

the Siegel bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Alex Meis, of Portsmouth, Ohio, protesting against the Siegel bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of sundry citizens of Baltimore, Md., favoring an extra bonus of \$300 to those who served in the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of clerks and letter carriers of Patterson Station post office, Baltimore, Md., favoring the passage of Senate joint resolution 84; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Baltimore, Md., favoring a bill giving to ex-service men of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps a bonus of \$360; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of Jewish Soldiers and Sailors' Veterans' League, protesting against the Governments of Poland and Ukraine; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROWAN: Petition of Mrs. Florence S. Sullivan, of New York, protesting against the passage of the Smith-Fess bill; to the Committee on Education.

Also, petition of Washburn Crosby Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., protesting against the passage of House bill 7482; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, petition of Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Washington, D. C., favoring the passage of Army reorganization bill which provides for the promotion of chaplains upon the same terms that other officers are promoted; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of G. W. D. Briggs, of New York City, protesting against the passage of House bill 8078; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the American Legion, of New York City, protesting against the passage of House bill 287; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, petition of Charles N. Dowd, M. D., of New York, protesting against the Plumb plan; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, papers to accompany H. R. 8525, for the relief of Frank J. Simmons; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of Wisconsin Retail Market Men's Association, of Milwaukee, Wis., protesting against the passage of the Kenyon bill, S. 2202, and the Kendrick bill, S. 2199; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of Jewish Soldiers and Sailors Veterans' League, protesting against the Governments of Poland and Ukraine; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: Petition of Rotary Club of Grand Junction, Colo., urging the repeal of the tax on motion-picture and other theater tickets; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Ohio: Petition of Bishop Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Defiance, Ohio, urging passage of the Fuller bill, to give veterans of the Civil War an increase of \$10 per month pension, to be paid monthly instead of quarterly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. YATES: Petition of Frederick Secord, of Chicago, containing protest against the Kenyon and Kendrick bills; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of the following citizens of Lincoln, protesting against the Siegel bill: N. L. Gordon, Ryan & Purinton, W. E. Bouillon, Charles H. Wheeler, A. E. Brown & Son, and William E. Walters; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of Griffith Chadwick, of Oak Park, Ill., containing protest against the Kenyon and Kendrick bills; to the Committee on Agriculture.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, September 10, 1919.

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

Almighty God, we desire to perform the duties of this day in Thy fear. Thou hast not left us in the dark concerning the way of peace and prosperity. Thou hast not left us alone in the discharge of our duties that pertain to the rights of men. Thou hast revealed to us Thy will, and the history of all men bears the unchanging will of God. Grant us to-day to know Thy way and have in our hearts the supreme desire to do the will of God. We ask it for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Monday, September 8, 1919, when,

on request of Mr. CURTIS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a joint resolution passed by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, ratifying the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women, which was ordered to be filed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, announced that the House had passed the bill (H. R. 6863) to regulate the height, area, and use of buildings in the District of Columbia and to create a zoning commission, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6810) to prohibit intoxicating beverages, and to regulate the manufacture, production, use, and sale of high-proof spirits for other than beverage purposes, and to insure an ample supply of alcohol and promote its use in scientific research and in the development of fuel, dye, and other lawful industries, asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. VOLSTEAD, Mr. MORGAN, and Mr. WEBB managers at the conference on the part of the House.

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 2622. An act to appoint necessary commissioned personnel for the Army until June 30, 1920; and

