS. If the Senator from North Carolina will allow me a moment, I am not proceeding upon the theory that the President will do what he thinks is wrong. I think the President will do what he thinks is right. But this legislation is my responsibility, and not his. I can no more assume his responsibility than he can assume mine and obey the Constitution. The Interstate Commerce Commission is entirely removed from the executive departments of the Government. It is wrong for the President to attempt to influence it at all. It is purely a legislative function. It is an administrative commission organized by Congress for the purpose of administering the will of Congress, and the President has nothing whatsoever to do with it.

Now, I have no objection to giving the President the power to reach into the personnel of the Interstate Commerce Commission and transfer any man from that employment to any other employment of the Government. As the Senator from North Carolina knows, I have no objection to that; but we have charged the commission with certain functions. I happen to speak of that, but there are other commissions and tribunals just as important and to which all that I say about the Interstate Commerce Commission will apply with equal force. We have charged that commission as a legislative matter with the duty, for instance, of valuing all the railroad property of the country, and it has proceeded now for about four years in that work.

Mr. OVERMAN. And it is money absolutely wasted.

Mr. CUMMINS. I know something about the controversy that has arisen with regard to the continuation of the work, and every Senator who is abreast of the time knows something about it. Is the Senator from North Carolina willing to give the President power to transfer the functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the valuation of railroad property to any person whom he may select for that purpose? Is any Senator willing to destroy the labor already done and vest in some other unknown, unnamed man the vast power of determining the value of the railroad property, which before very long it is quite likely the Government will be called upon to acquire?

I simply instance these things. The President might not do that. I do not know whether he would or not; but whether he would or not, we are recreant to our duty if we give any man the power to transfer a function of that kind to some one who is unknown to us, and who may or may not discharge that duty under the high sense of responsibility which we have a right to expect from the Interstate Commerce Commission.

That is but one of the functions of that great tribunal. Another is the right to review the rates fixed by the President. Now, see what an illogical and absurd position we might create. We have given those who are interested the right to appeal from the action of the President in fixing rates to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Suppose the President transfers the function of reviewing rates from the Interstate Commerce Commission to the same person who fixed them originally, what a position would be created for the edification of our enemies!

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator thinks the President would utilize some other body than the Interstate Commerce Commission to value the railroads. So far as I am concerned, I have seen \$12,000,000, and I think the Senator will agree with me, generally wasted in the valuation of the railroads. The waste is going on. What will you do after you value them? You would have to value them every five years.

But talking about power, the Senator was on the great Committee on Interstate Commerce—I think the Senator says he did not vote for that provision, but you have given more power to the President of the United States in your railroad bill than is proposed to be given him in this bill. Ah, you say that was for a special object. Yes, and this bill is for a special object. For what? That was to run railroads and this is to fight the war.

Now, let us see what power you did give. It was more vast than that given in any other bill that ever passed Congress.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUTHERLAND in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. OVERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. LEWIS. I beg to ask the Senator from North Carolina, likewise the Senator from Iowa, to this consideration. When we had peace and the railroads were in the management of private interests we created a government as an agency for their regulation. We called that agency the Interstate Commerce Commission. But when we came to war and the President took charge of the railroads the relation the Interstate Commerce Commission had borne in peace times came to an end to the extent of its previous control over the railroads.

Why, therefore, under this bill should not the power be in the hands of the President since he must control the railroads with respect to rates and management, which control is given him by Congress for the benefit of the war? Why should we have the Interstate Commerce Commission or any other agency with the privilege to interrupt and obstruct the cause? I agree with the Senator from North Carolina that in many instances the commission would show that it would be an obstruction and would defeat the very object of the bill that put the railroads in the hands of the President.

I wish to express my concurrence in the view of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] that the privilege that remains in the hands of the President under the bill presented by the Senator from North Carolina should not be interfered with by any power previously granted to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. STONE. Will the Senator allow me to ask if the act does, in effect, give the President power to abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. LEWIS. I hold that the law which gave the President the right to take charge of the railroads, in effect, repealed any provision that existed giving the Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction in any matter that conflicts now with the new law that gives the President the control of the railroads.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will not yield further right now. I have been very much diverted from the line of thought I expected to follow, but I welcome questions from any Senator upon the floor. We have had quite a controversy here about a matter that I probably would have reached before this time. I did not expect to speak for more than an hour, but I have been diverted. I wish to say to the Senator from Iowa that the powers given in the railroad bill were far greater than anything granted in this bill, because this bill does not grant any substantive power, but only authority to act in regard to laws already passed. That is the only authority granted here. Under the railroad bill the President may "call upon any department, commission, or board of the Government for such service as he may deem expedient," and the President in addition is given "further power necessary or appropriate to give effect to the powers herein and heretofore conferred." It gives him all sorts of power, any power he wants. Yet when we propose here to give him authority and not a power to fight the war, we have this great opposition from certain Senators who would be denying him the authority that he has as the great Commander in Chief.

I want both sides without prejudice or partisanship to study this bill and see if there is any unusual grant of power in it. Study it and think about it. Do not go according to the headlines in the newspapers, or the talk about the cloakroom, or the talk and lobbying here among Senators, but let us get down and study the bill and see what it means.

I was going on to say when I was interrupted that the former President of the United States, Mr. Taft, indorsed this bill practically, although there was no bill before him then, and I am going to read you from the great speech of Associate Justice Hughes last September before the Bar Association of the United States, in which he indorsed such power as this granted to the President in time of war. I will show you from great magazine writers and university professors, and take up the history of our Civil War, and other wars that we have had in this country, that the President should be given this authority.

It is said that the Constitution did not make the Union—that the Union made the Constitution. Therefore your great Commander in Chief must have powers not outside the Constitution, but the Constitution must be construed during war in connection with war power, as Mr. Lincoln did when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. He had no authority to do it except the power that was given him as Commander in Chief to fight the war, and he exercised it, although men charged him with being a usurper and a traitor and a dictator, and he was denounced from one end of this country to the other.

Mr. CUMMINS. Will the Senator from North Carolina yield for just one more question, and it shall be purely a question?

Mr. OVERMAN. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Iowa, or anyone else.

Mr. CUMMINS. Why does not the Senator from North Carolina include in this bill power on the part of the President to transfer the legislative functions of the Government to some other office or officer, if necessary, in order to successfully prosecute the war?

Mr. OVERMAN. That is already answered by the asking. This is a different department of the Government. As I started out to say, the Constitution of the United States divided this Government into three great divisions—the legislative, which makes the law and raises the money to equip armies and to levy the taxes necessary to fight this war; the President executes these laws; the Supreme Court decides what is the law. If Congress did not act, history would repeat itself and some one would charge the President with being a usurper and a dictator. You have charged him with going ahead and not consulting Congress, and now he comes and asks Congress for power. He is treating this coordinate branch of the Government fairly. He says, "I do not want to do anything that savors of dictatorship, and you say you will not trust me. In effect, I am charged to fight this war to a successful end, and this is what I need. Come to my help!" That is all he asks, and that is what you ought to give him without question.

Mr. President, before I was interrupted I was going on to state that in times of peace I would be willing to give this power, trusting to the President to do right, without limitation, and believing that he would do those things only which relate to the war. This has been agitated by Senators who realize the situation, and I introduced an amendment to an appropriation bill giving practically this power. It passed the Senate. The distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURRIS], always looking out for the interests of his country, diligent and untiring in his devotion to it in legislation, and knowing the financial conditions and the confusion existing in the departments and how they are handled and the trouble we have in all the departments, introduced the same bill. After the President of the United States had sent in the report of the Efficiency Board everybody felt that many customhouses should be abolished in the interest of economy; that the officers were getting large salaries and were receiving no fees. But you could not do it. Why? Because every time it came up a Senator wanted to protect his man and to keep him in.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] knows how that is. Every Member of the House wanted to keep in his man. After the diligent and active and able Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURRIS], then a Member of the House, introduced that bill, authorizing the President not only to coordinate but to abolish the customhouses, Congress passed it and gave the President the power to abolish them. This bill does not give the President any such power as that. The President did, in accordance with that act, abolish the customhouses, and it saved the country every year \$350,000.

But it is said that that was for a special purpose. Yes; but for no more special purpose than this bill. That bill was to save money. This bill is to fight the war.

Now, I am going to tell the Senate what the then President of the United States, Mr. Taft, said, who, I say, knew more about this Government and its intricacies than any man probably who has ever been President of the United States, from the fact that he was so long Secretary of War, and also Solicitor and President, and had looked into these matters.

For 100 years these departments have been built up with bureaus and agencies having no relation to each other. I say in time of peace they ought to be correlated and coordinated and brought together, and that duplication should stop in this country.

This thought occurred to me when the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] was discussing the educational bill this morning. The Commissioner of Education, I understand, is given authority to teach aliens to speak the English language. There is a bureau in the Department of Labor for the purpose of educating the immigrants who come here. The truth of it is

we could save millions and millions of dollars if we would stop this duplication and take from the Department of Labor and put in the Bureau of Education this work of educating and teaching English to aliens.

You have another bill here of duplication. You are passing them at every Congress.

Now, let us see what Mr. Taft says about it. You can never get Congress to do it unless you give the President authority to do it. That is the reason why I said in time of peace I would be willing to give just the authority this bill gives:

There have been no adequate means provided whereby either the President or his advisers may act with intelligence on current business before them—

This was in 1911—

There has been no means for getting prompt, accurate, and correct information as to results obtained.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Will the Senator tell me from what he is reading?

Mr. OVERMAN. I am reading from the message of President Taft delivered March 3, 1911—

Estimates of departmental needs have not been the subject of thorough analysis and review before submission; budgets of receipts and disbursements have been prepared and presented for the consideration of Congress in an unscientific and unsystematic manner.

Senators, look at these bills that are coming here, estimates by the millions and the billions, made by some department's chief. The President can not look over them. He does not have time to scrutinize them, and he can not do it. That is what Mr. Taft was talking about. The President can not know what is going on. There is nobody to revise what they do—

Appropriation bills have been without uniformity or common principle governing them; there have been practically no accounts showing what the Government owns, and only a partial representation of what it owes; appropriations have been overencumbered without the facts being known; officers of Government have had no regular or systematic method of having brought to their attention the costs of governmental administration, operation, and maintenance, and therefore could not judge as to the economy or waste; there has been inadequate means whereby those who serve with fidelity and efficiency might make a record of accomplishment and be distinguished from those who were inefficient and wasteful; functions and establishments have been duplicated, even multiplied, a using conflict and unnecessary expense; lack of full information has made intelligent direction impossible and cooperation between different branches of the service difficult.

I could stand here and read the report of this commission that Congress created, appropriating \$200,000, and showing the confusion existing and woeful wasting of money by duplication of work. I wish Senators would read it to show the confusion and the want of correlation and coordination in every one of these departments, bureaus, commissions, and agencies, which Congress has from time to time established without any scientific ideas of government. We have the most unscientific Government in the world.

I want to stop here, Mr. President, to say that France and Great Britain have given Lloyd-George and Clemenceau greater powers than we propose to give the President, because we give no substantive power; we only give him authority to redistribute powers or functions already granted by Congress. I could stand here and read what I have on my desk to show what England has done to give power to Lloyd-George, not the commander in chief but the premier, and Clemenceau, the President of France, without stint, let, or hindrance. They can change every cabinet minister to-morrow; they can change the commander in chief to-morrow. Yet when we ask for a little authority here to coordinate the departments for the interests of the Government Senators would deny it to our President.

Mr. REED and Mr. KENYON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield to the Senator from Missouri first.

Mr. REED. I wish to ask the Senator when he first heard of this message of President Taft? It was about 1911, was it not?

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; somewhere about that time.

Mr. REED. The emergencies existed then, and they have existed ever since?

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. REED. I want to ask where the gallant Senator from North Carolina was during all the intervening years that he did not act?

Mr. OVERMAN. I fathered a bill through the Senate trying to correct it, and it failed in the House because some Members of the House thought that men in whom they were interested were going to be interfered with. The Senator knows how hard it is to get such a bill through both Houses.

Mr. REED. Does the Senator say he opposed the bill?

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I should like to answer the question of the Senator from Missouri. I recall very distinctly that the Senator from North Carolina did offer an amendment

to an appropriation bill granting to the President some such powers as are contained in this bill, and after a prolonged controversy the amendment was agreed to in the Senate.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; and I had the valuable assistance of the Senator from Arkansas in getting it through.

Mr. ROBINSON. I think it is not improper to say that I make this statement in reply to the innuendo of the Senator from Missouri that the Senator from North Carolina long deferred action on this matter after he knew the necessity existed. I think the Senator from North Carolina has been very diligent.

Mr. REED. I think the Senator from Arkansas was sufficiently plain without his explanatory note, but I venture the assertion that the Senator from North Carolina has never brought forward a general plan proposing to have the departments of the Government reorganized. If he has, it never reached such a stage as to generally challenge the attention of Congress. It may have been offered as an amendment to a bill.

Regardless of that, I want to ask the Senator from North Carolina if he is undertaking to say to Congress now that the real purpose of this bill is to accomplish the kind of reorganization that President Taft had in mind, and if it is now proposed during this war to undertake a general reorganization of the departments of the Government to carry out the kind of purpose President Taft had in mind?

Mr. OVERMAN. The President wants to do it, so far as the war is concerned, to help him better fight the war. But I was stating what we did. The Senator talks about plans. He does not remember the great debate here and the speech of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] and the speech of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS] and the speech of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], advocating the amendment which passed the Senate but went out in conference. I did get up a plan in time of peace to do just what this bill provides for.

But it is not proposed to do that now because we have placed a limitation on the President. It has all got to go back after the war. It can only be done while we have the war, and he can not expend a dollar for any other purpose than it was appropriated for.

Mr. ROBINSON. The authority sought to be conferred on the Executive in the provision which was adopted in the Senate a year or two ago was broader than the authority which is proposed to be conferred here.

Mr. OVERMAN. That allowed the President to act and it gave Mr. Taft power to act. This does not give the President any power to act except as Congress gives him power to coordinate and bring together the departments.

Mr. REED. Does the Senator mean to say that this bill does not give him power of action?

Mr. OVERMAN. It says he has the power to coordinate and bring them together in a scientific manner to fight the war.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator from North Carolina give the date of the amendment which he offered?

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; I will come to it directly. I have been diverted or I would have done so long ago. I will come to those matters. I want to read what Mr. Hughes said; but, first, I want the Secretary to read one paragraph from Mr. Taft's message. It is marked.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. What volume is it in?

Mr. OVERMAN. I will ask the Secretary to state that. I was reading from the message under date of March 13, 1911. That was the next year.

The SECRETARY. Reading from volume 1 of House Document 104, No. 1252, Economy and Efficiency Report, Miscellaneous, Sixty-second Congress, third session, page 2:

This vast organization has never been studied in detail as one piece of administrative mechanism. Never have the foundations been laid for a thorough consideration of the relations of all of its parts. No comprehensive effort has been made to list its multifarious activities or to group them in such a way as to present a clear picture of what the Government is doing. Never has a complete description been given of the agencies through which these activities are performed. At no time has the attempt been made to study all of these activities and agencies with a view to the assignment of each activity to the agency best fitted for its performance, to the avoidance of duplication of plant and work, to the integration of all administrative agencies of the Government, so far as may be practicable, into a unified organization for the most effective and economical dispatch of public business.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I think I will read along that line, as to the powers which Congress ought to give to the President in time of war, extracts from an address of the late Republican candidate for President, who was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as everybody knows, and who is recognized as a great lawyer. This is an address which was delivered by Mr. Hughes on September 19, 1917. It seems as though it were prophetic, and reads as if it was an argument for this bill. This address was delivered before the American Bar Association.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes, sir; gladly.

Mr. KNOX. Before the Senator reads that extract from the address of Mr. Hughes I should like to make an inquiry in relation to the message of Mr. Taft. Is this not the difference between what Mr. Taft proposed and what this bill proposes: Mr. Taft proposed that there should be a readjustment of administrative officers by legislation, while this bill proposes that it shall be done by Executive order? Is that not the difference between the two?

Mr. OVERMAN. No, Mr. President; I think not. I will show that Congress is not carrying out the recommendations of the President as to giving him power.

Mr. KNOX. What I mean is this: Mr. Taft did not request Congress to give him the power to make this redistribution of functions between the different administrative officers of the Government, as I recollect.

Mr. OVERMAN. He asked that power, I think.

Mr. KNOX. In the position in which I happened to be in Mr. Taft's Cabinet at the time—although I do not claim any special recollection of the circumstances—as I understood it, Mr. Taft desired that Congress should provide a new system predicated upon a report of a board of experts. That board was appointed, and he reported the findings of the board to Congress through this message.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will not deny that. As the Senator from Pennsylvania says that was his understanding, of course I will not take issue with him. Now, here is what Mr. Hughes says:

Each of these powers, that of Congress and of the President, is the subject of a distinct grant; each is the complement of the other, and together they furnish the adequate equipment of authority for war. There is no more impressive spectacle than that of the President of the Republic in time of war, when, in addition to the other great powers of his office, he acts in supreme command of the armed forces of the Nation and conducts its military campaign. It was under this power that President Lincoln defended the Proclamation of Emancipation.

It is also to be observed that the power exercised by the President in time of war is greatly augmented outside of his functions as Commander in Chief through legislation of Congress increasing his administrative authority.

It looks as though he were talking about this bill when it was introduced nearly a year afterwards—

War demands the highest degree of efficient organization, and Congress, in the nature of things, can not prescribe many important details as it legislates for the purpose of meeting the exigencies of war.

That is just exactly this case. The President finds something occurring every day as to which he would like to have authority to coordinate certain departments. There are 7 great auditors; 12 great supply-purchasing bodies; and he is met with them beating against each other—jealous of each other.

Never is adaptation of legislation to practical ends so urgently required—

Is not that pretty good authority?

Never is adaptation of legislation to practical ends so urgently required, and hence Congress naturally in very large measure confers upon the President the authority to ascertain and determine various states of fact to which legislative measures are addressed. Further, a wide range of provisions relating to the organization and government of the Army and Navy, which Congress might enact if it saw fit, it authorizes the President to prescribe. The principles governing the delegation of legislative power are clear, and while they are of the utmost importance when properly applied, they are not such as to make the appropriate exercise of legislative power impracticable. The legislature can not delegate its power to make a law, but it can make a law to delegate a power to determine some fact or state of things upon which the law makes, or intends to make, its own action depend. To deny this would be to stop the wheels of government. There are many things upon which wise and useful legislation must depend which can not be known to the lawmaking power, and must, therefore, be a subject of inquiry and determination outside of the halls of legislation.

Many things occur every day that are not known to the lawmaking power; and right here, Mr. President, if you will pardon me for diverging, some Senators say, "We want to know what the President wants to do; tell us what he wants, and we will give it to him." That was one of the arguments before the committee. Why, Mr. President, the President does not himself know. What he desires is to be in a position to act, and to act quickly, when it is necessary to act.

Why, let me tell you this: They have been shooting popgun bills through the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is the hardest matter to get them through, but they have been shooting them through here day after day; 8 or 10 little popgun bills have passed here. But, if the President had the authority which this bill is designed to give him, what was desired to be accomplished by those bills could have been attained without delaying Congress. If you want him to come to Congress every time he desires to act, and have one Senator

standing up here and talking for an hour, and another, maybe, talking three hours, and then there be an adjournment on him, the war would be over before you passed the legislation. That is the history of these bills. Let us give him the general authority to act, and save time and money and enable the Commander in Chief to efficiently fight this war.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield.

Mr. LODGE. I simply desire to call attention to exactly what Mr. Taft did ask. Here it is:

My desire is to secure and to furnish to the Congress a scheme of organization that can be used as a basis of discussion and action for years to come.