S. J. Res. 100. Joint resolution making Wednesday, September 17, 1919, a legal holiday in the District of Columbia.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. CURTIS presented a memorial of sundry Civil War veterans of the Neosho County Regiment, of Erie, Kans., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed league of nations treaty, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented resolutions adopted by Local Union No. 332, Iron Molders' Union, of Pittsburg, Kans., favoring the return to England of Miss Lillian Scott Troy, who was deported by the British Government, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Chanute, Kans., praying for an increase in the salaries of postal employees, which were referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Lehigh, Kans., remonstrating against universal military training, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Jewell Baptist Association, of Oak Creek, Kans., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the enforcement of prohibition, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. ELKINS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Morgantown, W. Va., and a petition of sundry citizens of Sistersville, W. Va., praying for an increase in the salaries of postal employees, which were referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Lynn, Mass., praying for an increase in the salaries of postal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented telegrams in the nature of memorials from sundry citizens of Boston, Mass.; a memorial of the Democratic city committee of Somerville, Mass.; and a memorial of sundry citizens of Butler, Ind., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed league of nations treaty, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of Captain Lester S. Wass Post, No. 3, American Legion, of Gloucester, Mass., praying for the restriction of immigration, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the City Council of Lowell, Mass., favoring the independence of Ireland, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the St. John the Baptist Benefit Lithuanian Association, of Cambridge, Mass., praying for the independence of Lithuania, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CAPPER presented memorials of sundry citizens of Newton, Hillsboro, Syracuse, Moundridge, and McPherson, all in the State of Kansas, remonstrating against universal military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of Local Union No. 1926, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, of Chanute, Kans., praying for an increase in the salaries of postal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, as in open executive session I report from the Committee on Foreign Relations the treaty of peace with Germany. Senators will find a copy on their desks showing the amendments. I also present the report of the committee and the reservations reported by the committee. Each Senator will find on his desk a copy, with his name upon it, which contains the maps. He will also find his copy of the treaty containing the amendments. He will also find data on the German peace treaty prepared by Maj. Reuben Clark, formerly of the State Department, with cross references; also a provisional draft of the economic clauses by Mr. Baruch, who was at the head of the commission at Paris in charge of the drafting of economic clauses of the treaty. Senators will also find copies of the hearings held before the committee.

I am sorry to say that we have not sufficient copies of the report of the committee containing reservations, which is a leaflet of one page, and copies of the committee report, which will now, of course, be printed under the rule. I had copies printed beforehand, in order to supply the Senate to-day, but I am sorry that most of these have been exhausted. The doorkeepers, however, have some copies for any Senator who desires them. The others will be here in a few hours.

I ask unanimous consent that the minority may have permission to present the views of the minority, and I desire to give notice that I shall ask the Senate on Monday next to take up the treaty for action. I shall endeavor, after it is taken up, to keep it before the Senate until disposed of.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the permission requested for the minority to file views is granted.

Mr. LODGE subsequently said: Mr. President, I intended to ask that the report which I made this morning from the Committee on Foreign Relations and the report of the reservations also be printed in the RECORD. I do so now, and ask that they be printed in the RECORD without reading.

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

[Senate Report No. 176, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.]

TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY.

"Mr. LODGE, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following report:

"The treaty of peace with Germany was laid before the Senate by the President on July 10, 1919. Three days were consumed in printing the treaty, which was in two languages and filled 537 quarto pages. The treaty, therefore, was not in the possession of the committee for action until July 14, 1919. The report upon the treaty was ordered by the committee on September 4. Deducting Sundays and a holiday, the treaty has been before the Committee on Foreign Relations for 45 days. The committee met on 37 of those working days, sitting whenever possible both in the morning and afternoon. The eight working days upon which the committee did not sit were lost, owing to unavoidable delays in securing the presence of witnesses summoned by the committee. In view of the fact that six months were consumed by the peace conference in making the treaty, in addition to a month of work by the various delegations before the assembling of the conference, the period of six weeks consumed by the committee in considering it does not seem excessive.

"These facts are mentioned because there has been more or less clamor about delay in the committee. This demand for speed in the consideration of the most important subject which ever came before the Senate of the United States, involving as it does fundamental changes in the character of our Government and the future of our country for an unlimited period, was largely the work of the administration and its newspaper organs, and was so far wholly artificial. Artificial also was the demand for haste disseminated by certain great banking firms which had a direct pecuniary interest in securing an early opportunity to reap the harvest which they expected from the adjustment of the financial obligations of the countries which

had been engaged in the war. The third element in the agitation for haste was furnished by the unthinking outcry of many excellent people who desired early action and who for the most part had never read the treaty or never got beyond the words 'league of nations,' which they believed to mean the establishment of eternal peace. To yield helplessly to this clamor was impossible to those to whom was intrusted the performance of a solemn public duty.