In the past, services have been created one by one as exigencies have seemed to demand, with little or no reference to any scheme of organization of the Government as a whole. I am convinced that the time has come when the Government should take stock of all its activities and agencies and formulate a comprehensive plan with reference to which future changes may be made. The report of the commission is being prepared with this idea in mind. When completed it will be transmitted to the Congress. The recommendations will be of such a character that they can be acted upon one by one if they commend themselves to the Congress and as action in regard to any one of them is deemed to be urgent.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, that was the first message sent to Congress in order to get the authority to appoint this commission of 12 men. Then there came back this report, which I had read from the desk, to Mr. Taft. Not only did Congress act in one case but acted in two or three instances, as I am going to show. There is precedent for this all along the line in time of peace and in time of war. You will not deny this power to him. What, then, does Mr. Hughes say? He says:

Congress can not be permitted to abandon to others its proper legislative functions; but in time of war, when legislation must be adapted to many situations of the utmost complexity, which must be dealt with effectively and promptly, there is special need for flexibility and for every resource of practicality; and, of course, whether the limits of permissible delegation are in any case overstepped always remains a judicial question. We thus not only find these great war powers conferred upon the Congress and the President, respectively, but also a vast increase of administrative authority through legislative action springing from the necessities of war.

The action we ask here is just that which Mr. Hughes says the President must have in order to successfully fight the war. That is all we ask.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President—

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

Mr. HARDWICK. I want to ask the Senator a question. He conceded that for the purpose of waging war more effectually it is desirable to confer on the President this flexibility of administrative power and the power of reorganizing the bureaus and the departments that are directly or even remotely connected with the waging of war. How does that argument apply at all to a bureau or department of the Government, like the Post Office Department, utterly disconnected with the war and dealing only with civic affairs of the people?

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I am going to show the interrelation of the Post Office Department with the carrying of the mails to the soldiers.

Mr. HARDWICK. Oh, well, that is such a remote connection—

Mr. OVERMAN. I will show to the Senator that every one of the departments has some connection directly or indirectly with war.

Mr. HARDWICK. Of course, if the Senator is going to contend that everything on earth, every activity, civil and everything else, is connected more or less remotely with the war, I am not inclined to dispute that.

Mr. OVERMAN. I am going to show the Senator directly, when I come to it, that every one of them is directly related to the war in some of its functions.

Mr. HARDWICK. Therefore, this bill includes everything?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. And the exception amounts to nothing.

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes; the exception is not worth while, because the bill means to include everything.

Mr. OVERMAN. What exception?

Mr. HARDWICK. I refer to the limitation proposed to be put on this power with relation to matters connected with the war. It amounts to nothing under the broad construction laid down by the Senator from North Carolina. The bill is a blanket that covers everything in this country.

Mr. OVERMAN. Not at all.

Mr. HARDWICK. It is not limited to war activities at all, but covers every civic function.

Mr. OVERMAN. No; it only covers matters in the departments relating to the war.

Mr. HARDWICK. But the Senator says everything is related to the war.

Mr. OVERMAN. I said every department has something in it that is related to the war.

Mr. HARDWICK. Therefore, all the departments are included in the terms of the bill?

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; all of the departments, more or less, in some way, through one or more bureaus or agencies, are connected with the war.

Why, Mr. President, I was criticized for stating here once that the Agricultural Department had nothing to do with the war. It has not, outside of the question of food production. A gentleman came to me the other day from up North—the president of a great manufacturing concern. He said he went before a little fellow sitting up in the Quartermaster's Department, having been sent for in order that the Government might find out how much caustic soda could be obtained and where it was manufactured. The Government official turned around and said, "What do you mean by caustic soda, anyhow?" Yet caustic soda is one of the ingredients of the greatest explosive known to the world in making picric acid. If we had a right to coordinate the Chemical Bureau of the Agricultural Department, the Chemical Division of the Bureau of Mines, and the chemical bureaus of some of the other departments, we would have one great bureau or agency to help in the discovery of these explosives and to consider their possibilities, instead of having different bureaus considering this subject scattered around, having men doing one thing in one department and something else in another department. They should be coordinated in one great department or bureau.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield.

Mr. HARDWICK. Let me see if I understand the Senator, because it affects very vitally my own position on this matter. The Senator has just told me that, in his opinion, practically everything in this country—

Mr. OVERMAN. No; I did not say that.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator said "everything."

Mr. OVERMAN. I said there was some agency or bureau in each department of the Government which was directly connected with fighting this war.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will pardon me, I do not want to be captious in any way; but I think the Senator's statement went even further than that.

Mr. OVERMAN. I did not intend to go further.

Mr. HARDWICK. Very well, I accept the Senator's modified statement, then. Now, under any such broad construction as the Senator indicates and under any such broad latitude of power as the Senator lays down, there will be practically nothing that is exempt from the operation of this proposed law, and many things that, in my judgment, at least, and I think in the judgment of other Senators, touch only the civic activities and the civic functions of the Government will be embraced under this war measure.

Mr. OVERMAN. No; my friend is in error as to that.

Mr. HARDWICK. I wish we could draw a line between the two.

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not think the Senator has read the amendment.

Mr. HARDWICK. Oh, yes; I have read it very carefully.

Mr. OVERMAN. It confines the provisions of the bill to those matters in the departments directly connected with the war.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will pardon me—and I am not going to detain him much longer—that is a matter of construction. Some people are construing it, in fact the people who must administer the proposed law are construing the provisions of this measure to cover everything on earth that has even the most remote and indirect connection with the war, and even by the most remote indirect and roundabout processes of reasoning. That is the trouble with it.

Mr. OVERMAN. There is a limitation as to the departments; in fact, there are five different limitations. The President has to construe it that this authority is given in matters relating to the conduct of the war.

Mr. HARDWICK. Let me illustrate—

Mr. OVERMAN. And it must be left to him.

Mr. HARDWICK. But the National Legislature has got to have some rights about this matter, too.

Mr. OVERMAN. The National Legislature has.

Mr. HARDWICK. If it does not surrender them, yes.

Mr. OVERMAN. We do not surrender them; we put this limitation in.

Mr. HARDWICK. We delegate them, then.

Mr. OVERMAN. No; we put a limitation in the bill.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator says "everything connected with the war." Suppose it was the construction of some man connected with the Government, and that construction was finally approved by the President, that one of the things necessary to do to prosecute the war adequately was to determine the kind, character, quality, and quantity of crops that should be planted in this country, would that be connected with the war in the judgment of the Senator?

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not think the President would exercise power such as that under the bill; but I do not see why that is not connected with the war.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Is not the manifest answer to the Senator from Georgia this, that this bill deals with the transfer of executive functions, and such a thing as designating what crops shall be planted is as remote from this bill as pole is from pole?

Mr. HARDWICK. But the answer to that is, I suggest to my distinguished friend from Delaware, that under that sort of construction any and every branch of the Department of Agriculture could be included in this bill? That is what I am leading up to.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think the Senator is mistaken.

Mr. President, I shall not read it, because I have already taken too much time of the Senate, but I wish to put in the RECORD a quotation on this subject from William Archibald Dunning, professor of history in Columbia University. I do not indorse all the author says, but the extract advocates the enactment of such legislation as is now proposed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the matter will be printed in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From Dunning, William Archibald, professor of history in Columbia University, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Macmillan Co., 1904, pp. 58-59.]

The commander's privilege (in the Civil War) of doing whatever he regarded as likely to weaken the enemy was freely employed as a warrant for congressional action. Both legislature and Executive were on this theory "above law." Hence while Congress was endowed with authority to legislate entirely at its discretion, the President was privileged, at his discretion, to disregard all this legislation. Where such a conclusion was possible, the principle of departmental check and balance was obviously of little significance. Good statesmanship in both Executive and legislature preserved the harmony of the two branches till the strain of armed hostilities was relaxed, but no longer. In the work of destruction the President was the real Government and Congress kept in the background; in the work of reconstruction Congress asserted once more its controlling power and violently put the President into the background.

Mr. OVERMAN. I also ask to insert in the RECORD, without reading, an extract from the work entitled "The Civil Law and the Constitution," by John W. Burgess, dean of the faculty of political science in Columbia University.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From Burgess, John W., dean of the faculty of political science in Columbia University. *The Civil Law and the Constitution*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901, vol. 1, pp. 232-233.]

Congress (in 1861) placed the Government on the war footing, ratified the President's assumption of war powers, and on the 6th of August adjourned, leaving the President practically in the position of a military dictator. This was good political science and good public policy. It was also sound constitutionally. In periods of extreme peril to the political life of a nation individual liberty, federalism in government, and even coordination of government departments must give way temporarily to the principle of executive dictatorship. It is a desperate remedy, a remedy of last resort, but it is one which every complete political system must contain, and under certain proper conditions employ. The two most modern constitutions of federal government, those of the German Empire and of Brazil, made express provision for it. They authorize the executive in periods of extreme public danger to suspend the ordinary law and establish martial law. There is no question that the Constitution of the United States authorizes the Congress and the President, acting together, to do the same thing. The clauses of that instrument which vest in Congress the power to raise armies, provide for calling the militia into the service of the United States for repelling invasion and suppressing insurrection, and to declare war, and in the President the powers of a Commander in Chief, certainly contain the principle of the dictatorial power of the whole Government, if not of the President alone, and it is altogether gratuitous to concede that the Government of the United States overstepped its constitutional powers, and acted on the principle that necessity knows no law in preserving the Union by force against dissolution. It overstepped its ordinary limitations, but it had, and has, the constitutional right to do that in periods of extraordinary danger.

The root of the error in denying this right lies in the claim that the Constitution made the Union. The truth is that the Union made the Constitution and that the physical and ethical conditions of our territory and population made the Union. The Union was, and is, the Nation, and men did not make the Nation by the resolutions of a convention. Men undertook to interpret the requirements of the Union in political and legal organization and to give them objective form and

authority, but behind all that they did or could or can do was and is the Union, the Nation, whose preservation is the supreme principle back of the Constitution and the supreme law within the Constitution. Any other view of these relations is unspiritual, is purely arbitrary and mechanical.

Mr. OVERMAN. I also ask permission to insert in the RECORD, without reading, an editorial from the Nation.

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

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From editorial in the Nation, New York, v. 104, p. 568, May 10, 1917.]

Another thing not to be forgotten is that all these extraordinary powers to be given the President are emergency powers. This means two things. One is that the grant is valid only for the duration of the war. It is not a question of the laws being silent in the midst of arms. The point is, rather, that Congress is asked to make it lawful for the President to do many things while the armed conflict lasts which it would never think of authorizing him to do in times of peace. It is a gift of power in order to avoid the usurpation of power. Moreover—and this is the second implication of what is being done at Washington—the immense powers placed in the hands of the President he may not find it necessary to use at all. Their mere existence may be sufficient to accomplish the purpose.

It is said—a few Congressmen are saying—that it is dangerous to pass laws enhancing the authority of the President so enormously. Some fear that we shall discover that we have created a dictator. Of course, any grant of power may be abused by any official. But no system of checks and balance, no vigilant legislative oversight, can do away with the necessity of getting officials whom we can trust and then giving them the tools with which to do their work. There were many critics of Lincoln during the Civil War who called him a usurper and a dictator. It is true that in him the necessities of the war led to reposing a confidence and an authority before that time unparalleled. John Hay wrote privately of Lincoln as a sort of Tycoon, going his own way, seldom holding meetings of the Cabinet, running the Army and Navy and conducting foreign affairs according to his own will. But no one to-day would speak of Abraham Lincoln as grasping at overweening power for its own sake or to further a personal ambition. His mighty spirit was wrestling with the great work of ending the war; and that once done, he was ready to lay down every scrap of dictatorial power and be again one with the people who were bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. And all that is sought at present by the administration in Washington is to be full panoplied for every emergency which the war may thrust upon the country. When the emergency is overpast, the armor put on to meet it will be quietly laid away.

Mr. OVERMAN. I also ask permission to have printed in the RECORD, without reading, a quotation from an editorial in the New Republic.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From editorial in the New Republic, New York, vol. 13, p. 360, Jan. 26, 1918.]

When Congress proposes plans for reorganizing the war administration it is only reflecting the opinion of a majority of the American people. Mr. Wilson will be falling into the first grave mistake of his career if he permits his opponents to crowd him into the position of ignoring facts, of resenting criticism, and of rigidly opposing reorganization. That was the mistake which Mr. Asquith made in the spring of 1915, and it cost himself and his country dear. The President's personal and partisan enemies are making use of the crisis in order to force on him, if possible, a mechanism of war administration which would tend to hamper rather than to help him and his Cabinet and which could only add to the existing confusion. He is justified in opposing this particular bill. But if he fails to recognize the necessity of some measure of reorganization which will make in favor of a more unified war administration and a more vigorous conduct of civil and military preparations he will be misjudging the needs and opinions of the Nation and failing to meet his own obligations to satisfy them. There is still time and space in which to deliver himself and the country from the deplorable consequence of a fight in the midst of war between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. He can still offer as a substitute for the doubtful plan or reorganization proposed in the Senate bill a plan of his own which would be better designed to secure a similar result. If he would only adopt this course, he would not only break the force of the attack of his enemies and enable his friends to continue their undivided support, but he would do away with the most formidable threat which has yet been directed against the war morale of the American Nation.

Mr. OVERMAN. I have other quotations from distinguished men of this country indorsing this bill, but I shall not encumber the RECORD with them.

Mr. President, I said there was precedent for this proposed legislation. I see the Senator from Missouri is present. Here is the amendment which I introduced to the legislative appropriation bill in 1917:

SEC. 8. The President is hereby authorized to take action looking to a proper and scientific coordination of the work of the various executive departments of the Government; and he is hereby requested to report upon the question of transfer and consolidation of bureaus, divisions, offices, and other governmental activities, in order that duplication of service may be abolished and extravagance and unnecessary expenditures eliminated.

As agreed to in conference, and as it appears in the law, the provision is as follows:

SEC. 8. The Bureau of Efficiency shall investigate duplication of service in the various executive departments and establishments of the Government, including bureaus and divisions, and make a report to the President thereon, and the President is hereby authorized, after

such report shall have been made to him, wherever he finds such duplications to exist to abolish the same. Report of the action taken hereunder shall be made to Congress at its next regular session.

That is the law which was enacted.

Mr. REED. When?

Mr. OVERMAN. March 3, 1917.

Mr. REED. It is on the statute books now?

Mr. OVERMAN. It is.

Mr. REED. Then that law giving the President the power to do the very thing which the Senator says President Taft desired has been upon the statute books since what year?

Mr. OVERMAN. March, 1917.

Mr. REED. March, 1917. It has been on the books all these months, and it is there now.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. REED. And hence there is no necessity of conferring that power.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, we conferred that power before. Why not confer it now?

Mr. REED. You do not need to confer it now; it already exists.

Mr. OVERMAN. This bill gives the same power as that conferred by the amendment which I prepared more than a year ago, and which Congress enacted into law in a modified form, and yet under that provision the President can not accomplish what he desires, for the reason that the power is limited and the President must wait for the report of a certain commission, which never have made any report, and can not make a report, because they are employed in other matters connected with the war. Whenever such a report is made, if one ever shall be made, the President will have the right to act under the provisions of the law.

That is why he ought to have the right that is proposed to be given him by this bill. I believe the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] and other Senators supported the amendment which I have already quoted.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator a question.

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield.

Mr. REED. Let me read the amendment to which the Senator has referred:

Sec. 8. The Bureau of Efficiency shall investigate duplication of service in the various executive departments and establishments of the Government, including bureaus and divisions, and make a report to the President thereon; and the President is hereby authorized, after such report shall have been made to him, wherever he finds such duplications to exist to abolish the same.

Now, I want to ask the Senator a question: The President is authorized by this provision to abolish duplications. The Bureau of Efficiency has been in existence for how many years? Can the Senator tell me?

Mr. OVERMAN. I can not; but it has been in existence for several years.

Mr. REED. Does the Senator mean to say that the Bureau of Efficiency has made no report as yet?

Mr. OVERMAN. I want to say that I sent for the chairman of that bureau when I had this bill before me, knowing that my amendment in modified form had been adopted, and asked him if he had made any report. He said no; that the war came on, and he had not been able to make a report; that he had been employed in the War-Risk Insurance Bureau in the effort to devise a system for that work, and it was impossible for him to do the other work.

Mr. REED. Then, if duplications are found, the power exists, as soon as a report can be made by the commission, to abolish those duplications. So that all the argument of the Senator in regard to the necessity of giving the President the power to abolish duplications is void and of no effect.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think the Senator's question answers itself.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Has not this board been at work for two or three years, and has it not submitted its report on the subject of duplications?

Mr. OVERMAN. No; the chairman told me he had not been able to submit a report; that they had not had time to make a report.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Has not the board been at work?

Mr. OVERMAN. After war was declared, the chairman said, they had not been able to do the work and did not prepare any report at all.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Here [indicating] is a report.

Mr. OVERMAN. Oh, I wish somebody would read that report. It is in answer to a resolution passed in Mr. Taft's administration, showing instances where there ought to be

coordination and scientific rearrangement in the departments of the Government.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. WOLCOTT. In order to make clear the particular point that has just been discussed, I wish to ask the Senator if this is not the situation: The law which is on the statute books, and which the Senator from Missouri has just read, has to do only with the duplication of service in the departments, whereas this bill is not primarily related to the question of duplications at all, but it is its purpose to establish, bring together, coordinate, and consolidate.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is the reason I said that the question of the Senator from Missouri answered itself, because the bill does not propose to deal with duplications primarily.

Mr. REED. I directed my remark to the argument made by the Senator from North Carolina, largely concerned with the question of duplications. I simply called attention to the fact that the power already existed to abolish duplications.

Mr. OVERMAN. Duplications; yes. That is the reason I said that the Senator's question answered itself, because this bill does not refer to that.

Mr. President, within the last 12 months we have appropriated more than \$23,000,000,000 without a financial policy. Estimates for departmental expenditures have literally poured into Congress day by day without any centralized scrutiny, revision, or control. The President has no power and no organization to sift them down to the rock-bottom needs of the Government. The estimates for appropriations are being sent into Congress according to old statutory regulations made to meet the needs of other days when the entire expense of the Government was less than half a billion dollars a year. There has been no readjustment of our methods of finance since we entered the war. The Public Treasury bears a relationship to the conduct of the war in no less a degree than the Army and the Navy. A strong financial policy, worked out and enforced with vigor and efficiency is absolutely necessary to insure the proper carrying out of the military and naval program.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Has not the Secretary of the Treasury the right to do this work to-day, to bring together the reports of the various departments and submit the result to Congress?

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, that is the difficulty. The time of the Secretary of the Treasury is so engrossed that when the heads of the departments send to him estimates calling for billions and billions of dollars it is impossible for him to go through them. There ought to be some coordinated body to scrutinize every estimate that comes here.

Mr. GALLINGER rose.

Mr. OVERMAN. I see my friend on my right rises. He is on the Appropriations Committee, and he sees the importance of some legislation along this line, even in times of peace.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator's friend rose to ask him how many assistants the Secretary of the Treasury has at the present time?

Mr. OVERMAN. He has four or five, but the Senator knows how these things are done. The estimates come down here from the departments, and we just take them oftentimes without ever being able to scrutinize them as they should be scrutinized.

Mr. GALLINGER. They come with the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury; that is the way they come.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I hope they will do better, so as to win the war.

Mr. OVERMAN. I hope so; and if you will give this power I believe they will.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. How will they need this power to do it?

Mr. OVERMAN. There are plenty of departments of the Government which send estimates here that never go to the Treasury Department. The Senator knows that. The President under this bill will be able to establish a different system.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I do not understand that that is the case; I know it is irregular, if it is done.

Mr. OVERMAN. No; it is not.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. KELLOGG. I do not understand that the Secretary of the Treasury has any power over the estimates of the War and Navy and other departments at all. All he can do is to transmit them to Congress.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. KELLOGG. That is what I thought.

Mr. OVERMAN. The head of a department makes an estimate, which is sent to the Secretary of the Treasury, and he merely forwards it to Congress; he often can not look at it, and he has not the authority or power to change it.

Mr. KELLOGG. He simply transmits the estimates to Congress?

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; and there ought to be somebody that could take charge of such matters even in times of peace.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. KNOX. If the Senator will permit me, the rule is that every department makes out its own estimates; and they are only transmitted to Congress through the Treasury Department as a purely formal matter.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is exactly as I understand the matter.

Mr. GALLINGER. Then, it becomes the duty of the committees of Congress to look the estimates over and determine whether or not it is proper to make the appropriations.

Mr. OVERMAN. Certainly; and when estimates for billions of dollars are sent down to Congress, as has been the case sometimes, the Senator and I and other members of the Committee on Appropriations are called together and we have to take the statements sent to us and vote for the appropriations.

If we had coordination in this work and a body to look into and scan every appropriation that is asked for, I believe we would save millions of dollars annually.

Mr. GALLINGER. Now, as a matter of fact, have not these appropriations of billions of dollars all come at the request of the President of the United States, to whom you want to give this authority?

Mr. OVERMAN. No, Mr. President; the President sends down what is sent to him by his chiefs. There ought to be somebody to overlook and scan all these estimates for appropriations before they are sent to the President. The President has not the time to look over all of them; obviously that is impossible. Let us talk common sense. I do not mean to say the Senator from New Hampshire does not always talk common sense; but so far as I am concerned—

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator does not offend me at all; but the Secretary of the Treasury is very closely allied with the President of the United States in his official duties. Now, is it not a fact that these great estimates of appropriation come here with the sanction of the President of the United States?

Mr. OVERMAN. The President merely signs them. As the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Knox] has said, each department or each bureau that wants any money makes an estimate and sends it to the Secretary of the Treasury; but at a time like this, when we appropriate billions of dollars—\$23,000,000,000 last year—the Secretary of the Treasury can not look them over; but they are sent to the President, and the President signs them just as they are sent to him.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Does not the Senator think that the President of the United States could provide now for the examination and consolidation of the estimates from the various departments? Are not the estimates from the departments simply the estimates of the President, acting through the various heads of the department, and has he not now authority to consolidate and compare and bring together those various estimates?

Mr. OVERMAN. No; the law requires that each department shall prepare its own estimates. If there were some board that could look over all the estimates, it would be a great aid to Congress.

In my judgment the President under this bill would be able to establish a system of interdepartmental financial control, and could thus, as Commander in Chief, lay before Congress from time to time a consolidated statement of his financial needs.

Mr. President, some one has said that the Department of Justice was an exception; it has been argued that that department has nothing to do with the war. Let me tell you what I find after a few days' investigation. I find that there is an intelligence bureau in the Department of Justice; I find there is one in the War Department; I find there is one in the Department of the Navy; I find that there is one in the Treasury Department. There ought to be but one intelligence department, instead of four or five working against each other and jealous of each other. That is the trouble with this country to-day. We have men in one department working on a certain line, and men in other departments working along the same line; instead of having one great consolidated intelligence bureau that could run down the spies and bring them to

justice, we have the intelligence bureaus split up. One of the agents himself said to me the work along this line is often greatly demoralized. They run across something that they desire to investigate, but the War Department says, "this is our business," and then another department, perhaps the Navy Department, says, "it is our business." Let us get them working together in one intelligence bureau, so that a combined effort may be exerted.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I think the Senator from North Carolina is quite right in saying that there ought to be a consolidation of these intelligence bureaus or secret-service systems. I promise the Senator from North Carolina to do the best I can toward showing him, before we are through with this debate, that the President has ample and complete power at this time to consolidate those so-called bureaus, and dismiss all but one of them. I may say, while I am on my feet, that with regard to the creation of a board which shall have the power to revise the estimates of the various departments of the Government, this bill does not give the President any such power as that, although I think it is a power that he ought to have. I am in favor of the so-called budget system of dealing with our appropriations; but the very thing that the Senator from North Carolina desires is the very thing that is not in this bill at all.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me a moment—

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. I think the Senator inadvertently made a mistake in speaking about the intelligence bureaus. Those are very different from the secret service. I agree that there are three secret services, as I understand—

Mr. OVERMAN. More than that.

Mr. LODGE. And there may be more; but the naval intelligence is a wholly different thing. That is something relating entirely to the Navy, and has nothing to do with espionage, or spies, or criminals of any sort.

Mr. OVERMAN. I may be wrong about that.

Mr. LODGE. It is to gather intelligence for the Navy. They have it in time of peace as well as in time of war.

Mr. OVERMAN. I may be wrong about that. I saw that there was a naval intelligence bureau, and I thought it exercised functions along this same general line, but I feel very sure there is a secret-service bureau in connection with the Navy.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President—

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. CUMMINS. I used the word "intelligence" simply because the Senator from North Carolina did, although I tried to qualify it immediately by a reference to the secret-service systems of the various departments.

Mr. OVERMAN. Now, Mr. President, I told the Senator from Georgia that I would show how certain things in certain departments were correlated or interrelated with the war power—not to say that the President would exercise it, but he ought to have authority to do it.

In the Department of State—the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Knox] was once the great head of that great department—there is a foreign trade adviser, who has general supervision over foreign-trade matters and diplomatic and consular correspondence relating thereto. There is a Diplomatic Bureau which has charge of diplomatic and miscellaneous correspondence relating thereto. There is a Division of Foreign Intelligence, which has censorship and control of the departmental publicity under the direction of the Secretary; disseminates information to diplomatic and consular officers and information for publication abroad; has a telegraphic-news service to diplomatic missions abroad; has charge of publicity matter concerning the foreign policy of the United States, and of giving out information relating thereto to the press and to officials. There is a Division of Latin American Affairs; a Division of Mexican Affairs; a Division of Far Eastern Affairs; a Division of Near Eastern Affairs; a Division of Western European Affairs; a Consular Bureau, having charge of consular and miscellaneous correspondence relating thereto; a Bureau of Citizenship, which examines applications for passports, issues passports, receives and files evidence, and so forth, and conducts correspondence relating to the protection of American citizens abroad. That is one of the most important divisions connected with the war to-day.

The Department of the Treasury has the management of war finance and the auditing of war and other Government expenditures through six independent auditors. They are there in time of peace, and if you will let me digress, I do not see why we should have six auditors. The President of the United States, then Mr. Taft, suggested that they be made into one or two. We have six now, and to get a belt buckle paid for, or a man's



laundry paid for, it has to go from auditor to auditor. A man told me that a little account of 75 cents had to travel about 5,000 miles and be indorsed by an army of men almost before it could be paid. It went from one place to another, and back to another. That is the trouble that Mr. Willard encountered; that is the trouble that Mr. Gifford encountered; that is the trouble that Mr. Catchings, the head of the American Chamber of Commerce, encountered. They said that when they came here they found all these things, and said that something ought to be done about it. So does the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] say that there ought to be coordination and centralization of power. So does the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] say, on this floor, that there ought to be coordination and centralization of power. So does the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] say that there ought to be coordination and centralization of power. Everybody says there is too much red tape. Let us cut the red tape and do what the Senator from New York wants—not in the way he wants to do it—but let us give the President authority to coordinate.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Senator has requested that we read the testimony of these experts, Mr. Gifford and others, to whom he refers. I have read their testimony, and I should like to have the Senator show anything in that testimony that goes substantially beyond the proposition that we need a director of munitions.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I will do that. I will show it.

The Department of the Treasury, as I said, has the management of war finance and the auditing of war and other governmental expenditures through six independent auditors, as follows:

- (1) Auditor for the Treasury Department.
  - (2) Auditor for the War Department, including the audit of war expenditures abroad.
  - (3) Auditor for the Interior Department.
  - (4) Auditor for the Navy Department.
  - (5) Auditor for the State and Other Departments.
  - (6) Auditor for the Post Office Department.
- It also has a secret service.

The Department of Justice has to do with the detection and prosecution of violations of the espionage act, the detection and prosecution of violations of the draft act, and the detection and prosecution of violations of all other such war legislation.

Then there is the Post Office Department, in which the Senator from Georgia is interested, having charge of the handling and transportation of soldiers' mail, the exclusion of seditious and treasonable matter from the mails, the transportation and delivery of Government war correspondence, and the transportation of all foreign mails and the consideration of all questions arising thereunder. That is directly connected with the war.

Under the Department of the Interior there is the Commissioner of Patents, having supervision of all matters relating to the granting of patents, including patents for war devices, and so forth. Here are all these patents being issued for matters relating to the war, of which he has supervision. Then there is the Commissioner of Pensions, who administers the military and naval pension laws; also the Director of the Bureau of Mines, who has charge of the administration and enforcement of the act of October 6, 1917, to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, and so forth, of explosives, and providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, and so forth, of the same.

In the Department of Agriculture there is the Office of Farm Management, which studies farm economics and the application of business principles to farm practice; the Weather Bureau, which makes weather forecasts, collects and transmits marine intelligence for the benefit of commerce and navigation, and so forth; the Bureau of Animal Industry, which deals with the livestock industry, including eradication of disease, inspection, quarantine, and so forth; and the Forest Service, which, among other things, investigates the mechanical and physical properties of woods and gathers information concerning the needs of the various wood-using industries and the relation of forests to public welfare generally. A United States forestry regiment is now in France doing forestry work.

In the Department of Commerce there is the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, which develops foreign trade and gathers statistics concerning foreign commerce and trade possibilities; the Bureau of Standards, one of the most important in this war, which can be used and is being used now all the time by the War and Navy Departments, which makes tests to de-

termine the quality and standardization of materials needed for Government use; the Bureau of Lighthouses, which establishes and maintains aids to navigation on the coasts and lakes and rivers of the United States and its territories; the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which surveys the coasts of the United States and prepares charts of such surveys; the Bureau of Navigation, which has general superintendence over the commercial marine and merchant seamen of the United States; and the Steamboat-Inspection Service, which inspects vessels, licenses the officers of the same, and so forth.

In the Department of Labor there is the United States Employment Service; the Bureau of Naturalization, which supervises the work of the naturalization of aliens; and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which collects and diffuses information on problems relating to labor in this country and abroad. There are two departments here bidding against each other for labor—the Shipping Board and the Department of Labor.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has only to do with work relating to the railroads, and only there as to transferring officers who are needed for this work.

The Director General of Railroads discharges functions which have been recently prescribed by Congress.

The Civil Service Commission passes upon the appointments of clerks for the various war activities of the Government.

The Federal Reserve Board has duties related to war finance and the War Finance Corporation.

The War Finance Corporation has duties related to the financing of war industries.

The Federal Trade Commission investigates business methods, contracts, and so forth, related to the industrial life of the country.

The Council of National Defense has an advisory commission having relations to several fields of war activities.

The War Trade Board has control over exports, imports, and enemy trade.

We are all familiar with the work of the United States Food Administration.

The Commissioner of Priority in Transportation directs transportation of war material, and so forth.

The duties of the Alien Property Custodian are well known, as are those of the Committee on Public Information.

The United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation settles labor disputes, and so forth.

All of these are more or less connected with the war.

Therefore, Mr. President, all we want is that the President shall be able to act when the emergency arises.

Now, let us see: This is a mighty good speech that the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] made. I think it was sent out as a campaign document. I got a copy of it. It was printed on such fine paper that I know it was not paid for by the Government. The print is so fine that I believe I will get the Secretary to read it, to save my eyes.

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

The Secretary read as follows:

In addition, we have the Council of National Defense, composed of six Cabinet officers, with the Secretary of War as chairman, charged with the general planning and coordination of all our agencies, but utterly lacking in power to enforce its decrees. Under the Council of National Defense we have the advisory commission, composed of leaders of industry and finance, but possessing no power and performing no function but that of giving advice. We have a large number of committees and subcommittees of the advisory commission, each charged with the mobilization and organization of a particular industry, but without any power or function except that of giving advice. Out of the Council of National Defense and the advisory commission and its multitudinous committees has grown the body known as the War Industries Board, whose effort is directed toward mobilizing, organizing, and coordinating all of the resources and industries of the country for the supply of our forces on land and sea. The War Industries Board lacks power to enforce any of its arrangements. It, with all its subcommittees—and there are several—simply gives advice. Then there is a commission regulating the purchases of the allies; it, too, is without definite power. It may be that I have forgotten some of the statutory agencies and some of the advisory agencies which go to make up this vast and complicated machine. In any event, the list, as recited, is long enough. It must be apparent to every sensible man that it is utterly impossible to get any teamwork out of this conglomeration of ambitious and scattered agencies, official and unofficial, unless we create some agency that shall guide and control them all in those matters in which teamwork is essential for the accomplishment of great results.

These departments are all buying the same thing. Why not have one man buy it and give him the authority to speed up the production, to make the proportionate allotment of the contracts in the different steel mills? The truth of the situation is to-day, there being no plan for allotting contracts and for placing Government orders, that it has been done very unevenly. Some parts of the country are overloaded with Government orders and other parts of the country have not any, and they could have had them had there been any centralized authority to plan out the distribution of the orders.

Take the question of lumber. The War Department purchases an enormous amount of lumber with which to build the cantonments; the Shipping Board purchases a tremendous amount of lumber for use in the shipyards and in the building of wooden ships. I have no doubt

the allies purchase lumber. I know that the Aircraft Board purchases vast amounts of lumber. Why not have the lumber purchased by one agency? Why scatter the effort? Why not organize and discipline and coordinate the lumber production? Would that set back the wheels of machinery one day if it were done? Senators, it would speed it up. We have too many agencies, all trying to do the same thing.

The plain fact is that we have no agency in our war Government to-day charged with the duty of projecting its vision far into the future, anticipating the emergencies which may arise, and laying the plans by which we can meet and overcome those emergencies. I have cited the coal situation as an illustration of the penalty we must pay unless we reorganize this great effort along business lines, unless we centralize somewhere in our Government the authority and power to compel coordination between all those departments, commissions, boards, and bureaus.

We can not tell to-day just what the future may hold for us. Other emergencies will overtake us, and if we are wise and prudent and far-sighted we shall establish some agency in our Government, whether it be called a war cabinet or by some other name, and it matters not at all to me whether you call it a war cabinet or not. I do not even insist that it be the result of the passage of an act of Congress. If it can be done without the passage of a bill, well and good. I do not care so very much how many men are placed on it. I do not care how they are defined in the Executive order that places them on it, or how they may be defined and described in the bill establishing such a board. My only plea is that something of that sort be done, and done soon.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I have a little more matter here than I desire to submit. I think I will ask the Senate to take an adjournment now.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, before the Senator does that, will he yield to me?

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

Mr. OVERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. I listened very attentively to the reading from the desk, and I notice that the complaint is against the bureaus and commissions that have been created by the President himself. For instance, the question was raised by the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] as to why we should have five or six different instrumentalities engaged in purchasing material. As I understand, the President has solved that problem without legislation, and has one purchasing agent at the present time. Is not that so?

Mr. OVERMAN. No; I think not.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think so.

Mr. OVERMAN. Oh, no.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think Mr. Baruch is in charge now.

Mr. OVERMAN. Oh, he is in charge of certain divisions, but he can not change the law. The law prescribes the duties of these purchasing agents for the War Department, the Ordnance Department, the Quartermaster Department, and so on. They are all separate institutions, governed by statute. You can not change them. They have to purchase the supplies needed by their respective departments.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think substantially that is being accomplished by Executive order.

Mr. OVERMAN. Oh, no; Mr. President.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think so.

Mr. OVERMAN. I am sorry to differ from the Senator. The trouble is that all these purchasing agents are governed by law. Unless authority is given somewhere to consolidate them, you can not do it. I will show the Senator in the morning that I am correct about that. I will finish in about a half hour in the morning.

Mr. GALLINGER. I shall be very glad to have the Senator do that. If that be so, if the duties of these officers are established by law, is it the Senator's idea that we are giving authority to the President in this bill to repeal those laws?

Mr. OVERMAN. No; this does not repeal any law.

Mr. GALLINGER. Then, if the law governs the matter, giving the President power does not amount to anything.

Mr. OVERMAN. No; he is given authority to coordinate them into one office, and then, after the war is over, they go back to where they were originally.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes; but still the law remains right there.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is the reason why it is necessary to have this bill passed—to give him a right to transfer or redistribute functions—and that is one of the things he can do.

Mr. GALLINGER. That does not appeal to me.

At this point Mr. OVERMAN yielded the floor for the day.

Wednesday, April 3, 1918.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I had about concluded my remarks on yesterday afternoon, having spoken longer than I think one ought to speak. I do not believe that one ought to speak for more than two hours, for I think any man who has anything to say upon any question can exhaust it in two hours. But I was diverted, and therefore my speech had to go on and on.

I would have concluded yesterday evening but for the fact that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], after I had argued that the best business men in the United States had said before

the committee that there was confusion everywhere in the departments, and that there ought to be centralized power and coordination, challenged that statement and said he had read the testimony, and he asked me if I could furnish him any testimony along that line except as to the appointment of a munitions director.

Mr. President, having been challenged I want to quote from these proceedings. I do not know whether they are executive or not, but it is the hearing before the Committee on Military Affairs, and it is on my desk. I will read the testimony of Mr. Catchings. Mr. Catchings is a very prominent man, one of the most prominent before the committee, and I think he was on the Council of National Defense. At any rate, he is a member of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and they, one and all, in every section of this country, have indorsed the pending bill. He has indorsed it heartily himself, because it is the proper thing to do.

We are trying to emphasize this—

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Will the Senator give me the page? Mr. OVERMAN. Page 1906. Mr. Catchings said:

We are trying to emphasize this. It does not seem to us to be appropriate for us to determine whether we should have a Chief of Staff do this, as the Germans are supposed to do, or whether we should have a war cabinet or war council or a war committee, as they call it in France. The thing that we are trying to impress upon you is that the experience of business men has been universal that without central control and responsibility no enterprise, large or small, could succeed. We believe that that has been the fundamental principle of our Government and in all other enterprises. We believe it has been our tendency to give our Executives great responsibility and hold them for it; but in this, the greatest of all enterprises, we have no one sitting on the war problem as a whole and controlling these conflicting activities, and as I read to you in the statement there are in Washington at the present time the Fuel Administration, the Food Administration, the War Trade Board, the Shipping Board, the Railroad Administration, the Navy Department, the War Department, and the War Industries Board, all affecting the war situation and all independent, one of another, with no means of settling differences between them. It is not a matter, it seems to me, that we should debate. It is clear that there is no way of settling a difference of opinion in routine between Mr. Garfield and Mr. Hoover, for example.

Senator HITCHCOCK. So you really propose or advocate, not only the creation of a minister of munitions but of some intermediate board above the Cabinet and below the President.

Mr. CATCHINGS. A board which will, of course, be solely responsible to the President and merely pass upon these matters in his name.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, one man could do that.

Mr. CATCHINGS. One man could do that, certainly. We do not lay emphasis on the particular form; but it seems to us that it is utterly hopeless to expect to fight a war without having somebody actually in charge of it, on the job constantly, and thinking about it all the while, and just so long as we continue as we are at the present time, in our judgment, we are inevitably going to come up with a situation where we are having our shipbuilding program interfered with all along the line, unintentionally, but the shipbuilding program is interfered with everywhere to-day.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CURTIS in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. OVERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. May I call the attention of the Senator to the fact that Mr. Catchings is not a member of the Council of National Defense? He is an officer of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and one of the ablest and one of the clearest-headed men I think who appeared before our committee.