"The responsibility of the Senate in regard to this treaty is equal to that of the Executive, who, although aided by a force of 1,300 assistants, expert and otherwise, consumed six months in making it, and the Senate and its Committee on Foreign Relations can not dispose of this momentous document with the light-hearted indifference desired by those who were pressing for hasty and thoughtless action upon it. The committee was also hampered by the impossibility of securing the full information to which they were entitled from those who had conducted the negotiations. The committee were compelled to get such imperfect information as they secured from press reports, by summoning before them some of the accessible experts who had helped to frame the complicated financial clauses, and certain outside witnesses. As an illustration in a small way of the difficulties in securing information, it may be stated that no provision had been made to supply the Senate with the maps accompanying the treaty, and it was necessary to send to Paris to procure them. The only documents of the many asked for by the committee which were furnished by the Executive were the American plan for the league of nations, submitted to the commission on the league covenant, and the composite draft made by experts of that commission.

"The treaties with Poland and with France as well as the Rhine protocol, all integral parts of the treaty with Germany, were obtained by the Senate, prior to their transmission by the President, from the documents laid before the House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies early in July by the prime ministers of England and France. The records of the peace conference and of the conferences of the representatives of the five great powers were asked for by the committee and refused by the Executive. The committee had before them the Secretary of State, who was one of the American delegates and a signer of the treaty, and they also had the privilege of a meeting with the President at the White House which they had themselves requested. The testimony of the Secretary of State and the conversation of the committee with the President, published in the record of the committee hearings, have been laid before the country by the press, and it is not necessary to say anything further in regard to them, because the people themselves know how much information in regard to the treaty was received by the committee upon those two occasions.

"The character of the clamor for speedy action is well illustrated by the fact that it was directed solely against the Senate of the United States and its Committee on Foreign Relations. The treaty provides that it shall go into force when ratified by Germany and by three of the principal allied and associated powers, which are the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan. Great Britain very naturally ratified at once, but no one of the other four has yet acted. Persons afflicted with inquiring minds have wondered not a little that the distressed mourners over delay in the Senate have not also aimed their criticism at the like shortcomings on the part of France, Italy, and Japan, an act of even-handed justice in faultfinding which they have hitherto failed to perform.

"Perhaps it is well also to note and to consider for a moment one of the reasons given for the demand for hasty action, which was to the effect that it was necessary to have prompt ratification in order to renew our trade with Germany, for even the most ardent advocate of unconsidered action was unable to urge that the channels of trade to the allied countries were not open. The emptiness of this particular plea for haste, now rather faded, is shown by the fact that we have been trading with Germany ever since the armistice. Between that event and the end of July we have exported to Germany goods valued at \$11,270,624. In the month of June we exported more to Germany than we did to Spain. In July, by orders of the War Trade Board, the provisions of the trading-with-the-enemy act were set aside by the authorization of licenses to trade, and exports to Germany for the month of July amounted to \$2,436,742, while those to Austria and Hungary were \$1,016,518.

"It is an interesting fact that the exports in June to Germany, before the relaxation of the trading-with-the-enemy act, were much larger than after that relaxation, brought about by allowing licenses, was ordered, an indication of the undoubted truth

that our trade with foreign countries is not affected by the treaty, but is governed by the necessarily reduced purchasing power of all countries in Europe engaged in the war. As a matter of fact, therefore, we are trading with Germany, and it is a mere delusion to say that we can not trade with Germany until the ratification of the treaty, because in order to do so we require a new treaty of amity and commerce and the reestablishment of our consular system in that country. The United States, following the usual custom, was represented in Germany by Spain, both in the consular and in the diplomatic service, after the outbreak of the war, and we can transact all the business we may desire through the good offices of Spanish consuls until a new consular treaty with Germany has been made.