Mr. OVERMAN. I thank the Senator for the information. I judged that he was a member of the Council of National Defense because he was one of the witnesses before the committee. Mr. Gifford, on page 1864, said:

My view would be that if the President had the power to appoint a director on the War Industries Board, I would prefer one man. I would prefer a one-man board, where direct executive work could be done. Then, if it were made possible by Executive order, we will say, for the President to transfer from the War Department, the Navy Department, or the Shipping Board, any purchasing committee which it might develop should properly be centralized from those departments into this section, as the scheme works along, we would transfer such things as had to be centralized, such as steel, for instance. No one questions, for instance, that steel will have to be centralized. It will have to be centralized somewhere. We can not have it handled by the Army, the Shipping Board, the Navy, and our allies. If they could be transferred out of the various departments and put under direct war industries, you would have a workable organization that would not be so comprehensive and so detailed as to break down in its functioning, and yet you would attain the object of taking care of these vital needs, which I call the war industries.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you had a central head. It does not make any difference what you call him. If we could empower him, under the rules and regulations to be adopted by the President, the President being the supreme head, to utilize all the branches of the Government, wouldn't that be better than to rely upon these different agencies to do it under a volunteer system? Would it not be better to have one direct head with power to call to his assistance the Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board, the administrative division, the clearance committee, or any other agencies?

Mr. GIFFORD. I think so. I do not think that the war industries under that scheme would need it.

This shows that he is in favor of coordination all along the line by different boards and chiefs. I understand he was asked a question in the Military Committee; the Senator from Tennessee can answer whether it is true or not; I have not seen the evidence; but I understand that when before the committee they asked him what was the remedy for it and he replied "the Overman bill."

Mr. McKELLAR. I will state that this gentleman, Mr. Gifford, who is secretary of the Council of National Defense, is very heartily in favor of a centralized organization with which to deal with these problems. He and Mr. Catchings and other gentlemen were in favor of it.

Mr. OVERMAN. They did not confine it only to munitions, the Senator means?

Mr. McKELLAR. They did not confine it. The testimony was very much to the effect that we needed centralized authority to control the war.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator from Georgia challenged me on that statement.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I agree he took the position that there should be centralized authority.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator said it was only as to munitions.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I said what he especially pressed was a director of munitions, and that that was really what they were supporting in their testimony.

Mr. OVERMAN. That statement does not appear, according to my reading of the evidence.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is my understanding now of the testimony.

Mr. OVERMAN. Now, if the Senator pleases, I will read from some witnesses before the committee who were members of the committee, and let us see what they said about it. I will read only a few lines, for I do not want to take the time of the Senate unnecessarily:

Instances of that sort bear out the statement I have already made, that there is a lack of comprehension of manufacturing difficulties here in Washington in the departments of the Government, largely manned, as they were and are, by military men.

Then we had before us some of the exceedingly able civilians who were summoned to Washington just before or soon after our entrance into the war and who have devoted their time and efforts in helping the Government. Senators are acquainted with a large number of them. These men have lived close to the problem for many months; they have watched the working of the machinery at close range; they are thoroughly informed upon the situation; and they have told us about it not only in open session, but in executive session. Each and every one of them has pointed out and explained the defects which the members of the committee had begun to suspect before they appeared before us. Each of them has suggested one or more remedies, one or more improvements, and all their suggestions are in the same direction, to wit, the proper centralization of authority—an authority established preferably by statute, an authority whose decisions may be promptly reached and accepted as final.

We have had before us in open session Mr. Daniel Willard, the president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and at the time of his appearance the chairman of the War Industries Board. In discussing the organization of the Government for war-making purposes as existing at the time of his appearance, he expressed the hope that they would get along all right, but he pointed out what he termed a fundamental weakness—lack of authority to compel coordination.

Mr. Baruch appeared before the Committee on Military Affairs in open session; and he, too, in the most explicit terms—and he is a member of the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense—stated that we must have centralization of authority in order to compel coordination amongst the different parts of our war-making machinery.

I read what was said by the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] in a celebrated speech here. He is a member of that committee, and he said:

Mr. Gifford, the director of the Council of National Defense, who probably is more familiar with this problem than any other man in Washington and across whose desk comes all these things, for he is the director and manager of the office of the advisory commission as well as of the Council of National Defense, most explicitly stated that what we needed to bring order out of chaos was a centralized authority, some authority armed by the statute.

That was his opinion, showing that there ought to be some centralized authority somewhere and coordination. In another place the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] said:

We had before that committee the chairman of the war committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Mr. Catchings. Mr. Catchings has been the first assistant to Mr. Stettinius during the time that Mr. Stettinius was managing the purchases for Great Britain. He assisted Mr. Stettinius in that work, and they purchased something like \$3,000,000,000 worth of goods in this country for Great Britain. They did it under a centralized authority. They made a tremendous success of it. It is astounding to hear him say how simple it all was, when properly organized. Mr. Catchings stated most explicitly before our committee that he and his war committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce have been working for six or seven months here in Washington—and they represent all the chambers of commerce of the United States, a large number of boards of trade, and business men's organizations, aggregating 7,000 of the most prominent and successful business men of the country. For six or seven months, Senators, Mr. Catchings and his committee have been endeavoring to persuade the officials here in Washington that something must be done

to centralize control and authority, and they have had conference after conference, always insisting upon that one thing in order to make America effective.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] is a member of that committee, and he said:

To be of any value as a coordinating body the Council of National Defense should be composed of men having no other duties and vested with full power. Being composed of men already overworked, the council has proved to be merely a name, without activity, without energy, and without life. Realizing this fact, an effort was put forth to make it a reality by adding to it an "advisory commission" of men from the business world. This brought to Washington many able men who served on various committees of the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense. But it added to the complication and confusion. These men found they had in law no power. They found no organization or coordination. One by one they have gradually become discouraged and many have already resigned and retired to private life. Many of those still persisting talk freely of the disorder and lack of system in the war activities of the Government, and all of them believe that we ought to have something the equivalent of a war cabinet.

Look at the situation as it presents itself to-day, nine months after we entered the war, and even before we have fought a battle.

Then he goes on:

Our industrial establishment is likely to break down. We have had no one to coordinate; no one who was in touch with the Aircraft Board, the Shipping Board, the War Supply Department, or any of the other departments requiring production; no one to coordinate them and see that all of the mass of production was not centered within a few miles.

Take the matter of the Fuel Administration. Congress authorized the control of the fuel of the country, and an attempt has been made to control prices, supply, and distribution, but it has apparently been made without any successful effort to coordinate the work with other functions of the Government. To-day we have a fuel famine in the country, not because we lack productive mines but because they have not been permitted to operate. Lack of knowledge, lack of transportation, and lack of harmony between the Fuel Administration and other functions of the Government are the causes of the breakdown.

I am impersonal in what I say. I am not attributing any part of the failure to the Fuel Administrator, though some would attribute it to him; but I am saying that it is the system which is chiefly at fault—the failure to have any coordination between his bureau and the others.

If there had been some authority which could have brought the Fuel Administration into close contact with the mining and labor interests of the country and with the war industries of the country, as well as into conference with the Priority of Shipments Board and other branches of the Government, much of the present breakdown could have been prevented. But the Fuel Administration, like the Food Administration, the War Industries Board, the Raw Materials Board, the Priority of Shipments Board, the Shipping Board, the Aircraft Production Board, and all of the other boards, was running an independent course. Its activities were not focused with the other activities at any point. Its decisions were reached and its orders were made practically as though the others did not exist. It started trouble last summer by fixing prices for coal at such figures as to make impossible the operation of hundreds of small mines. It reached a climax in midwinter by closing arbitrarily for more than a week thousands of industries, throwing millions of laborers and clerks out of work and causing the loss of millions of dollars.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will put another extract in and stop at that.

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

The matter referred to is as follows:

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am proposing that these 8 or 10 separate and independent departments of the Government, each of which is now running on a single track without any coordination, shall be brought up into one station, where they will be united, where they will be focused, where they will come in contact with each other, and where somebody having authority will say to the Fuel Administrator and to the Food Administrator and to the Shipping Board and all the other boards and bureaus, "Let us see your plans; we want to compare them and coordinate them and work together."

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator, I hope, will now desist from his questioning and let me cover my ground. I am not criticizing the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy or any other Secretary. I have endeavored to avoid personal criticism. I am excusing them. I am saying that the system is such that even if the Secretary of War runs the War Department in a good way and the Secretary of the Navy runs his department as well as he knows how and the Food Administrator runs his as well as he knows how and the Fuel Administrator as well as he knows how, if they have separate plans they are in the predicament of the five brothers who built a house. There is an old story of an uncle with much money, who called in his five nephews and said: "Boys, here is a great amount of money. I want you to build a house. Buy all the materials that you please. Each of you build a part of the house." They arranged among themselves that one should build one side, one should build the other, one should build the end, and another the other end, and the fifth one was to build the top. They were good workers; they were able men; they knew how to build. One built his end high and short, while the other built his end low and long. One built a long side that was low and the other built a short side that was high. The fifth boy built the roof. After they got the portions together they would not work. There had been no architect; there had been nobody to plan; each one had done his own part, but there was nobody to give the master plan, and it was not a house at all.

Mr. OVERMAN. They all admit that there is confusion in the departments. I showed it yesterday, and I am not going to repeat what I said then. I first discussed the question as to the bill itself, as to its provisions and as to its limitations. I then discussed the necessity for this act. I also attempted to show certain precedents that have been passed by Congress from time to time, and I alluded, the Presiding Officer will re-

member [Mr. CURTIS in the chair], to the amendment to an appropriation bill that we secured and which gave the President absolute power to abolish customhouse officers. There is nothing of that kind in this bill.

Here is another act that was passed February 14, 1903 (32 Stat., 830). Here is a law which passed Congress:

SEC. 12. That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized, by order in writing, to transfer at any time the whole or any part of any office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service engaged in statistical or scientific work, from the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of War, the Department of Justice, the Post Office Department, the Department of the Navy, or the Department of the Interior, to the Department of Commerce and Labor; and in every such case the duties and authority performed by and conferred by law upon such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof so transferred, shall be thereby transferred with such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof which is so transferred. And all power and authority conferred by law, both supervisory and appellate, upon the department from which such transfer is made, or the Secretary thereof, in relation to the said office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof so transferred, shall immediately, when such transfer is so ordered by the President, be fully conferred upon and vested in the Department of Commerce and Labor, or the Secretary thereof, as the case may be, as to the whole or part of such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service so transferred.

Giving more power than this bill, except that it is said that was a special purpose. I say, again, this bill we have is for a special purpose.

One is for the Department of Commerce and Labor; another is for running the railroads, but this is to fight the war. That is a special purpose.

Mr. President, I am going to show you that from time to time we have been passing, as I said yesterday, little pogon bills that ought to have been settled without coming to Congress to pass the acts. Eight or ten times Congress has been called on to pass through the Senate and House bills which if the President had the authority that this bill proposes to give him he could have done without the delay always caused. Nobody objected to the bills, because all saw the importance of them.

I wish to put in the Record another precedent, an act passed March 3, 1917, and the act of July 1, 1902, showing what Congress has done heretofore on this line as to special subjects. Yes, but Congress passed them and gave the President not only the power to transfer or redistribute functions, to transfer offices, but absolutely giving him power to create offices by Executive order.

Again, September 7, 1916, in the shipping law, the President, upon the request of the United States Shipping Board, was authorized to detail officers of the military or naval or other services of the United States for such duties as the board may deem necessary in connection with its business.

We had to pass an act of Congress to do that. If the President had had authority he could have transferred them without coming to Congress and without the inevitable delay that always happens here in Congress.

In 1916 we had to pass another act providing that the Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, the Federal Trade Commission, and so forth, shall detail from time to time such officials and employees to the United States Tariff Commission as the President may direct.

Why should not the President have had that authority, instead of having to come to Congress to have a bill pass both Houses?

Then March 1, 1917:

The heads of the several departments of the Government may, in their discretion, and shall upon the request of the Secretary of War, detail representatives from their respective departments to assist the Engineers of the Army in the study and examination of watersheds significant from the standpoint of flood control, to the end that duplication of work may be avoided and the various services of the Government economically coordinated therein.

He ought not to have had to do that in executing the law of his country as Commander in Chief. He ought not to have had to come to Congress, but the statute itself limited him, and he could not do it without an act of Congress.

My point in citing these acts is to show that our time is taken up here with these bills that nobody objects to, that everybody is in favor of; but it takes time to pass them, and the President has to come here every time he wants to do anything limited by law to ask Congress to give him authority. But it is proposed to give him power and authority to carry out these things for the purpose of carrying on the war successfully and more efficiently to fight the war, and he should have this authority.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Would the Senator contend that the duty of officers of the Army and Navy should not be prescribed by written statute?

Mr. OVERMAN. They are prescribed by written statute.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Does the Senator contend that they should not be?

Mr. OVERMAN. No; I think the Commander in Chief ought to have the right and authority not to abolish but to transfer when necessary from one department to the other as Commander in Chief.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Does the Senator contend that it would be wise public policy to permit the transfer of Army officers, we will say in any number, without restraint, to duty in connection with flood control?

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; I think if the President thought it necessary for that purpose he should have a right to do it. He does it now.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In that case, then, the Senator can not contend that the law should define the function of Army officers.

Mr. OVERMAN. I have not said that. I have said the law places this limitation upon the President, and he has to come to the Senate time and time again. There are a dozen bills here now providing that these things may be done, that everybody is in favor of, that no one objects to, whereas the President ought to have authority without coming to Congress in these minor matters.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Does the Senator advocate the repeal of the laws which define the duties of Army officers?

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not. I have not done so, and I do not so contend now.

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I say the Senator is now contending that the great trouble with the situation is that laws now exist upon the statute books which define the duties of an Army officer.

Mr. OVERMAN. I am complaining that in many respects laws on the statute books are hindering and hampering the President in this time of stress, and he ought to be given authority not to repeal any law, but to transfer and to redistribute, as the Senator said, for the purpose of having better administration.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do not mean to press the Senator unduly, and I do not wish to interrupt his remarks, but I will be interested if some time during the discussion he will specify what particular handicap the administration is now suffering from.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will read extracts from the Senator's speech. I will put it in the Record. I will cite his own speech which he sent out over the country charging that there is confusion here everywhere. I invite you to hear what he told the people of the United States.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator say with entire frankness that the utterances I made upon the floor of the Senate on that occasion were political in character?

Mr. OVERMAN. No. I do not so contend.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I beg the Senator to read it.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator's speech, which I have read from freely, is a pretty good speech for me to make to show confusion and trouble everywhere. I have taken the liberty of quoting from the Senator's speech, and he did make a splendid speech, and it bears me out that there is confusion everywhere in the management of affairs. I say this ought to be settled without any partisanship. I have heard some rumors that there was going to be a filibuster on this bill by some partisans. I do not think so. I never have believed it. I believe we ought to come down and settle this question without any prejudice, without any partisanship, and settle it like patriotic men upon its merits.

Mr. President, I believe I will read here about a great battle that took place once in the olden time. I will read a few verses from the seventeenth chapter of Exodus. Perhaps I should have taken it for my text when I began:

And Moses said unto Joshua, choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek. To-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand.

So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek. Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.

And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed; and when he let down his hand Amalek prevailed.

But Moses' hands were heavy; and they took a stone and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun.

And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. REED. I simply wanted to inquire how the Senator had discovered that quotation.

Mr. OVERMAN. Does the Senator intimate that I do not read the Bible? I will say to him I read my Bible every day.

Mr. REED. Oh, no; not at all. I was asking for information.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think, Mr. President—

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield.

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from North Carolina is evidently attempting to establish a parallel. May I ask between whom the parallel is to be drawn?

Mr. OVERMAN. If the Republicans, on that side, will hold up the President's left hand, and the Democrats, on this side, will hold up his right hand, we shall win the war.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am very glad to have that explanation. I had supposed the Senator was attempting to establish a similarity between Moses and the President of the United States.

Mr. OVERMAN. No, Mr. President; the Senator knew better than that, because I said that I wanted that side to hold up one hand and this side to hold up the other hand and help win the war—both sides without any partisanship—and I am sure the Senator from Iowa agrees with that.

Mr. CUMMINS. Yes; but I was thinking it would be an unfortunate comparison, because, as I remember it, Moses was not permitted to enter the promised land.

Mr. OVERMAN. No; but I do not know why that should apply to this case; for do you think the President is not going to win the war? Are you going to hinder him from winning it? Are you going to stand here and deny him what he asks in order to keep him from getting into the promised land? Is that the Senator's position?

Mr. CUMMINS. No; that is not my position; but I was regretting that the Senator from North Carolina had instilled any such thought into the minds of Senators or into the minds of the people; because I hope that the President will enter the promised land, although I fail to see any striking resemblance between the two famous characters.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator would compare the President to Moses in entering the promised land. I did not refer to the holding up of his hands as an illustration or a parallel as to Moses and the President; and the Senator knew it. I do not like to hear such talk as that when we have kept out of partisanship so far. I do not like to hear the Senator say that we are not going to reach the promised land.

Mr. CUMMINS. I have not said any such thing as that.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is what the Senator suggested, as I understood.

Mr. CUMMINS. I was wondering if that was in the Senator's mind.

Mr. OVERMAN. Did not the Senator hear me say that I wanted one side to hold up one hand and the other side to hold up the other hand?

Mr. CUMMINS. Which hand?

Mr. OVERMAN. You hold up the right hand and we will hold up the left hand, or you hold up the left hand and we will hold up the right hand.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I think the Senate is quite anxious to hold up both hands of the President in every function and power which he ought to have.

Mr. OVERMAN. I hope so.

Mr. CUMMINS. But the Senator from North Carolina is under that general misapprehension which prevails altogether too universally, and that is that all the war powers of the United States must be exercised by the President; and that if he is not invested with all the powers of government then this war must fail. That is a misapprehension, both historically and practically.

Mr. OVERMAN. The bill provides that the President shall have these powers whenever they are necessary for the efficiency of the Army and to those matters relating entirely to the war.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

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

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

Mr. KNOX. Would the Senator from North Carolina be willing to cite an instance of where the utilization or the coordination of the activities of executive officers in such a way as would be helpful in winning the war could not now be accomplished by the President under his powers as Chief Executive?

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I know it has been contended, as the Senator from Pennsylvania now suggests, by

great lawyers that the President has such power now; that the joint resolution which was heretofore passed put into the President's hands the power of the Army and the Navy and everything that is necessary to be done in the way of a transfer and redistribution of functions. I do not know but that the President has it. If that be so, why not now specifically give him the power if he wants it?

Mr. KNOX. But would the Senator from North Carolina, in order to aid those of us who do not wish to vote for the conference of any power that is not necessary, be willing to cite an instance where the President could not now, as Chief Executive or as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, coordinate the activities of executive officers?

Mr. OVERMAN. What the Senator from Pennsylvania might think was unnecessary, another Senator might think was necessary; one Senator might think one thing and another Senator might think another, and another Senator might think still another. The only safe way to do is to give the President the general power and to trust in him to exercise it according to law, when he is sworn to support and to do what he does entirely in the interest of successfully carrying on the war.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from North Carolina another question: Is it not true that the President, in anticipation of statutory authority, had by his executive authority practically created and put into a formative condition certain branches or bureaus of government, for instance, like the Food Department? I instance that department in order to give emphasis to my question.

Does the Senator know of any case where any attempt upon the President's part to exercise his executive authority by coordinating the activities of the executive branch of the Government has been challenged in Congress? Has there been any such disposition manifested?

Mr. KIRBY. I should like to answer that question.

Mr. KNOX. Just a moment, if you please. I think I have the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senator from North Carolina yielded to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KIRBY. If the Senator will yield to me, I should like to answer that question.

Mr. KNOX. Have I the floor or not, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania has the floor.

Mr. KNOX. I should like the privilege of asking my question. The point I want to make is this: Has the Senator from North Carolina discovered any disposition upon the part of Congress to be critical of the President in coordinating the executive and administrative offices of the Government in order to carry on the duties imposed upon him under the war power?