"Before leaving this subject it may not be amiss to remark that Mr. Lloyd-George has recently made two important speeches expressing grave apprehensions as to the social and political unrest and the economic troubles now prevalent in England. He seems to have failed to point out, however, that the ratification of the covenant of the league of nations by Great Britain had relieved the situation which he had described. He was apparently equally remiss in omitting to suggest that prompt action by the Senate of the United States in adopting the covenant of the league of nations would immediately lower the price of beef.

"In reporting the treaty to the Senate for action the committee propose certain amendments to the text of the treaty and certain reservations to be attached to the resolution of ratification and made a part of that resolution when it is offered.

"In regard to the amendments generally it should be stated at the outset that nothing is more groundless than the sedulously cultivated and constantly expressed fear that textual amendments would require a summoning of the peace conference, and thereby cause great delay. There will be no necessity of summoning the peace conference, because it is in session now in Paris, with delegates fully representing all the signatory nations, as it has been for six months, and it seems likely to be in session for six months more. Textual amendments, if made by the Senate, can be considered in Paris at once, and the conference would be at least as usefully employed in that consideration as they now are in dividing and sharing southeastern Europe and Asia Minor, in handing the Greeks of Thrace over to our enemy, Bulgaria, and in trying to force upon the United States the control of Armenia, Anatolia, and Constantinople through the medium of a large American Army. Still more unimportant is the bugbear which has been put forward of the enormous difficulties which will be incurred in securing the adhesion of Germany. No great amount of time need be consumed in bringing German representatives to Paris. The journey is within the power of a moderate amount of human endurance, and it is also to be remembered that Germany is not a member of the league and need not be consulted in regard to the terms of the covenant. When Germany enters the league she will take it as she finds it.

AMENDMENTS.

"The first amendment offered by the committee relates to the league. It is proposed so to amend the text as to secure for the United States a vote in the assembly of the league equal to that of any other power. Great Britain now has under the name of the British Empire one vote in the council of the league. She has four additional votes in the assembly of the league for her self-governing dominions and colonies, which are most properly members of the league and signatories to the treaty. She also has the vote of India, which is neither a self-governing dominion nor a colony but merely a part of the Empire and which apparently was simply put in as a signatory and member of the league by the peace conference because Great Britain desired it. Great Britain also will control the votes of the Kingdom of Hejaz and of Persia. With these last two, of course, we have nothing to do. But if Great Britain has six votes in the league assembly no reason has occurred to the committee and no argument had been made to show why the United States should not have an equal number. If other countries like the present arrangement, that is not our affair; but the committee failed to see why the United States should have but one vote in the assembly of the league when the British Empire has six.

"Amendments 39 to 44, inclusive, transfer to China the German lease and rights, if they exist, in the Chinese Province of Shantung, which are given by the treaty to Japan. The majority of the committee were not willing to have their votes recorded at any stage in the proceedings in favor of the consummation of what they consider a great wrong. They can not as-

sent to taking the property of a faithful ally and handing it over to another ally in fulfillment of a bargain made by other powers in a secret treaty. It is a record which they are not willing to present to their fellow citizens or leave behind them for the contemplation of their children.

"Amendment No. 2 is simply to provide that where a member of the league has self-governing dominions and colonies which are also members of the league the exclusion of the disputants under the league rules shall cover the aggregate vote of the member of the league and its self-governing dominions and parts of empire combined if any one of them is involved in the controversy.

"The remaining amendments, with a single exception, may be treated as one, for the purpose of all alike is to relieve the United States from having representatives on the commissions established by the league which deal with questions in which the United States has and can have no interest and in which the United States has evidently been inserted by design. The exception is amendment No. 45, which provides that the United States shall have a member of the reparation commission, but that such commissioner of the United States can not, except in the case of shipping, where the interests of the United States are directly involved, deal with or vote upon any other questions before that commission except under instructions from the Government of the United States.

RESERVATIONS.

"The committee proposes four reservations to be made a part of the resolution of ratification when it is offered. The committee reserves, of course, the right to offer other reservations if they shall so determine. The four reservations now presented are as follows:

"1. The United States reserves to itself the unconditional right to withdraw from the league of nations upon the notice provided in article 1 of said treaty of peace with Germany."

"The provision in the league covenant for withdrawal declares that any member may withdraw provided it has fulfilled all its international obligations and all its obligations under the covenant. There has been much dispute as to who would decide if the question of the fulfillment of obligations was raised, and it is very generally thought that this question would be settled by the council of the league of nations. The best that can be said about it is that the question of decision is clouded with doubt. On such a point as this there must be no doubt. The United States, which has never broken an international obligation, can not permit all its existing treaties to be reviewed and its conduct and honor questioned by other nations. The same may be said in regard to the fulfillment of the obligations to the league. It must be made perfectly clear that the United States alone is to determine as to the fulfillment of its obligations, and its right of withdrawal must therefore be unconditional, as provided in the reservation.

"2. The United States declines to assume, under the provisions of article 10, or under any other article, any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between other nations, members of the league or not, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States in such controversies, or to adopt economic measures for the protection of any other country, whether a member of the league or not, against external aggression or for the purpose of coercing any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the internal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, and no mandate shall be accepted by the United States under article 22, Part I, of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States."

"This reservation is intended to meet the most vital objection to the league covenant as it stands. Under no circumstances must there be any legal or moral obligation upon the United States to enter into war or to send its Army and Navy abroad or without the unfettered action of Congress to impose economic boycotts on other countries. Under the Constitution of the United States the Congress alone has the power to declare war, and all bills to raise revenue or affecting the revenue in any way must originate in the House of Representatives, be passed by the Senate, and receive the signature of the President. These constitutional rights of Congress must not be impaired by any agreements such as are presented in this treaty, nor can any opportunity of charging the United States with bad faith be permitted. No American soldiers or sailors must be sent to fight in other lands at the bidding of a league of nations. American lives must not be sacrificed except by the will and command of the American people acting through their constitutional representatives in Congress.

"This reservation also covers the subject of mandates. According to the provisions of the covenant of the league, the acceptance of a mandate by any member is voluntary, but as to who shall have authority to refuse or to accept a mandate for any country the covenant of the league is silent. The decision as to accepting a mandate must rest exclusively within the control of the Congress of the United States as the reservation provides and must not be delegated, even by inference, to any personal agent or to any delegate or commissioner.

"3. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction, and declares that all domestic and political questions relating to its affairs, including immigration, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the assembly of the league of nations, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power."

"This reservation speaks for itself. It is not necessary to follow out here all tortuous windings, which to those who have followed them through the labyrinth disclose the fact that the league under certain conditions will have power to pass upon and decide questions of immigration and tariff, as well as the others mentioned in the reservation. It is believed by the committee that this reservation relieves the United States from any dangers or any obligations in this direction.

"The fourth and last reservation is as follows:

"4. The United States declines to submit for arbitration or inquiry by the assembly or the council of the league of nations provided for in said treaty of peace any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said league of nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany."

"The purpose of this reservation is clear. It is intended to preserve the Monroe doctrine from any interference or interpretation by foreign powers. As the Monroe doctrine has protected the United States, so, it is believed by the committee, will this reservation protect the Monroe doctrine from the destruction with which it is threatened by article 21 in the covenant of the league and leave it, where it has always been, within the sole and complete control of the United States.

"This covenant of the league of nations is an alliance and not a league, as is amply shown by the provisions of the treaty with Germany which vests all essential power in five great nations.

Those same nations, the principal allied and associated powers, also dominate the league through the council.

"The committee believe that the league as it stands will breed wars instead of securing peace. They also believe that the covenant of the league demands sacrifices of American independence and sovereignty which would in no way promote the world's peace but which are fraught with the gravest dangers to the future safety and well-being of the United States. The amendments and reservations alike are governed by a single purpose, and that is to guard American rights and American sovereignty, the invasion of which would stimulate breaches of faith, encourage conflicts, and generate wars. The United States can serve the cause of peace best, as she has served it in the past, and do more to secure liberty and civilization throughout the world by proceeding along the paths she has always followed and by not permitting herself to be fettered by the dictates of other nations or immersed and entangled in all the broils and conflicts of Europe.