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; I think there has been some criticism.

Mr. KNOX. In Congress?

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. KNOX. I have not noticed it.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, that is the same question we have heard discussed in the committee. The President has told us why he desires this legislation. I take it for granted that the President has heard from the departments and has very vividly known the troubles with the Government, which, as Mr. Taft has said, is the most unscientific government on earth, with many duplications and jealousies, and with its multitude of bureaus, agencies, and commissions. The President has found that out, and he has found it out to his sorrow. He has discovered that there ought to be coordination, and he desires authority to accomplish it.

The question is asked, Can not the President do that anyway? If that be so, why not specifically give him the authority when he comes and asks it? He is now criticized for having too much red tape in his administration, and when he comes and asks you to cut it, you Senators would deny him the power to do so.

Senators have asserted that the President does not confer with them; that they do not consult with him. I suppose the Senator from Pennsylvania has probably done the same thing; perhaps has criticized the President. But now the President comes here and takes Congress into his confidence. He does not exercise the power as some others have done in the past in time of war—patriotic Presidents—who did not have the power but who have none the less exercised it. One President (Mr. Lincoln) was charged upon the floor of the Senate with being a dictator and a usurper, but the men who charged that have gone down into oblivion and their names to-day, if mentioned, it is with contempt. I could name them if necessary. Now, when the President comes here and says to you, "I need this authority; I ask you for it; limit it, if you please, to the war power," some Senators will not give him that which he

asks. I will ask the Senator from Pennsylvania if he thinks the President has such power without having the authority conferred upon him which this bill proposes?

Mr. KNOX. To do what?

Mr. OVERMAN. To do what the bill proposes.

Mr. KNOX. I think the President of the United States has the authority to require every executive officer and every department of the Government to do anything that he directs to be done in order to prosecute this war to a successful conclusion. I think he has the power to delegate from one Cabinet officer to another the discharge of any particular duty that he thinks such a Cabinet officer can discharge better than the one upon whom it would normally be incumbent. I do certainly think that the President has all those powers.

Mr. OVERMAN. Then, Mr. President, I do not see why we have been wasting our time here for three or four months passing bill after bill to enable the President to do the very thing which the Senator from Pennsylvania says he now has the power to do; but it seems that his Attorney General and the great lawyers with whom he is bound to confer tell him that he has not that power.

Mr. KNOX. I have the very highest respect for those advising the President of the United States; but if that responsibility were cast upon me, as I have read the Overman bill, in so far as it proposes to authorize the President to utilize and coordinate executive activities, so far as I can see what it means from its language, and so far as I am informed in this particular by those who are back of the bill, I would not hesitate a second to advise the President of the United States that he now fully possesses that power.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I am glad to hear the Senator say that. He is a great lawyer, a great statesman, and he has occupied some of the highest offices under this Government with great ability and efficiency. That is his opinion, and I respect it. Others, however, do not think the President has that power; he is doubtful of it himself; but, if he already has the power, who will deny it to him, and why not pass the bill and make sure of it? If he says, "I do not want to be charged with being a dictator, I do not want to give the opportunity to some man to say that I had no authority to do this or do that," why not resolve the doubt in aid of the President, and give him the authority the Senator says he already has? I am glad the Senator from Pennsylvania has said that the President has authority to do everything that my bill proposes, for then, Mr. President, this bill is not the horrid measure that some Senators would make it out to be. If the Senator from Pennsylvania thinks that the President already has the power, what is the matter with the bill? Give the President the authority, hold up his hands, and stop this hamstringing of the great Executive of this country.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. LODGE. I merely wish to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Knox] if I understood him rightly? He does not think that this bill is confined to the powers which he describes, does he? Am I right in that?

Mr. KNOX. My position, Mr. President, is this—and I think when I stated it the Senator from Massachusetts may not have apprehended what I had in my mind—that so far as this bill empowers or seeks to empower the President of the United States to transfer the performance of a particular duty of one executive officer to another for the purpose of carrying on this war to a victorious end, I say that he has the power to do it. Then, I further added that, as I understand the bill from reading it and from the interpretation placed upon it by those who are responsible for it with whom I have talked, I think he has all the other powers necessary to utilize and coordinate executive work. But that does not, of course, include, Mr. President, for instance, the right to transfer the Interstate Commerce Commission, which I do not think is an executive body, to the Treasury Department, as has been suggested he might do, or the right to transfer the Federal Trade Commission or the Federal Reserve Board to some executive department of the Government. I take it that those are not executive bodies; I take it that they are in a sense legislative bodies, and are carrying out policies inaugurated by Congress. To the extent that this bill should undertake to do that—which has been denied to me by those who are proposing the bill—I will say, as a matter of course, no such power now exists in the presidential office.

Mr. LODGE. If I may ask one more question of the Senator, would it not be possible under this bill as drawn, for example, in the case of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to which the Senator has alluded, for the President to take from that com-

mission the valuation of the railroads, which is going on under an act of Congress, and transfer it to some bureau or division of the Treasury? Could he not do that under this bill?

Mr. KNOX. If you were to construe that commission as an administrative commission, he certainly could.

Mr. LODGE. But is the power limited to administrative commissions?

Mr. KNOX. There are two provisions in the bill that describe the nature of the commissions or boards in relation to which transfers may be made. The first—

Mr. OVERMAN. Now, I want to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question suggested by that of the Senator from Massachusetts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is answering the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. OVERMAN. Very well.

Mr. KNOX. The first is on page 1:

To make such redistribution of functions among executive agencies as he may deem necessary, including any functions, duties, and powers hitherto by law conferred upon any executive department, commission, bureau, agency, office, or officer.

The second is in the second section:

That in carrying out the purposes of this act the President is authorized to utilize, coordinate, or consolidate any executive—

And then there is inserted, I do not know whether by the committee or not, but it is printed in italics in the bill—

or administrative commissions—

The first section deals solely with executive departments or bureaus or commissions, while the second deals with executive or administrative. Now, if it can be held—and it is a matter open to some doubt, and there are strong reasons to be presented upon both sides of the contention—that the Interstate Commerce Commission is an administrative commission and that in valuing the railroads it is performing an administrative act, then, of course, if this bill became law the President could transfer that power to any other officer or office of the Government that he saw fit. On the other hand, if it is not an administrative commission, but if it is a legislative commission and an administrative commission as well, and in some respects a judicial commission—because its functions are partly of a judicial nature as well as of an administrative and legislative nature—then, a doubt would arise. Personally, I should object to voting for this bill with that provision in it. In this respect the bill should be amended in order to clear up any possible doubt that there might be on that subject in the minds of those who desire to avoid the possibility of such a transfer.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question there. I am not sure but that the Senator was a Member of the Senate and discussed the great interstate-commerce act when it was pending in Congress. I want to ask the Senator, in his judgment, is not the Interstate Commerce Commission an agency of Congress? Congress established it for what purpose? For the purpose of establishing rates according to rules laid down by Congress. Congress can not delegate its powers to a commission, and not being able to delegate its powers, it has appointed this agency for the purpose of fixing rates according to well-defined reasonable rules fixed by Congress itself. Therefore, is it not a congressional agency rather than an executive or an administrative agency?

Mr. KNOX. That is a new term—

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania has not concluded.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator from Pennsylvania is answering my question.

Mr. KNOX. Replying to the question of the Senator from North Carolina, it is undoubtedly true with respect to the Interstate Commerce Commission that Congress prescribed a series of rules relating to various branches of the railroad business; for instance, rules as to reasonableness of regulations, as to reasonableness of rates, and all that sort of thing, and delegated to the commission the ascertainment of facts and the application of the rules laid down by Congress to the facts ascertained. I would not call it a "congressional commission," because I think that is a new term in legislation. It is an administrative commission in one sense; it is a legislative commission in another sense, and, as I said a moment ago, it is a judicial commission in another sense; and whether or not it would come under the term "administrative" within the language of this bill is an open question.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, the Senator remembers, as we all do, the great arguments that centered around that question in connection with the legislation affecting the Interstate Commerce Commission. Congress could not delegate this power

except by establishing reasonably well-defined rules and appointing a commission to carry out the will of Congress. Therefore, it does not seem to the distinguished Senator that the President could interfere with such a legislative commission.

Mr. KNOX. I had the honor to be a member of this body at that time and participated in that debate, and the Senator, I am quite sure, will agree with me that we all know a great deal more about the question now than we did then. There have been a great many court decisions since 1906 of a rather radical nature. The Senator will recall that some of the most distinguished Senators in this body challenged the right of Congress to delegate to the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix rates, holding that that was a legislative act and could not be delegated. Of course, we have gotten a long way from that, and I do not think that we can safely arrive at a sound conclusion upon this matter by using the lights of 1906.

Mr. OVERMAN. I agree with the Senator. Some of the greatest speeches I ever heard were upon the question of whether we could delegate the power of Congress in that respect. I remember the great speech of the then Senator from Ohio, Mr. Foraker, who did not believe that Congress could take such action; but it seemed to be the unanimous sentiment of Congress, except among the very few who took the same position as the then Senator from Ohio, that the Interstate Commerce Commission was nothing but a legislative agency, created for the purpose of ascertaining the reasonableness of rates and to fix them according to rules laid down by Congress. The point I make is, Why should we talk so much about the Interstate Commerce Commission? The Senator and I agree, but why should all this argument rally around the Interstate Commerce Commission? What is the trouble about that? I do not think the President could do what has been suggested with regard to that commission. I think that is an agency of Congress, and it has become, as the Senator from Pennsylvania has said, a judicial body; and, of course, the President could not interfere with the judicial department of the Government or with the legislative. When, however, it comes to administrative or executive departments, he ought to have a right to transfer their functions. I asked the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] the other day, provided it was necessary to transfer even the Interstate Commerce Commission and redistribute its functions for the purpose of prosecuting the war and such action was absolutely necessary to save the country, would he do it? Would he give this authority to the President? What was his reply? He said, "Yes; I would do it;" and so I say would every Senator do it.

Mr. CUMMINS. I would not allow the President to judge of the necessity; I would judge of that myself.

Mr. OVERMAN. Well, we have 96 different opinions here about these matters. I know the President would not do it, and I am willing to trust him not to do it. I know he would not do it in the case of the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then, why not exempt them from the bill?

Mr. OVERMAN. Because I do not propose, as I said to the Senator—and the committee agreed with me—to assume, by adopting his amendment, that the President would do anything like that. I am willing to give him the general power, and I assume, as the Senator from Georgia does, that he will not do any unconstitutional act or any arbitrary act, unless it was necessary to fight this war to a successful conclusion. I have too much confidence in the Commander in Chief, in my great leader, to think about that. I am not willing to put such a provision in the bill to insult him and the American people.

Mr. LEWIS and Mr. REED addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To whom does the Senator from North Carolina yield?

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield to the Senator from Illinois. I am done, Mr. President.

I ask permission, Mr. President, to print certain extracts and other matter as an appendix to my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission is granted.

#### APPENDIX.

UNITED STATES LAWS AUTHORIZING REDISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS AMONG EXECUTIVE AGENCIES AND TRANSFER OF POWERS OR DUTIES FROM ONE DEPARTMENT OR BUREAU TO ANOTHER BY THE PRESIDENT OR THE HEAD OF A DEPARTMENT.

Act of February 14, 1903 (32 Stat., 830, sec. 12): President authorized to "transfer at any time the whole or any part of any office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service engaged in statistical or scientific work, from the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of War, the Department of Justice, the Post Office Department, the Department of the Navy, or the Department of the Interior, to the Department of Commerce and

Labor; and in every such case the duties and authority performed by and conferred by law upon such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof so transferred, shall be thereby transferred with such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof which is so transferred. And all power and authority conferred by law, both supervisory and appellate, upon the department from which such transfer is made, or the Secretary thereof, in relation to the said office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof so transferred, shall immediately, when such transfer is so ordered by the President, be fully conferred upon and vested in the Department of Commerce and Labor, or the Secretary thereof, as the case may be, as to the whole or part of such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service so transferred."

Act of April 28, 1908 (35 Stat., 69, sec. 3): President authorized "for any special occasion" to transfer "to the head of another department" the authority conferred upon the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to issue regulations for the safety of life during regattas or marine parades.

Act of June 24, 1910 (36 Stat., 613): "The duties assigned by law to the Bureau of Equipment shall be distributed among the other bureaus and offices of the Navy Department in such manner as the Secretary of the Navy shall consider expedient and proper during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, and the Secretary of the Navy, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized and directed to assign and transfer to said other bureaus and offices, respectively, all available funds heretofore and hereby appropriated for the Bureau of Equipment and such civil employees of the bureau as are authorized by law, and when such distribution of duties, funds, and employees shall have been completed, the Bureau of Equipment shall be discontinued as hereinbefore provided." The same provision was repeated for the fiscal years 1912, 1913, and 1914, in the acts of March 4, 1911 (36 Stat., 1273), August 22, 1912 (37 Stat., 339), and March 4, 1913 (37 Stat., 899).

Act of March 3, 1917 (39 Stat., 1122, sec. 8): "The Bureau of Efficiency shall investigate duplication of service in the various executive departments and establishments of the Government, including bureaus and divisions, and make a report to the President thereon, and the President is hereby authorized, after such report shall have been made to him, whenever he finds such duplications to exist to abolish the same."

#### LAWS APPLICABLE IN EMERGENCIES ONLY.

Act of July 1, 1902 (32 Stat., 713, sec. 4): President authorized to "utilize the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service in times of threatened or actual war to such extent and in such manner as shall in his judgment promote the public interest without, however, in any wise impairing the efficiency of the service for the purposes for which the same was created and is maintained."

Act of January 28, 1915 (38 Stat., 800): "The Coast Guard \* \* \* shall operate as a part of the Navy, subject to the orders of the Secretary of the Navy, in time of war or when the President shall so direct."

Act of August 29, 1916 (39 Stat., 602): "The President is hereby authorized, whenever in his judgment a sufficient national emergency exists, to transfer to the service and jurisdiction of the Navy Department, or of the War Department, such vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Lighthouse Service as he may deem to be the best interests of the country, and after such transfer all expenses connected therewith shall be defrayed out of the appropriations for the department to which transfer is made."

Act of May 22, 1917 (40 Stat., 87, sec. 16): "The President is hereby authorized, whenever in his judgment a sufficient national emergency exists, to transfer to the service and jurisdiction of the War Department, or of the Navy Department, such vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Coast and Geodetic Survey as he may deem to be the best interest of the country, and after such transfer all expenses connected therewith shall be defrayed out of the appropriations for the department to which transfer is made."

UNITED STATES LAWS AUTHORIZING DETAILS OF OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES FROM ONE DEPARTMENT OR BUREAU TO ANOTHER AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

#### I. CIVIL SERVICE.

Revised Statutes, 166, as amended by act of May 28, 1896 (29 Stat., 179): "Each head of a department may, from time to time, alter the distribution of the clerks and other employees allowed by law, except such clerks or employees as may be required by law to be exclusively engaged upon some specific work, as he may find it necessary and proper to do, but all details hereunder shall be made by written order of the head of the department, and in no case be for a period of time exceeding 120 days: *Provided*, That details so made may, on expiration, be renewed from time to time by written order of the head of the department, in each particular case, for periods of not exceeding 120 days."

Act of November 21, 1877 (20 Stat., 3): Heads of departments authorized to detail clerks for temporary service in Surgeon General's office, to furnish information called for by the Commissioner of Pensions.

Act of June 2, 1879 (21 Stat., 7, sec. 7): President authorized to detail officers from the various departments for temporary duty under the National Board of Health to enforce quarantine regulations. (This act expired by limitation in 1883.)

Act of February 15, 1893 (27 Stat., 450, sec. 2): President authorized to detail medical officers to consulates to perform duties under quarantine laws.

Act of June 18, 1910 (36 Stat., 556, sec. 16): "The several departments and bureaus of the Government shall detail from time to time such officials and employees" to the commission to investigate railroad stocks and bonds "as may be directed by the President."

Act of September 26, 1914 (38 Stat., 722, sec. 8): "The several departments and bureaus of the Government \* \* \* shall detail from time to time such officials and employees" to the Federal Trade Commission as the President may direct.

Act of September 7, 1916 (39 Stat., 729, sec. 4): "The President, upon the request of the [United States Shipping] board, may authorize the detail of officers of the military, naval, or other services of the United States for such duties as the board may deem necessary in connection with its business."

Act of September 8, 1916 (39 Stat., 797, sec. 707): "The Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, the Federal Trade Commission, or any other departments, or independent establishments of the Government \* \* \* shall detail, from time to time, such officials and employees" to the United States Tariff Commission as the President may direct.

Act of March 1, 1917 (39 Stat., 950, sec. 3): "The heads of the several departments of the Government may, in their discretion, and shall upon the request of the Secretary of War, detail representatives from their respective departments to assist the Engineers of the Army in the study and examination of watersheds significant from the standpoint of flood control. To the end that duplication of work may be avoided and the various services of the Government economically coordinated therein."

#### II. MILITARY AND NAVAL SERVICE.

R. S. 1437. "The President may detail, temporarily, three competent naval officers for the service of the War Department in the inspection of transport vessels, and for such other services as may be designated by the Secretary of War."

Act of June 16, 1880 (21 Stat. 374): Secretary of War authorized to detail two officers of Ordnance Corps to serve with Geological Survey.

Act of October 1, 1890 (26 Stat. 653): President authorized to detail Chief Signal Officer to have charge of Weather Bureau and to assign four other Army officers to that bureau. (Repealed by joint resolution of July 8, 1898 (30 Stat. 752).)

Act of October 6, 1917 (40 Stat. 399): Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy authorized to detail Army and Navy surgeons to Bureau of War-Risk Insurance.

Senate amendment No. 72 to the legislative appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1918 was as follows:

"SEC. 8. The President is hereby authorized, during the recess of the Congress, to take action looking to a proper and scientific coordination of the work of the various executive departments of the Government; and he is hereby requested to report upon the question of transfer and consolidation of bureaus, divisions, offices, and other governmental activities, in order that duplication of service may be abolished and extravagance and unnecessary expenditures eliminated."

As agreed to in conference and as it appears in the statutes that provision is as follows:

"SEC. 8. The Bureau of Efficiency shall investigate duplication of service in the various executive departments and establishments of the Government, including bureaus and divisions, and make a report to the President thereon, and the President is hereby authorized, after such report shall have been made to him, wherever he finds such duplications to exist to abolish the same. Report of the action taken hereunder shall be made to Congress at its next regular session."

That statute was approved March 3, 1917 (39 Stat., 1122).

(1) In numerous cases more than one bureau or other administrative agency is authorized by law to render the same service. (2) In most of these cases the various duly authorized agencies are ambitious to render all the services within their power. (3) In some cases actual duplication of service has resulted. (4) In a large number of cases the legitimate development of bureaus and other agencies is hampered by the knowledge that it would bring about conflict with the work of other bureaus and agencies. Such conditions result in misdirection of effort and inefficiency.

For example, some duplication of service has arisen between the various scientific and technical bureaus in the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce, and much more might arise if they should use to the fullest extent their existing legal powers and physical equipment. One case in point is that of investigations concerning the sources of supply of various raw materials used in industries connected with the national defense. Thus both the Bureau of Soils in the Department of Agriculture and the Geological Survey in the Department of the Interior might be interested in the sources of supply of potash and might institute investigations with a view to discovering new sources of supply. The same situation exists with respect to investigations concerning the quality of materials. In the comparatively narrow field of testing materials, the Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce and the Forest Products Laboratory of the Forestry Service are both empowered and equipped to test timber and paper; the Bureau of Standards and the Bureau of Chemistry are equipped to test leather, the Bureau of Standards and the Bureau of Markets to test textiles, the Bureau of Standards and the Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering to test road materials, and the Bureau of Standards and the Reclamation Service to test cement.