"We have heard it frequently said that the United States 'must' do this and do that in regard to this league of nations and the terms of the German peace. There is no 'must' about it. 'Must' is not a word to be used by foreign nations or domestic officials to the American people or their representatives. Equally unfitting is the attempt to frighten the unthinking by suggesting that if the Senate adopts amendments or reservations the United States may be excluded from the league. That is the one thing that certainly will not happen. The other nations know well that there is no threat of retaliation possible with the United States because we have asked nothing for ourselves and have received nothing. We seek no guaranties, no territory, no commercial benefits or advantages. The other nations will take us on our own terms, for without us their league is a wreck and all their gains from a victorious peace are imperiled. We exact nothing selfish for ourselves, but we insist that we shall be the judges, and the only judges, as to the preservation of our rights, our sovereignty, our safety, and our independence.

"At this moment the United States is free from any entanglements or obligations which legally or in the name of honor would compel her to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience or to the freedom and the interests of the American people. This is the hour when we can say precisely what we will do and exactly what we will not do, and no man can ever question our good faith if we speak now. When we are once caught in the meshes of a treaty of alliance or a league of nations composed of 26 other powers our freedom of action is gone. To preserve American independence and American sovereignty and thereby best serve the welfare of mankind the committee propose these amendments and reservations."

[Senate Document No. 86, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.]

DATA ON GERMAN PEACE TREATY.

DATA PRESENTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, UNITED STATES SENATE, RELATING TO THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY.

[Prepared by Maj. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., formerly Solicitor of the Department of State.]

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles.

[NOTE 1. The "Principal Allied and Associated Powers" are the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan. The "Allied and Associated Powers" are the foregoing powers and all other signatory of the Treaty, except Germany. The "High Contracting Parties" are all signatories of the Treaty. It is not clear who are designated as "Allies."

NOTE 2. The page references first given are to the two-language text (Senate Doc. 51, 66th Cong., 1st sess.). The *italic* page references are to the English text (Senate Doc. 49, 66th Cong., 1st sess.).

NOTE 3. The table below is designed to show side by side the property or rights given up by Germany, whether it be territory, ceded or renounced, obligations assumed or acknowledged, rights renounced or abrogated, rights recognized, or property rights surrendered (placed in the left-hand column); and the credit, if any allowed, for such property on the general reparation account (placed in the right-hand column). As to items as to which it is expressly provided that credit shall be given, it is so stated in the right-hand column opposite the item. If it is expressly provided in the Treaty that no credit shall be given, this also is stated in that column. When the matter is doubtful, a question mark is placed in that column, after the entry. If no entry at all is made in the credit column, it means nothing has been found in the Treaty to indicate that any credit at all shall be given.

NOTE 4. Speaking broadly and generally the theory of the Treaty in the matter of the making up by Germany of damages and losses, appears to be this: Restitution shall be made of all Allied and Associated property taken by or coming into the possession of Germany since the war began, if the property is now in existence. In addition to this, reparation shall be made for property lost or destroyed and for civilian personal injuries caused by the war. The Reparation Commission is to make the adjustment for this, seemingly by making one bill against Germany covering everything and by then giving on this account credit for the assets turned over by Germany for which credit is to be allowed. No credit is allowed for the proportion of public debt assumed by cessionaries of territory.

NOTE 5. The Treaty also provides for the liquidation of all German property in Allied and Associated countries, and of the property of all nationals of such Powers in Germany, including the private securities held in Germany of companies of Allied and Associated Powers. All cash assets of such liquidation held by an Allied or Associated Power go to the payment of claims (in respect of property, rights, and interests) against Germany by the Powers' nationals, the balance, if retained by the Power, is to be paid to the Reparation Commission and credited on the reparation account.]

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

I. ELEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES OF GERMAN RESPONSIBILITIES AND LIABILITIES.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

DAMAGES.