In the broader field of the utilization of materials and the improvement of technical processes, the utilization of American clay in the manufacture of high-grade pottery or the improvement of the process of glass making with a view to supplying a better grade of optical glass might be undertaken either by the Bureau of Standards or the Bureau of Mines. Another case where several bureaus might undertake to carry on the same technological study is that of aniline dyes. The Bureau of Standards, the Bureau of Mines, and the Bureau of Chemistry in the Department of Agriculture are all equipped to assist by making scientific researches in the establishment of an American coal-tar dye industry, and each has the legal authority to do so. Moreover, the United States Tariff Commission is charged with the duty of investigating the development of chemical industries in general in this country, including the development of the dye industry, although presumably it would not attempt itself technological researches involving the equipment of additional chemical laboratories.

What is true with respect to sources of supply of raw materials and technological studies in the fabrication of the finished product is also true with respect to the marketing of the products. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has an organization covering the foreign markets of the world, and is capable of studying the opportunities for the development of American foreign trade of all kinds. The Office of Markets of the Department of Agriculture is also interested in the development of foreign markets, particularly in markets for agricultural products, and, to some extent, for manufactured foodstuffs, and even for other commodities, like cotton textiles, the raw material of which is mainly produced on American farms. While the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce does not assume jurisdiction over the foreign marketing of wheat or cotton, and the Office of Markets does not assume jurisdiction over the foreign marketing of manufactured goods containing no raw materials produced on the farm, there is a class of commodities, such as manufactured foodstuffs, where the authority of the two bureaus is not clearly defined.

The situation is further complicated by the existence of the foreign trade advisers in the Department of State. With respect to domestic commerce, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has little actually to do despite its somewhat indefinite grant of authority. Thus the domestic commerce in manufactured foods is subject principally to the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Chemistry in the Depart-

ment of Agriculture, and matters relating to domestic commerce in sea foods, other than their inspection under the pure-food law, are dealt with by the Bureau of Fisheries.

Turning from the Government bureaus dealing with the industries of the country to those dealing more directly with the wants of the people, a similar confusion of authority exists. For example, there is a great subject of the public health. The Public Health Service has a broad grant of authority to engage in activities relating to health, exclusive of the health of persons in the military and naval service. The Bureau of Education, however, looks after the health of Indians in Alaska, and the Indian Office after the health of Indians in other parts of the United States. The States Relations Service has a somewhat indefinite grant of authority with respect to the care of the health of farmers, and the Bureau of Mines operates its mine rescue cars and in other ways concerns itself with the health of the mining population. Both the Public Health Service and the Army and Navy health services operate medical schools, and both the Public Health Service and the Army medical service operate hygienic laboratories. Locomotive boilers are inspected by agents of the Interstate Commerce Commission and safety devices designed for the protection of employees in interstate commerce and of the traveling public are also inspected under the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Steamboat boilers, however, are inspected by agents of the Steamboat Inspection Service. The administration of the United States employees' compensation act, applying to civilian employees of the United States, is intrusted to a special commission, but the administration of the soldiers and sailors' insurance law, covering persons now in the military or naval service, is intrusted to the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, whilst the payment of pensions to veterans of the Civil War and their dependents (involving duties of much the same general character as those involved in the payment of family allotments and allowances by the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance to dependents of persons in the military and naval services of the United States in the present war) is the function of a separate pension office.

The Public Health Service is interested in a general way in the prevention of the spread of disease. For example, it has been interested in preventing the spread of bubonic plague by rats and ground squirrels on the Pacific coast and in the spread of various diseases by flies and mosquitoes everywhere. The Biological Survey of the Department of Agriculture is also interested in the study of rats and ground squirrels and the Bureau of Entomology in the Department of Agriculture in flies and mosquitoes. Whilst the Biological Survey has a general interest in the wild animals of the United States, jurisdiction over Alaskan fur animals is vested in the Bureau of Fisheries and jurisdiction over the reindeer in Alaska in the Bureau of Education. Whilst the Bureau of Entomology is interested in all kinds of insects, whether noxious to man, to animals, or to the useful plant life of the country, the study of insects injurious to forest trees is a matter of special concern to the Forestry Service.

Turning from health to education, we find that though there is a Federal Bureau of Education with a general authority to study matters in relation thereto, there is also a Children's Bureau with a general authority to study matters relating to the education of children, a Bureau of Immigration with a growing interest in the education of immigrants, a Federal Board of Vocational Education with a special responsibility for the development of agricultural, commercial, and industrial training, a States Relations Service with a further special responsibility concerning the agricultural colleges and extension work in the rural districts, and a Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce with an incipient interest in the training of persons for employment in connection with foreign commerce.

The general subject of prices and the cost of living is one with respect to which a number of bureaus have more or less overlapping authority. The Federal Trade Commission, for example, has a general authority to investigate the reasonableness of prices, and to that end to study cost of production in various industries. But costs of production may also be studied by several of the bureaus which are primarily concerned with the technology of industry. For example, the Bureau of Mines has authority to study the costs of production of coal; the Office of Farm Management has a general authority to study costs of production on the farm; the Forestry Service has authority to study the cost of production of timber; the Bureau of Fisheries presumably has a general authority to study costs of production of fish; the Tariff Commission also, in connection with its general duty of investigating the fitness of customs duties, presumably has the power to study costs of production of protected commodities. Moreover, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Office of Markets may likewise be interested in the study of market prices and their relation to the cost of living. These are only a few of many instances where duplication of service either has resulted or easily might result if bureau chiefs used their legal powers to the full, regardless of the legitimate development of the activities of other bureaus.

[File S. 3771]

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UNITED STATES LAWS AUTHORIZING REDISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS AMONG EXECUTIVE AGENCIES AND TRANSFER OF POWERS OR DUTIES FROM ONE DEPARTMENT OR BUREAU TO ANOTHER BY THE PRESIDENT OR THE HEAD OF A DEPARTMENT.

Act of Feb. 14, 1903 (32 Stat., §30, sec. 12).

President authorized to "transfer at any time the whole or any part of any office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service engaged in statistical or scientific work from the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of War, the Department of Justice, the Post Office Department, the Department of the Navy, or the Department of the Interior to the Department of Commerce and Labor; and in every such case the duties and authority performed by and conferred by law upon such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof so transferred, shall be thereby transferred with such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof which is so transferred. And all power and authority conferred by law, both supervisory and appellate, upon the department from which such transfer is made, or the Secretary thereof, in relation to the said office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service, or the part thereof so transferred, shall immediately, when such transfer is so ordered by the President, be fully conferred upon and vested in the Department of Commerce and Labor, or the Secretary thereof, as the case may be, as to the whole or part of such office, bureau, division, or other branch of the public service so transferred."



Act of Apr. 28, 1908 (35 Stat., 69, sec. 3).

President authorized "for any special occasion" to transfer "to the head of another department" the authority conferred upon the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to issue regulations for the safety of life during regattas or marine parades.

Act of June 24, 1910 (36 Stat., 613).

"The duties assigned by law to the Bureau of Equipment shall be distributed among the other bureaus and offices of the Navy Department in such manner as the Secretary of the Navy shall consider expedient and proper during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, and the Secretary of the Navy, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized and directed to assign and transfer to said other bureaus and offices, respectively, all available funds heretofore and hereby appropriated for the Bureau of Equipment and such civil employees of the bureau as are authorized by law, and when such distribution of duties, funds, and employees shall have been completed, the Bureau of Equipment shall be discontinued as hereinbefore provided." The same provision was repeated for the fiscal years 1912, 1913, and 1914, in the acts of March 4, 1911 (36 Stat., 1273), August 22, 1912 (37 Stat., 339), and March 4, 1913 (37 Stat., 899).

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"The Bureau of Efficiency shall investigate duplication of service in the various executive departments and establishments of the Government, including bureaus and divisions, and make a report to the President thereon, and the President is hereby authorized, after such report shall have been made to him, whenever he finds such duplications to exist to abolish the same."

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President authorized to "utilize the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service in times of threatened or actual war to such extent and in such manner as shall, in his judgment, promote the public interest, without, however, in anywise impairing the efficiency of the service for the purposes for which the same was created and is maintained."

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The Coast Guard \* \* \* shall operate as a part of the Navy, subject to the orders of the Secretary of the Navy, in time of war or when the President shall so direct.

Act of Aug. 29, 1916 (39 Stat., 602).

The President is hereby authorized, whenever in his judgment a sufficient national emergency exists, to transfer to the service and jurisdiction of the Navy Department, or of the War Department, such vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Lighthouse Service as he may deem to the best interest of the country, and after such transfer all expenses connected therewith shall be defrayed out of the appropriations for the department to which transfer is made.

Act of May 22, 1917 (40 Stat., 87, sec. 16).

The President is hereby authorized, whenever in his judgment a sufficient national emergency exists, to transfer to the service and jurisdiction of the War Department, or of the Navy Department, such vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Coast and Geodetic Survey as he may deem to the best interest of the country, and after such transfer all expenses connected therewith shall be defrayed out of the appropriations for the department to which transfer is made.

[W. H. McClendon, Feb. 9, 1918.]

#### I. CIVIL SERVICE.

R. S. 166, as amended by act of May 28, 1896 (29 Stat., 179).

Each head of a department may, from time to time, alter the distribution of the clerks and other employees allowed by law, except such clerks or employees as may be required by law to be exclusively engaged upon some specific work, as he may find it necessary and proper to do, but all details hereunder shall be made by written order of the head of the department, and in no case be for a period of time exceeding 120 days: *Provided*, That details so made may, on expiration, be renewed from time to time by written order of the head of the department, in each particular case, for periods of not exceeding 120 days.

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"The heads of the several departments of the Government may, in their discretion, and shall upon the request of the Secretary of War, detail representatives from their respective departments to assist the engineers of the Army in the study and examination" of watersheds

significant from the standpoint of flood control, "to the end that duplication of work may be avoided and the various services of the Government economically coordinated therein."

#### II. MILITARY AND NAVAL SERVICE.

(R. S. 1437.)

"The President may detail, temporarily, three competent naval officers for the service of the War Department in the inspection of transport vessels, and for such other services as may be designated by the Secretary of War."

Act of June 16, 1880 (21 Stat., 274).

Secretary of War authorized to detail two officers of Ordnance Corps to serve with Geological Survey.

Act of October 1, 1890 (26 Stat., 653).

President authorized to detail Chief Signal Officer to have charge of Weather Bureau, and to assign four other Army officers to that bureau. [Repealed by joint resolution of July 8, 1898 (30 Stat., 752)].

Act of October 6, 1917 (40 Stat., 399).

Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy authorized to detail Army and Navy surgeons to Bureau of War-Risk Insurance. [W. H. McClendon, Feb. 9, 1918.]

#### A MEMORANDUM CONCERNING DUPLICATION OF SERVICE.

(1) In numerous cases more than one bureau or other administrative agency is authorized by law to render the same service. (2) In most of these cases the various duly authorized agencies are ambitious to render all the services within their power. (3) In some cases actual duplication of service has resulted. (4) In a large number of cases the legitimate development of bureaus and other agencies is hampered by the knowledge that it would bring about conflict with the work of other bureaus and agencies. Such conditions result in misdirection of effort and inefficiency.

For example, some duplication of service has arisen between the various scientific and technical bureaus in the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce, and much more might arise if they should use to the fullest extent their existing legal powers and physical equipment. One case in point is that of investigations concerning the sources of supply of various raw materials used in industries connected with the national defense. Thus both the Bureau of Soils in the Department of Agriculture and the Geological Survey in the Department of the Interior might be interested in the sources of supply of potash and might institute investigations with a view to discovering new sources of supply. The same situation exists with respect to investigations concerning the quality of materials. In the comparatively narrow field of testing materials the Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce and the forest products laboratory of the Forestry Service are both empowered and equipped to test timber and paper, the Bureau of Standards and the Bureau of Chemistry are equipped to test leather, the Bureau of Standards and the Bureau of Markets to test textiles, the Bureau of Standards and the Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering to test road materials, and the Bureau of Standards and the Reclamation Service to test cement.

In the broader field of the utilization of materials and the improvement of technical processes the utilization of American clay in the manufacture of high-grade pottery or the improvement of the process of glass making, with a view to supplying a better grade of optical glass, might be undertaken either by the Bureau of Standards or the Bureau of Mines. Another case where several bureaus might undertake to carry on the same technological study is that of aniline dyes. The Bureau of Standards, the Bureau of Mines, and the Bureau of Chemistry in the Department of Agriculture are all equipped to assist in making scientific researches in the establishment of an American coal tar dye industry, and each has the legal authority to do so. Moreover, the United States Tariff Commission is charged with the duty of investigating the development of chemical industries in general in this country, including the development of the dye industry, although presumably it would not attempt itself technological researches involving the equipment of additional chemical laboratories.

What is true with respect to sources of supply of raw materials and technological studies in the fabrication of the finished products is also true with respect to the marketing of the products. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has an organization covering the foreign markets of the world and is capable of studying the opportunities for the development of American foreign trade of all kinds. The Office of Markets of the Department of Agriculture is also interested in the development of foreign markets, particularly in markets for agricultural products, and, to some extent, for manufactured foodstuffs, and even for other commodities, like cotton textiles, the raw material of which is mainly produced on American farms. While the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce does not assume jurisdiction over the foreign marketing of wheat or cotton, and the Office of Markets does not assume jurisdiction over the foreign marketing of manufactured goods containing no raw materials produced on the farm, there is a class of commodities, such as manufactured foodstuffs, where the authority of the two bureaus is not clearly defined.

The situation is further complicated by the existence of the foreign trade advisers in the Department of State. With respect to domestic commerce, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has little actually to do, despite its somewhat indefinite grant of authority. Thus the domestic commerce in manufactured foods is subject principally to the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Chemistry in the Department of Agriculture, and matters relating to domestic commerce in sea foods other than their inspection under the pure-food law are dealt with by the Bureau of Fisheries.

Turning from the Government bureaus dealing with the industries of the country to those dealing more directly with the wants of the people, a similar confusion of authority exists. For example, there is a great subject of the public health. The Public Health Service has a broad grant of authority to engage in activities relating to health, exclusive of the health of persons in the military and naval service. The Bureau of Education, however, looks after the health of Indians in Alaska and the Indian Office after the health of Indians in other parts of the United States. The States Relations Service has a somewhat indefinite grant of authority with respect to the care of the health of farmers, and the Bureau of Mines operates its mine-rescue cars and in other ways concerns itself with the health of the mining population. Both the Public Health Service and the Army and Navy Health Services operate medical schools, and both the Public Health Service and the Army Medical Service operate hygienic laboratories. Locomotive boilers are inspected by agents of the Interstate Commerce Commission and

safety devices designed for the protection of employees in interstate commerce and of the traveling public are also inspected under the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Steamboat boilers, however, are inspected by agents of the Steamboat-Inspection Service.

The administration of the United States employees' compensation act, applying to civilian employees of the United States, is entrusted to a special commission, but the administration of the soldiers' and sailors' insurance law, covering persons now in the military or naval service, is entrusted to the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, whilst the payment of pensions to veterans of the Civil War and their dependents—involving duties of much the same general character as those involved in the payment of family allotments and allowances by the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance to dependents of persons in the military and naval services of the United States in the present war—is the function of a separate Pension Office.

The Public Health Service is interested in a general way in the prevention of the spread of disease. For example, it has been interested in preventing the spread of bubonic plague by rats and ground squirrels on the Pacific coast, and in the spread of various diseases by flies and mosquitoes everywhere. The Biological Survey of the Department of Agriculture is also interested in the study of rats and ground squirrels, and the Bureau of Entomology in the Department of Agriculture in flies and mosquitoes. Whilst the Biological Survey has a general interest in the wild animals of the United States, jurisdiction over Alaskan fur animals is vested in the Bureau of Fisheries, and jurisdiction over the reindeer in Alaska in the Bureau of Education. Whilst the Bureau of Entomology is interested in all kinds of insects, whether noxious to man, to animals, or to the useful plant life of the country, the study of insects injurious to forest trees is a matter of special concern to the Forestry Service.

Turning from health to education, we find that though there is a Federal Bureau of Education with a general authority to study matters in relation thereto, there is also a Children's Bureau with a general authority to study matters relating to the education of children, a Bureau of Immigration with a growing interest in the education of immigrants, a Federal Board of Vocational Education with a special responsibility for the development of agricultural, commercial, and industrial training, a States Relations Service with a further special responsibility concerning the agricultural colleges and extension work in the rural districts, and a Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce with an incipient interest in the training of persons for employment in connection with foreign commerce.

The general subject of prices and the cost of living is one with respect to which a number of bureaus have more or less overlapping authority. The Federal Trade Commission, for example, has a general authority to investigate the reasonableness of prices, and to that end to study costs of production in various industries. But costs of production may also be studied by several of the bureaus which are primarily concerned with the technology of industry. For example, the Bureau of Mines has authority to study the costs of production of coal; the Office of Farm Management has a general authority to study costs of production on the farm; the Forestry Service has authority to study the cost of production of timber; the Bureau of Fisheries presumably has a general authority to study costs of production of fish; the Tariff Commission also, in connection with its general duty of investigating the fitness of customs duties, presumably has the power to study costs of production of protected commodities. Moreover, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Office of Markets may likewise be interested in the study of market prices and their relation to the cost of living. These are only a few of many instances where duplication of service either has resulted or easily might result if bureau chiefs used their legal powers to the full, regardless of the legitimate development of the activities of other bureaus.

[From the Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, New York, Friday, Mar. 22, 1918.]

#### CONCENTRATING EXECUTIVE WAR POWER.

Coincident with a conference of the President with the heads of the War Industries Board and of various bureaus in different departments having to do with war activities, the so-called Overman bill has been reported to the Senate from its Judiciary Committee. The vote of the committee for reporting the bill as it stands was 11 to 7, eight of the former number being from Democrats and three from Republicans and two of the latter from Democrats and five from Republicans. This is not such evidence of nonpartisanship as is desirable, but it indicates a spirit of independence of party motives which shows signs of progress. The main purpose of this bill, as stated in a preliminary clause, is "for the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, for the support and maintenance of the Navy, for the better utilization of resources and industries, and for the more effective exercise and more efficient administration by the President of his powers as Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces." This is certainly a very important purpose at the present time, and the best way for its achievement is to be desired. How is it to be done? By hampering the Commander in Chief or by giving him full control of the agencies devised for accomplishing the objects in view?

What is proposed is to authorize him "to make such redistribution of functions among executive agencies as he may deem necessary, including any functions, duties, and powers hitherto by law conferred upon any executive department, commission, bureau, agency, office or officer, in such manner as in his judgment shall seem best fitted to carry out the purpose of this act." For this he may make such regulations and issue such orders as he may deem necessary. There is a proviso that the authority granted shall be exercised only in matters relating to the conduct of the present war, and another that the act shall remain in force for so much of a year following the proclamation of peace as the President may designate.

No doubt a variety of objections will be raised to this, or to anything else making Executive action more effective, but it seems to be believed at Washington that it will be passed without material change or any considerable negative vote. It ought to be without any prolonged debate or the too familiar use of excited language. There is really in it no occasion for getting excited. It confers no increased Executive power, and would only concentrate its direction and use, so as to make it more prompt and effective instead of running over red tape through a complex variety of machines and coming out in a snarl. The various parts of this machinery are created by legislative action and may be increased or diminished in number or capacity and modified in functions. The great need is to have them work in harmony to accomplish the desired results as perfectly and promptly as may be in a continuous and necessary service. If it were a private business,

there would be no doubt or difference of opinion about it. Why in a public service of so much consequence? Are private business men so much more trustworthy than public servants?

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. LEWIS. I did not rise to take the floor or to address myself at this time to the bill, but to ask the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Knox], in connection with the colloquy between him and the Senator from North Carolina, as to the construction to be placed upon the pending bill. The Senator from Pennsylvania asked the Senator from North Carolina, as a test of the construction of the bill, if I did not misunderstand him, what particular departments could be consolidated or transferred under the bill that could not now be consolidated or transferred by Executive order of the President in the execution of his duties as Commander in Chief. May I ask, does the Senator from Pennsylvania assume that, under the existing law, without the passage of the pending measure, the duties of the Quartermaster General in connection with purchases for the Government in his department, such as clothing; the duties of the commissary officer; and the duties of the Chief of Ordnance in connection with the purchase of ordnance and the letting of contracts—does the Senator assume those duties now could be taken from these officers and coordinated in a single head by the President's order and the power be given to make contracts and execute such purchases without some act of legislation?

Mr. KNOX. To begin with, the Senator from Illinois entirely misapprehended the question—

Mr. LEWIS. That may be.

Mr. KNOX. That I put to the Senator from North Carolina. What I asked the Senator from North Carolina was this: I asked him would he be willing to cite a single instance where the transfer of the functions of one executive branch of the Government to another was necessary for carrying on the war that the President under existing law and under his authority as Chief Executive did not have the power to make the transfer? That is not the question that has been put to me now by the Senator from Illinois.

I perhaps can make myself a little more clear by putting it in another way. There is a marked difference between delegating to an individual, whether he be in the Quartermaster General's Department or in the State Department or in the Interior Department, the performance of a specific act, and transferring the functions and duties of one of those departments to another department. My allegation as to the President's power as Chief Executive relates to his power to call upon individuals to perform specific acts.

Why, Mr. President, if the Senator from Illinois will permit me to go on for just a moment, within my own experience I have known of hundreds of cases where the President of the United States has designated to one Cabinet officer the functions or duties in a specific matter that naturally and normally devolved upon another Cabinet officer. I have known instances where questions had been brought before the Cabinet by one member of the Cabinet that contained points of interest that affected other departments than his own and the President has directed the two or three of them to get together, to coordinate upon that subject, and to present a joint conclusion for his decision. So I mean that by establishing within a department by an Executive order a rule that all subjects of a certain character shall be dealt with under the direction of a certain individual or a board of individuals, whether he takes that individual or those individuals out of that particular department or takes them off the highway, the President's authority is supreme; all that the President has to do is to make the order that it shall be done in that way; and every faithful and loyal employee of the Government will heartily fall in line and support him. If he does not, there is a way to dispose of that type of official.

Mr. LEWIS. Now, Mr. President, with the Senator's permission, may I test the distinction he makes by an inquiry? Assume that the President would, as Commander in Chief, have it in mind under this bill to consolidate the purchasing powers of the commissary officer and of the quartermaster officer in a single body, for reasons of economy, or in order that he might have a person schooled and skilled in the subject matter of purchases and that he might get away from those questions that have been raised here on this floor and with regard to which much evidence has been shown of considerable lack of experience, does the Senator not recognize that this bill would give the President power where he would not now have it under existing law, because of statutes specifically defining the duties of the Quartermaster General and the power of the Commissary General?

Mr. KNOX. Perhaps I have subjected myself to this cross-examination by having made a very innocent and simple inquiry of the Senator from North Carolina, and I will answer the Senator only in a general way. I do not have the honor of a very extended personal acquaintance with the President of the United States; but if he has one-half the ability and the ingenuity with which I credit him, the specific thing mentioned by the Senator from Illinois or any other specific thing that is necessary to be done in the executive offices he can bring about.

Mr. OVERMAN. Will the Senator from Illinois yield to me, that I may ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question?

Mr. LEWIS. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina, having charge of the bill. I will cover the question myself later.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator from Pennsylvania, having stated that the President has this power, will the Senator kindly cite me to any statute anywhere that gives him such power?

Mr. KNOX. If the Senator from North Carolina will hark back to the question that I have put to him two or three times and cite an instance where the President wants to do something in order to carry on this war that he does not have the power to do, I will undertake to answer his question. [Laughter.]

Mr. OVERMAN. No; the Senator has said to the Senator from Illinois that the President has certain powers that he could exercise. Now, if there is such a power—if the President has the right to do the things that the Senator from Pennsylvania says he has the right to do—I should be greatly obliged if the Senator would cite to me any law upon the statute books that authorizes him to do it.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, replying to the Senator's question, there is a law. It is not upon the statute books. It is written in the Constitution of the United States.

The President is constantly being referred to in debate as performing the function of executing the laws. He has a larger and a more definite function. He executes his office as President, and he takes a peculiar oath—an oath that no other officer of the United States takes. He takes an oath to execute faithfully the office of President. Now, the office of President is not limited to executing the laws. The President is no mere super-marshal or sheriff. He has certain functions to perform in the execution of the laws, but he has higher and broader and greater, if less definite, functions as the Chief Executive of the United States; and as the Chief Executive of the United States it is his duty, his power, and his right to coordinate all of the instrumentalities that Congress has placed in his hands to carry on the executive departments, and all of the instrumentalities and powers that have been placed in his hands to carry on this war, and to see that individuals do as he directs; and, in faith, he has done so. He has done so time and time again, and, so far as I know, without just criticism.

Here within the last week or two, when the aircraft deficiencies were brought to light, and our great disappointments were pointed out to us, does the President send to the Secretary of the Interior, or the Secretary of War, or the Secretary of the Navy to take charge of the aircraft business, and make an investigation, and report what shall be done? No. He sends for a Democratic politician in California and another gentleman who is in no way connected with the Government. I am not reflecting upon his judgment in selecting the gentleman from California, but I just happen to know of him as a leading Democratic politician and an able lawyer. But he is a man unconnected with the Government of the United States; and the report of that board—that board of two men, neither of whom is connected with the Government of the United States—will be the report that will determine governmental activities in relation to our air fleet.

Need I point, Mr. President, to the functions—the superfunctions—performed for this Government, and performed ably, so far as I know, by Col. House? What powers have not been vested in Col. House to represent the dignity and the sovereignty and the might of this Government in the courts of Europe, in the most delicate matters? Of that I am making no complaint. I am only trying to illustrate that the greater includes the less. If the President may do all of these greater things without a specific statute, if he may do them all without seeking from Congress specific authority, why may he not do the lesser things with respect to utilizing, coordinating, and directing those who are placed under him for the very purpose of enabling him to perform the detail of his duties and responsibilities?

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Pennsylvania is always so fair and so frank that I am a little bit astonished at him.

Mr. KNOX. I hope that is not unusual.

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not see why he should bring in Col. House. No; I am very fond of the Senator, and I am really surprised that he should bring in the name of Col. House, or Mr. Denman, or anyone else. I was asking him a frank question of law. I was asking his opinion as a lawyer.

Now, the Senator was the great adviser of Mr. Taft. He was Secretary of State. He was Attorney General under Mr. Roosevelt. He was Secretary of State, and I honor him as a great Secretary. But Mr. Taft had his Cabinet around him. He sent a message to the Senate, which I have cited here, stating that the country had the most unscientific system of government on earth, and that he wanted an investigation held so that he could see what to do, and that there was duplication of work everywhere. Now, if the President had the power to do what the Senator says, why should he be coming to Congress asking Congress for a law to do that which he says he had the power to do?

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, it occurs to me that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Knox] has not quite made the distinction that ought to be made between a situation such as he mentions—the general exercise of authority over an office and the general executive powers which the President may possess that do not conflict with some statute.

If there is a statute enacted by Congress which requires that certain duties shall be performed by certain departments or heads of departments, that certain functions must be performed by certain officials, the Senator will at once admit that the President can not ignore or override the express provisions of the statute. If there is no statute to the contrary the President may do the various things which the Senator has indicated he may do. He may select the head of one department and assign to him certain work and certain duties and ask him to do that, even though ordinarily they fall under the head of some other department. But if there is a statute which says that those duties must be performed by a certain officer, then, of course, the President can not assign those duties to some other officer or appoint some other officer to perform those duties; and it is to meet that situation that this bill is proposed. It is intended to make it unnecessary, when the President wants to accomplish a certain important piece of work, for him to search out the statutes to see whether or not, if he does the thing he wants to do and feels that it is necessary to do, he is violating a statute somewhere. It ought not to be incumbent upon him to take the time to search through the books to see whether some statute stands across his pathway when he is endeavoring to conduct the affairs of this Nation in this great crisis. If those statutes do exist this law gives the authority to the President, notwithstanding such statutes as might ordinarily interfere, to do the things that are needful and that are helpful in this emergency.

For instance, and just to illustrate, only a few days ago—in fact, on the 23d of this month—the Senate passed a bill, S. 3982, which provides that—

So much of section 1133 of the Revised Statutes—

And there is an express statute enacted by Congress—

as restricts the purchase and distribution of military stores and supplies and the work of construction and repair to officers of the Quartermaster Corps be, and the same is hereby, suspended for the period of the present war.

Now, we have found it necessary to pass, and we have deliberately passed, a special act to suspend a certain section of the Revised Statutes which stood in the way of efficient administration. We do not want to have to be doing that every day, or once a week, or even once a month. To avoid doing that sort of thing this general bill is proposed, and it meets the situation. It makes it unnecessary for special acts to be brought in here from time to time amending, suspending, or altering some provision of some law which we have heretofore passed; and it is only in case a statute limits the power of the President or vests the authority somewhere else that he is unable to act.

In all other respects I quite agree with the Senator from Pennsylvania that the President's power is practically unlimited, but when Congress has by legislation prescribed certain things that must be done by certain departments or certain officers, the President can not order that to be done in some other way, although he may find it absolutely necessary that it should be done otherwise; and, as the Senate found in the case of the particular bill to which I referred, which has passed the Senate, he found it necessary to suspend during the period of the war certain sections of the Revised Statutes. We have been doing it right along. There are dozens of such special acts upon the statute books. This is to avoid that sort of thing and the delay consequent upon it, because these acts can not be passed on the minute.

Senators say: "Well, after these things arise, and the questions are presented to the Senate, we are ready to stand behind the President and pass such legislation as will meet the situation." But a bill is introduced. It goes to a committee. The committee takes it up maybe within a week, maybe within 10 days or two weeks, and then it is reported back to the Senate. It goes on the calendar. It may be here two or three weeks or a month, and finally it is passed. In the meantime the public interests suffer. It is that sort of situation that this bill is intended to meet; and I think a clear distinction should be drawn between it and the matter submitted by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had reconsidered the vote by which it disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9054) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and requested a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

The message also announced that the House returned to the Senate, in compliance with its request, the bill (H. R. 9054) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, with the Senate amendments and accompanying papers.

#### PUNISHMENT OF SEDITIOUS ACTS AND UTTERANCES.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask the Senate to lay aside this bill (H. R. 8753), without objection—

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. We object.

Mr. OVERMAN. To take up, I want to say to the Senator from Georgia, the most important bill, I think, that has come before the Senate this session—Order of Business 319.

Mr. KIRBY. What is it?

Mr. LODGE. Does the Senator move to take up that bill instead of the other?

Mr. OVERMAN. No; I am going to ask that this bill be laid aside temporarily.

Mr. GALLINGER. What bill does the Senator refer to?

Mr. OVERMAN. It is the bill reported out unanimously from the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. LODGE. I think I know the bill.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. KIRBY. I should like to know how long it is contemplated that this second bill will require the attention of the Senate. I believe the present bill is the most important legislation that is before Congress at this time, and if it is liable to be displaced long by the other bill my purpose is to object to the request for unanimous consent.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think they are both very important; but the Attorney General is very anxious that the bill to which I refer shall be passed at once, for the reason that the bond sale begins on the 6th of April. Unless the Senate passes this bill before the 6th we will have practically no law on the subject.

Mr. STONE. What is it?

Mr. OVERMAN. I will state the title of it in a minute, as soon as it is brought to me. It is in the interest of selling the bonds.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I should not object to taking up the bond bill. It ought to be passed immediately.

Mr. OVERMAN. Immediately.

Mr. LODGE. And it ought to become law before the 6th. Is that the bill to which the Senator refers?

Mr. OVERMAN. That is the bill which I am trying to get up, in order that we may have a sale of bonds.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator said it was a bill reported by the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator does not mean that.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President—

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

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I really thought I had the floor at first, but—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognized the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. We object to the substitution.

Mr. OVERMAN. I may move to take it up, anyway, because Senators will see the importance of it. It is a bill with regard

to the sale of these bonds. I will ask that this bill be laid aside temporarily.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, the Senator means the bill reported this morning from the Finance Committee, does he not?

Mr. OVERMAN. Oh, no. I mean the bill reported on yesterday from the Judiciary Committee affecting the bonds.

Mr. LODGE. That is not the bond bill.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I refer to the bill that I asked to have published in the Record and printed. The clerks will understand the bill I mean.

Mr. STONE. How does that bill relate to bonds?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I will not yield the floor until I get the bill. I do not yield to anybody now.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CUMMINS. The inquiry is this: Has a request been made for unanimous consent to lay aside temporarily the unfinished business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Not yet.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I want to read the title of the bill, so that Senators will understand it before they object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina has the floor.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is entitled—

An act to amend section 3, title 1, of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator said it was a bond bill.

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

Mr. OVERMAN. I do.

Mr. GALLINGER. I understood the Senator to say that he was going to ask to consider a bond bill. That is not a bond bill.

Mr. OVERMAN. Oh, no. I said a bill connected with the sale of the liberty bonds.

Mr. LODGE. This has nothing to do with that.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator misunderstood me.

I want to say to the Senators that we have had seven or eight trials in this country of criminals who interfered with the sale of liberty loans and with the draft; and some judges have held, I think wrongly, that these persons could not even be convicted for doing everything in their power to prevent the sale of liberty bonds by making speeches all over this country. We want to make the law fuller, and have a supplemental act. Inasmuch as the bonds go on sale on the 6th of this month, we want this bill passed. The department is very anxious to have it passed by Congress.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask my colleague if he will not yield to me to make a report of the bond bill, so that we may first pass the bond bill which he is talking about?

Mr. OVERMAN. Of course that is probably even more necessary than this one. I yield to my colleague to make a report.

#### THIRD LIBERTY LOAN.

Mr. SIMMONS. From the Committee on Finance I report back favorably, with amendments, the so-called bond bill, and I submit a report (No. 351) thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina reports favorably, from the Committee on Finance, a bill the title of which will be stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 11123) to amend an act approved September 24, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend additional credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I now ask my colleague if he will not consent to temporarily lay aside the unfinished business in order that we may proceed to the consideration of this bill?

Mr. OVERMAN. Why, of course, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The junior Senator from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to temporarily lay aside the unfinished business. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the unfinished business is temporarily laid aside. The senior Senator from North Carolina now asks unanimous consent to proceed to the consideration of the bill the title of which has just been stated by the Secretary. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 11123) to amend an act approved September 24, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend additional credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes," which has been reported from the Committee on Finance, with amendments.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I would not have injected this bill into the situation that has developed here this afternoon but for the fact that the circumstances are such as to make it exceedingly important that it should be acted upon at once. I will state the cause of this urgency. This bill is a House bill. The Committee on Finance, to which it was referred, has made several amendments to it. If those amendments should be adopted by the Senate, as I anticipate they will be, it will be necessary for the bill to go back to the House for further action. If the House should decline to accept the amendments, it would then have to go to a conference upon the disagreeing votes of the two Houses. If this process must be gone through with—and the probabilities are that it will have to be—the chances are that the 6th of April will arrive before the bill can become a law.

The Secretary of the Treasury thinks—and in that opinion the Finance Committee entirely concurs—that it is very important that the bill should become a law before the 6th day of this month, because on that day he will offer these liberty bonds it authorizes for sale. Elaborate machinery has been devised, and is in course of execution, to hold on that day in every town and hamlet throughout the United States patriotic liberty bond meetings. It is expected that at these meetings these bonds will be offered for sale, and that at each of these meetings subscriptions will be solicited and urged and the campaign started with a vigorous impetus. Of course it would be embarrassing to ask for subscriptions to these bonds before they have been authorized and the rate of interest established and fixed. For these reasons I am going to ask the Senate not only to take up this bill this afternoon but, if necessary, to remain in session a little later than usual, in order that we may, if possible, reach a vote this afternoon, so that the bill may get to the House of Representatives on to-morrow.

Mr. President, I will detain the Senate only a few minutes in explanation of the provisions of the bill and the amendments proposed by the Finance Committee to it.

This bill takes the form of an amendment to the bond act approved September 24, 1917. That is the act authorizing the second liberty bond issue.

I will briefly enumerate the essential provisions of the bill. The bill provides for an increase in the amount of liberty bonds authorized by the act of September 24, 1917, from \$7,558,000,000, in round figures, to \$12,000,000,000. That is to say, it authorizes an additional issue of these bonds amounting in the aggregate to, in round numbers, \$4,500,000,000.

The bill also fixes the rate of interest which this new issue shall bear at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, being an increase of one-quarter of 1 per cent over the rate prescribed in that act. It also authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue a part of these bonds—as to what part, he is permitted to exercise his discretion—payable in foreign moneys. I wish to make it clear that of the total increase authorized by the bill, namely, four and a half billion dollars, three billions is for domestic purposes and one billion and a half to extend credits to our allies in the war.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. LEWIS. At this point I will inform the Senator that I am requested by those interested in this measure to interrogate him as to the following sought information:

The Senator has just concluded that paragraph of his lucid presentation showing that this bill contemplates extending to the allies the loan of a certain sum of money. May I ask the Senator if there is any provision in the bill which calls for the allies spending that money in the United States?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, there is no such provision in the bill.

Mr. LEWIS. Then, I ask the able Senator if he knows of any understanding whereby I will be justified in saying to

those who object to this bill on the ground that, so far as the loan extended to the allies is concerned, the money is to be expended out of the United States, in violation of what they say was a previous understanding as published generally to the public—that there is an understanding which would practically call, in honor, for the expenditure in the United States of this money which we are loaning to the allies?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I think all the loans made by the United States to the allies have been spent in the purchase of supplies and materials in this country. These loans are to extend credits in this country to the allies, and the purpose of this provision in the present bill is to further extend their credits. It is expected, as the Senator says was understood, that it will be spent in this country. I understand that the previous loans have been used in paying for purchases or expenses incurred in this country and that they were sought and made to enable our allies to meet these obligations in this country.

Mr. LEWIS. Thanking the Senator, then, it is the Senator's understanding that the spirit of this advance to the allies is upon the theory that the money is to be expended in the United States?

Mr. KING. May I suggest a thought to the Senator? I do so because I may have received an erroneous impression from his reply to the Senator from Illinois. I sincerely hope that this body will not go on record in support of a proposition that would restrict our allies in the use of any money loaned or credit extended to them. They should be permitted to make such use of money or credits as their necessities require. It is a painful thing to me to have it suggested that we shall determine the use to which our allies shall put the credits or loans made to them. I do not see how any patriotic person who buys liberty bonds could demand a limitation upon the conduct of our allies in expending money loaned or credits extended to them. If they wish to expend it here, so much the better; if they need to spend it in France or wherever it may be deemed proper to advance our cause and their cause and the cause of humanity, speaking for myself I should feel ashamed to impose any limitations upon them.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Senator did not understand me to say that there was any limitation imposed in any legislation that we passed?

Mr. KING. No; I did not so understand the Senator, but—

Mr. SIMMONS. There was no limitation imposed in the law. The act provides for extending to the allies a certain amount of credit. What I did say was that my understanding is that up to this time the moneys that have been advanced to them have been expended in this country.

I have no doubt, Mr. President, if a case should arise in which the allies need a part of this money for use abroad in the prosecution of the war the Secretary of the Treasury would have authority to act in that case as his judgment might dictate, because there is nothing in the law to limit his discretion in this respect. But that condition has not arisen up to this time as far as I know.