Germany accepts the responsibilities of *Germany and her Allies* for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies. (Art. 231, p. 249; p. 91.)

Germany undertakes that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany by such aggression by land, by sea, and from the air. (Art. 232, p. 249; p. 91.) The amount of such damage for which compensation shall be made is to be determined by the Reparation Commission and notified to Germany. (Art. 233, p. 251; p. 92.)

Compensation may be claimed from Germany for damages under following heads (Art. 244, Annex I, p. 259; p. 95):

(1) Damage to injured persons and to surviving dependents by personal injury to or death of civilians caused by acts of war, including bombardments or other attacks on land, on sea, or from the air, and all the direct consequences thereof, and of all operations of war by the two groups of belligerents wherever arising.

(2) Damage by *Germany or her Allies* caused to civilian victims by acts of cruelty, violence, or maltreatment (including injuries to life or health as a consequence of imprisonment, deportation, internment, or evacuation, of exposure at sea or of being forced to labor), wherever arising, and to the surviving dependents of such victims.

(3) Damage caused by *Germany or her Allies*, in their own territory or in occupied or invaded territory to civilian victims of all acts injurious to health or capacity to work or to honor, as well as to surviving dependents of such victims.

(4) Damage caused by any kind of maltreatment of prisoners of war.

(5) As damages caused to the peoples of the Allied and Associated Powers, all pensions and compensations in the nature of pensions to naval and military victims of war (including members of the air force), whether mutilated, wounded, sick, or invalided, and to the dependents of such victims, the amount due to the Allied and Associated Governments being calculated for each of them as being the capitalized cost of such pensions and compensation at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty on the basis of the scales in force in France at such date.

(6) The cost of assistance by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to prisoners of war and to their families and dependents.

(7) Allowances by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to the families and dependents of mobilized persons or persons serving with the forces, the amount due to them for each calendar year in which hostilities occurred being calculated for each Government on the basis of the average scale for such payments in force in France during that year.

(8) Damage caused to civilians by being forced by Germany or her allies to labor without just remuneration.

(9) Damage in respect of all property wherever situated belonging to any of the Allied or Associated States or their nationals, with the exception of naval and military works or materials, which have been carried off, seized, injured, or destroyed by the acts of *Germany or her allies* on land, on sea, or from the air, or damage directly in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war.

(10) Damage in the form of levies, fines, and other similar exactions imposed by *Germany or her Allies* upon the civilian population.

"The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances." (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 18, p. 275; p. 101.)

Damage for repairing, reconstructing, and rebuilding property in the invaded and devastated districts, including reinstallation of furniture, machinery, and other equipment, will be calculated according to the cost at the dates when the work is done. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 12 (e), p. 269; p. 99.)

Interest shall be debited to Germany as from May 1, 1921, in respect of her debt as determined by the Commission, after allowing for sums already covered by cash payments or their equivalent, or by bonds issued to the Commission, or under Article 243. The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent unless the Commission shall determine at some future time that circumstances justify a variation of this rate.

The Commission, in fixing on May 1, 1921, the total amount of the debt of Germany, may take account of interest due on sums arising out of the reparation of material damage as from November 11, 1918, up to May 1, 1921. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 16, p. 273; p. 100.)

RESTITUTION.

Restitution in cash of cash taken away, seized, or sequestered; and restitution of animals, objects of every nature and securities taken away, seized, or sequestered, in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them in territory belonging to Germany or her allies. (Art. 238, p. 255; p. 93.)

Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas of the Allied and Associated Powers to the extent that these Powers may determine (Art. 244, Annex IV, par. 1, p. 283; p. 104) and

"The following shall be reckoned as credits to Germany in respect of her reparation obligations:

"(a) Any final balance in favor of Germany under Section V (Alsace-Lorraine) of Part III (Political Clauses for Europe) and Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty:

"(b) Amounts due to Germany in respect of transfers under Section IV (Saar Basin) of Part III (political clauses for Europe), Part IX (financial clauses) and Part XII (ports, waterways, and railways);

"(c) Amounts which in the judgment of the Reparation Commission should be credited to Germany on account of any other transfers under the present Treaty of property, rights, concessions, or other interests.

"In no case, however, shall credit be given for property restored in accordance with Article 238 of the present part." (Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94.)

Article 238 relates to the restitution of cash or the identical property taken from the Allied or Associated Powers.

And see Article 250, p. 307, p. 112.

Germany shall be given credit on the Reparation Account for the value as assessed by the Reparation Commission of material handed over under Article VII of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and Article III of the Armistice Agreement of January 16, 1919, and for any other material handed over in accordance with the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and all subsequent Armistice Agreements, for which, as having nonmilitary value credit should, in the judgment of the Reparation Commission, be allowed to the German Government. (Article 250, p. 307; p. 112.)

No credit on compensation account. (Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94; Art. 250, p. 307; p. 112.)

"The value of the property transferred and any services rendered by her under these Annexes (Part VIII) assessed in

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

I. ELEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES OF GERMAN RESPONSIBILITIES AND LIABILITIES—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

to make direct application of Germany's economic resources to reparation as specified in Annexes III, IV, V, and VI (Part VIII, sec. 1) relating, respectively, to merchant shipping, to physical restoration, to coal and derivatives of coal, and to dyestuffs and other chemical products. (Art. 236, p. 253; p. 93.)

Whatever part of the full amount of the proved claims is not paid in gold, or in ships, securities and commodities or otherwise, Germany shall be required, under such conditions as the Commission may determine, to cover by way of guarantee by an equivalent issue of bonds, obligations or otherwise, in order to constitute an acknowledgment of the said part of the debt. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 12 (a), p. 267; p. 98.)

APPLICATION OF GERMAN ASSETS.
PRIORITIES.

"Subject to such exceptions as the Reparation Commission may approve, the first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent states shall be the cost of reparation and all other costs arising under the present Treaty, or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto or under arrangements concluded between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers during the Armistice or its extensions.

"Up to May 1, 1921, the German Government shall not export or dispose of, and shall forbid the export or disposal of, gold without the previous approval of the Allied and Associated Powers acting through the Reparation Commission." (Art. 248, p. 305; p. 111.)

"The priority of charges established by Article 248 shall, subject to the qualifications made below, be as follows:

"(a) The cost of the armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 during the Armistice and its extensions.

"(b) The cost of any armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 after the coming into force of the present treaty.

"(c) The cost of reparation arising out of the present treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto.

"(d) The cost of all other obligations incumbent on Germany under the Armistice Conventions or under this Treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto.

"The payment for such supplies of food and raw material for Germany and such other payments as may be judged by the Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations in respect of reparation will have priority to the extent and upon the conditions which have been or may be determined by the Governments of the said Powers." (Art. 251, pp. 307-309; p. 112.)

The foregoing provisions do not affect the rights of the Allied and Associated Powers to dispose of enemy assets and property within their respective jurisdictions. (Art. 252, p. 309; p. 113.)

"Nothing in the foregoing provisions shall prejudice in any manner charges or mortgages lawfully effected in favor of the Allied or Associated Powers or their nationals respectively, before the date at which a state of war existed between Germany and the Allied or Associated Power concerned, by the German Empire or its constituent states, or by German nationals, on assets in their ownership at that date." (Art. 253, p. 309; p. 113.)

The successive installments paid over by Germany in satisfaction of the claims will be divided by the Allied and Associated Governments in proportions which have been determined upon by them in advance on a basis of general equity and of the rights of each. (Art. 237, p. 253; p. 93.)

PROPERTY, RIGHTS, AND INTEREST.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right (subject to contrary stipulations in the Treaty) to retain and liquidate all property, rights, and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions, and protectorates, including territories ceded to them by the present treaty. (Art. 297, p. 367; p. 134; and see also Art. 252, p. 309; p. 113.) This applies to industrial, literary, and artistic property dealt with under war legislation by the Allied and Associated Powers (Art. 298, Annex, par. 15, p. 385; p. 141), but rights of industrial, literary, and artistic property not so treated