Mr. KING. If the Senator will pardon me, I did not want any impression to arise here from the question propounded by the distinguished Senator from Illinois or the reply thereto by the able Senator from North Carolina that this Government in any money which it loaned to the allies or any credits extended would limit the use to which it would be placed other than that it should contribute to the prosecution of the war. I think that the allies ought to be permitted to employ what we advance to them as they please, because we know they are fighting our battles as well as their own.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will state to the Senator I know of no request of the allies for credit except for the purpose of meeting their obligations growing out of war purchases and expenditures in this country.

Mr. KING. But if they needed money or credits to meet obligations at home or elsewhere.

Mr. SIMMONS. Then, there is nothing in the law to prevent the Secretary of the Treasury from extending credit to them. But I do not think he will extend it unless it was shown clearly that the money was to be used in some way contributory or necessary to the prosecution of the war.

Mr. KING. Obviously, and I think that is what the money is desired for; but I should not wish the impression to go out that we are loaning this money to the allies "with a string to it," namely, that they must spend every dollar of it in this country.

They might avail themselves of the credits which we give them in meeting obligations incurred in Cuba or South America. We might be able with trade balances to settle their liabilities.

ties in neutral countries, liabilities created in the purchase of articles imperatively demanded in the war.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

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

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield.

Mr. LEWIS. Since the Senator from Utah has alluded to my query to the Senator from North Carolina in charge of the bill, I would have him understand my position, and a single expression will conclude it. Since the understanding with the allies that as to money given by us on credit, as the Senator from North Carolina correctly describes it, was to be expended in the United States and the people of the United States then, in understanding, authorized us, their representatives, to provide the money, we should then be sure that the thing we are doing in advancing this money without the consent of our constituents is along the line of the understanding upon which they are lending the money.

I therefore will insist, so far as I am concerned, that since that understanding has been entered into that the allies are to spend this money in this country, it being our people's money, and as we are paying our own debts as well as we may, we should have full compliance with that understanding.

But if the time shall come, as the Senator from North Carolina would say, that we give the money to the allies to do as pleases them, that should be spread to the public to show that it was a gift or a loan with which to do as they pleased, but it ought not to be confused here. This measure should be clear, and the Senator from North Carolina, I think, has made it very clear.

Mr. SIMMONS. I wish to add that the allies in the first instance only asked of us credit for the purpose of financing their purchases in this country. They have never asked that the object and purpose of the loan be extended beyond that contained in the original request, so far as I know. If the allies shall come and show us a situation that makes it necessary or desirable in the interest of the common cause that a part of this money shall be expended outside of the United States, there is nothing in the law to prevent the Secretary of the Treasury from agreeing to a proposition of that sort, and I have no reason to believe he would withhold his assent to it.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator from North Carolina yield?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, what the Senator from North Carolina has stated is true; but I want to go still further and say to the Senator from Illinois that financial conditions of the world to-day, the distribution of the gold of the world, would prevent the Government of the United States from lending to the allies the amount of money that she is lending unless it were for goods manufactured in the United States.

We have only \$3,000,000,000 worth of gold in the United States, which is one-quarter of the gold of the world, and if we loaned our gold to our allies we would have little to issue Federal reserve bank notes on, and before this war is concluded I look for large issues of such notes.

Therefore, Mr. President, I think I can truthfully say that the amount which will be advanced to the allies by the United States Government will be the amount of goods that they purchase in the United States. We are not allowing gold to be shipped out of the United States to-day, and we are not going to allow it in the near future.

The balance of trade between the United States and our allies has got to be settled by loans to the allies, as the balance of trade is in our favor, and it is a physical impossibility for England or France or Italy or any of our allies to advance money to pay balances that are adverse to them. They have not got the gold to do so; and the only way left for us to do is to advance loans to them to the amount of goods that they purchase in this country. This we have been doing and will continue to do.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President—

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KENYON. I wish to ask the Senator from Utah, because I thoroughly agree with what the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] said, Does the Senator mean that we have reached a situation where the allies must have money, which money may not be necessarily expended in this country, and that under this loan we can not give it to them?

Mr. SMOOT. No; there is nothing in the law or in this bill providing that.

Mr. KENYON. What is the contract the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] speaks of?

Mr. SMOOT. It is understood generally, I believe, that we are going to advance \$500,000,000 a month to our allies, because

that is about the amount of the purchases that all our allies make in this country.

I wish to say to the Senator from Iowa that England will take care of her local credit, just the same as we will, by the sale of bonds and certificates of indebtedness, and the bonds, to a large extent, will be the basis of the issuing of Federal reserve bank notes.

Mr. KENYON. What about France?

Mr. SMOOT. France in exactly the same way and Italy in the same way. So far as their local financial affairs are concerned, they are not asking us to help them as yet; they do not need it. As long as the people of France are content with the security of the whole government back of the issues that France offers for sale there will be no trouble. It is the same with England and it is the same with Germany. The German people are to-day buying German bonds, although they know that there is issued twelve times the amount of government obligations against the gold held by Germans as compared with the United States.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, this is not a practical question which we have been discussing. None of our allies have ever asked us for any money for any other purpose than to pay their bills here, and there is no intimation or suggestion of any kind that they will do so with reference to this loan.

The bill again provides that this issue of bonds, which is to be known as the third liberty bond issue, shall be nonconvertible into any future issue bearing a higher rate of interest.

Mr. KENYON. May I ask the Senator from North Carolina a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POMERENE in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. KENYON. Is the provision for 4½ per cent interest essential in order to float the bonds?

Mr. SIMMONS. I think it is the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury that it might be difficult to place this large amount of bonds just at this time, with last issue somewhat below par, at the rate of 4 per cent, that being the rate borne by the last liberty bonds. He does believe, however, that by increasing the rate a quarter of 1 per cent and providing a sinking fund, as proposed in this bill, for the purchase of these bonds to stabilize the market it will be quite easy for him to float this loan at 4½ per cent, the rate fixed in the bill.

Mr. KENYON. I do not put my judgment, of course, against that of the Secretary of the Treasury, but I believe the bonds could have been floated at 4 per cent.

Mr. SIMMONS. That may be true, but the Secretary of the Treasury apprehended and told the committee there might be difficulty in floating them under the circumstances at that rate. Personally I believe that it might be accomplished through appeals to the aroused patriotism of our people; but I do not think it would be an easy thing to do at that rate, especially in view of the fact that these bonds are subject to certain Federal taxes, which, of course, indirectly reduces the rate of interest, and the fact that the fours are now slightly below par. Besides the nonconvertibility of these particular bonds into bonds bearing a higher interest rate take from them an important incentive in the purchase of the two former issues. I think the Secretary feels confident that if it is necessary hereafter to issue more of these bonds, as it doubtless will be, it will not be necessary to increase the rate of interest.

The 4 per cent liberty bonds that have already been issued are convertible into these 4½ per cent bonds. Those that have not been issued will when issued bear the 4½ per cent rate. The 3½ per cent bonds, under the contract written in the bonds, are convertible into any subsequent issue at a higher interest rate. So they are not foreclosed as to further convertibility.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President—

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KELLOGG. The 3½ per cent bonds, of course, would not be subject to their exemption if converted into 4½ bonds.

Mr. SIMMONS. Of course they would not. The contract then would be according to the terms of the 4½ per cent bonds. The bill also provides for increasing the certificates of indebtedness authorized to be issued by the Secretary of the Treasury from \$4,000,000,000 to \$8,000,000,000. This is a very large increase, it is true, but an analysis and study of the financial situation just at this time will make it apparent to any Senator that there is ample justification for this increase. The Secretary of the Treasury in the next fiscal year is going to be compelled to resort to the issue of these certificates to a very much greater extent than he has been during the present fiscal year, and for

that reason we felt that the law should authorize the liberal margin specified in the bill.

The bill as it originally passed the House contained a section known as section 5, prohibiting the States and subdivisions from taxing these bonds in the hands of the banks through the device of taxing the shares of stock in national banks or other banks and trust companies. Before that bill reached the Senate it was recalled, and, I believe, recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means, and that committee struck out this provision and inserted as a substitute the provisions which now appear in the House bill as section 5, and which your committee has stricken out.

Your committee thought if we should adopt this section, either as originally agreed upon and passed by the House or the substitute finally adopted by it, that a controversy would be precipitated which might lead to protracted debate or legislative delays, which it was so desirable for the reasons I have heretofore stated to avoid.

Under the circumstances we thought it wise to strike out the whole section and leave the matter subject to such future action as may be deemed expedient in a separate bill.

The bill also provides for a deposit not only in the national banks but in all banks that qualify as national depositories of the taxes collected under the income tax and the excess profits provision of the revenue act. Under the law as it now exists the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make deposits in these banks of receipts from the sale of liberty bonds, and this provision simply enlarges that privilege of the Secretary and enables him also to deposit in these banks the receipts from the excess profits and the income tax.

There are at present 4,600 banks throughout the country which have qualified as depositories. The Secretary of the Treasury advises your committee that it is his purpose to try to enlarge the number of qualified banks. He believes that the inducement held out in this provision will cause many other banks to qualify, especially as a very liberal policy will be adopted in admitting these banks as depositories.

So, Mr. President, the effect will be that not only the receipts from the sale of liberty bonds, but the receipts from the collection of the income and the excess profits taxes will be deposited, in all probability, as soon as collected in these banks scattered throughout the country, so that the money will not immediately be taken out of the banks and transferred to the vaults of the Treasury and to that extent will relieve a situation which might otherwise become acute.

That, together with the fact that large certificates of indebtedness have been purchased to the extent of over a billion dollars throughout the country to be used in the payment of these taxes, will, I think, very greatly relieve a situation which everybody recognizes might under other circumstances be embarrassing. It will not altogether relieve it, but it will greatly mitigate it.

Mr. President, I think that is all I desire to say, except I wish to make a brief financial statement showing the necessity of this legislation.

Mr. VARDAMAN. May I ask the Senator a question? Does the bill levy any taxes?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; it does not.

Mr. VARDAMAN. It only provides for the sale of bonds.

Mr. SIMMONS. It only provides for the sale of bonds.

It is estimated, and this estimate has just been made by the Treasury Department, that our total receipts for this fiscal year from all sources, including the money derived from the sale of liberty bonds, such as have already been issued and sold upon the market, will amount to \$8,220,000,000, in round numbers. There was in the Treasury June 30, 1917, which amount was transferred, of course, to the credit of 1918, \$1,066,000,000. So our total estimated receipts, together with the cash in the Treasury at the beginning of the year, amounts to \$9,287,000,000.

It is estimated that the disbursements of this year will amount to \$16,116,000,000, in round figures, leaving a deficit at the end of the fiscal year of \$6,829,000,000. Adding \$500,000,000 in order to provide a safety balance in the Treasury, it would make a deficit of \$7,329,000,000, in round figures.

There are yet unsold savings certificates and liberty bonds already authorized to the amount of \$4,329,000,000. Deducting these authorized but unsold bonds, the deficit will be \$3,000,000,000; that is, subtracting the authorized bonds not yet sold from the estimated deficit, it will leave \$3,000,000,000 that must be provided in order to meet the current expenses of the fiscal year 1918.

The billion and a half which this bill carries for the allies is not to be loaned to them during this fiscal year. It is to be loaned to them during the months of July, August, and September of the next fiscal year.

Mr. KENYON. May I ask the Senator how much of the \$6,000,000,000 that he speaks of, in round numbers, consists of loans?

Mr. SIMMONS. There is \$6,190,000,000 of special disbursements included in the estimated expenditures for 1918.

I think this statement makes it clear that it is of the utmost urgency that this bill should be passed, and passed immediately. Of course, I do not mean to ask Senators not to discuss any phase of the bill they may see fit to discuss, and I shall be glad to answer any questions Senators may ask and to throw all the light that I can upon the matter, but I do wish to appeal to Senators not by unnecessary discussion to delay action upon the bill.

Mr. President, I very greatly hope that if this bill is passed—in fact, I might say I confidently believe if the bill is passed—it will put the Secretary of the Treasury in a position where he can finance the affairs of this country until Congress meets next December without further revenue legislation at this session of Congress.

I believe that it is important, if it can be avoided, that we should not at this time have further revenue legislation. Of course, in order that the Secretary of the Treasury may finance the Government until the next Congress, it will be necessary for him to use to a very considerable extent certificates of indebtedness. For that reason it became necessary that this issue should be greatly enlarged, but with this authority to issue these bonds, and with this authority to issue \$4,000,000,000 more of certificates of indebtedness, I believe the Secretary of the Treasury will be able to accomplish this purpose, and that Congress may safely proceed upon the idea that it will not be necessary at this session to enact additional substantive revenue legislation.

If the war shall be greatly prolonged and it becomes necessary for us, instead of a million or a million and a half men, to send 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 men to France, the expenditures of the Government will, of course, be greatly increased. I do not doubt that we shall have sooner or later to increase taxes; how much we shall have to increase them can not now be safely estimated or predicted, but I hope it may not be necessary to do so at this session, and do not believe it will be.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, it is too late this evening for me to have an opportunity of saying what I desire to say upon the pending bill. Therefore I wish simply to say at this time that I believe the bill ought to be passed, and ought to be passed immediately. In fact, there is no other thing for Congress to do than simply to provide for paying the obligations which we have already authorized the Government to incur. I will content myself with that statement, because I can not make any other without taking 10 or 15 minutes of time, and I do not believe I ought to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Did the Senator from North Carolina ask that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; but I will ask that that be done now, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, it is so ordered; and the bill will be read for amendment. The Secretary will state the first amendment to the bill reported by the Committee on Finance.

The first amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in section 1, page 3, line 19, after the word "upon," to strike out "application" and insert "applications"; so as to read:

The bonds herein authorized shall from time to time first be offered at not less than par as a popular loan, under such regulations, prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time, as will in his opinion give the people of the United States as nearly as may be an equal opportunity to participate therein, but he may make allotment in full upon applications for smaller amounts of bonds in advance of any date which he may set for the closing of subscriptions and may reject or reduce allotments upon later applications and applications for larger amounts, and may reject or reduce allotments upon applications from incorporated banks and trust companies for their own account and make allotment in full or larger allotments to others, and may establish a graduated scale of allotments, and may from time to time adopt any or all of said methods, should any such action be deemed by him to be in the public interest.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 3, page 6, line 2, before the words "conversion period," to insert "six months"; in line 5, after the word "shall," to insert "for the purpose of computing the amount of interest payable"; and in line 9, after the word "presentation," to strike out "and no adjustment of accrued interest shall be made in respect thereof," so as to make the clause read:

If bonds bearing interest at a higher rate than 4 per cent per annum shall be issued before July 1, 1918, then any bonds bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum which shall, after July 1, 1918, and before the expiration of the six months' conversion period prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, be presented for conversion into bonds

bearing interest at such higher rate, shall, for the purpose of computing the amount of interest payable, be deemed to have been converted on the dates for the payment of the semiannual interest on the respective bonds so presented for conversion, last preceding the date of such presentation.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 6, after line 17, to strike out:

Sec. 5. That section 7 of said act approved September 24, 1917, be, and is hereby, amended, by adding two new paragraphs, to read as follows:

"In determining the value of the shares of any national bank, State bank, trust company, or other banking institution, for the purpose of taxation by any State or any of the possessions of the United States or any local taxing authority, there shall be deducted an amount equal to the same proportion of the value of the shares as the par amount of any bonds or other interest-bearing obligations of the United States issued during the present war owned by such bank or trust company or banking institution bears to its gross assets.

"If any part of this section shall for any reason be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this section, but shall be confined in its operation to the part thereof directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 11, to change the number of the section from "6" to "5."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 8, line 17, to change the number of the section from "7" to "6," and in line 19, before the word "new," to strike out "three" and insert "four," so as to read:

Sec. 6. That said act approved September 24, 1917, is hereby amended by adding four new sections, to read as follows:

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, line 15, after the word "prescribe," to strike out: "The par amount of bonds of any series issued before April 1, 1918, which may be purchased in the 12 months' period beginning April 1, 1918, and in each 12 months' period thereafter, shall not exceed one-twentieth of the amount of bonds of such series outstanding at the beginning of such 12 months' period. In the case of any series of bonds issued after April 1, 1918, the"; in line 24, before the words "par amount," to insert "The"; in the same line, before the word "such," to insert "any"; on page 10, line 2, after the words "date of," to strike out "such"; in the same line, after the word "issue," to insert "shall not exceed one-twentieth of the par amount of bonds of such series originally issued," so as to make the clause read:

Sec. 15. That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized, from time to time, until the expiration of one year after the termination of the war, to purchase bonds issued under authority of this act, including bonds issued upon conversion of bonds issued under this act or said act approved April 24, 1917, at such prices and upon such terms and conditions as he may prescribe. The par amount of bonds of any such series which may be purchased in the 12 months' period beginning on the date of issue shall not exceed one-twentieth of the par amount of bonds of such series originally issued, and in each 12 months' period thereafter shall not exceed one-twentieth of the amount of the bonds of such series outstanding at the beginning of such 12 months' period. The average cost of the bonds of any series purchased in any such 12 months' period shall not exceed par and accrued interest.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 12, line 2, after the word "foreign," to strike out the word "moneys," in quotation marks, and insert "moneys," so as to read:

The Secretary of the Treasury may designate depositaries in foreign countries, with which may be deposited as he may determine all or any part of the proceeds of any bonds or certificates authorized by this act, payable in foreign money or foreign moneys.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 12, after line 2, to insert:

Sec. 17. That the short title of this act shall be "Second liberty bond act."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 12, after line 4, to insert:

Sec. 7. That the act entitled "An act to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes," approved April 24, 1917, is hereby amended by adding a new section to read as follows:

"Sec. 9. That the short title of this act shall be 'First liberty bond act.'"

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SIMMONS. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, April 4, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, April 3, 1918.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We thank Thee, our Father in heaven, that the Stars and Stripes float side by side with the flags of France and Great Britain; and we most earnestly pray that these precious emblems of human rights may lead on to a speedy culmination of the terrible war, that civilization may have the right of way.

Bind up the broken hearted, set the captives free, rehabilitate the earth and make glad the waste places that right may vindicate itself, and love, the crown of all humanity, reign supreme forevermore; through Him who came that we might have life, and that we might have it more abundantly. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### ADDITIONAL ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF WAR.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I notice that yesterday I neglected to file with the conference report on the bill (H. R. 9352) to amend an act entitled "An act providing for an Assistant Secretary of War," approved March 5, 1890, and for other purposes, the statement of the House conferees provided for in the rule, and I ask leave to file that statement in connection with the conference report.

The SPEAKER. It will be filed nunc pro tunc.

The statement is as follows:

#### STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9352) to amend an act entitled "An act providing for an Assistant Secretary of War," approved March 5, 1890, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement explaining the effect of the action agreed on:

The bill, as passed by the House, provided for a salary of \$4,500 for the assistant, second, and third assistant secretaries. The Senate raised the salaries to \$5,000 each. The conferees agreed on a salary of \$5,000 for the assistant secretary, which is his present salary, and \$4,500 each for the two additional secretaries.

S. H. DENT, Jr.,

W. J. FIELDS,

D. R. ANTHONY, Jr.,

Managers on the part of the House.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Young, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to notify the House of Representatives that the Senate had reconsidered the vote by which it insisted upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 9054) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and agreed to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate said bill with the Senate amendments and accompanying papers.

The message also announced that the President had, on April 2, 1918, approved and signed bills of the following titles:

S. 3401. An act to authorize the President to reduce temporarily the course of instruction at the United States Naval Academy; and

S. 3404. An act to authorize the President to drop from the rolls any naval or Marine Corps officer absent without leave for three months, or who has been convicted of any offense punishable by confinement in the penitentiary by the civil authorities, and prohibiting such officer's reappointment.

#### ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H. R. 10365. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Forsyth special road district of Taney County, Mo., to construct a bridge across White River at Forsyth, Mo.; and

H. R. 2617. An act to ratify the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bill of the following title: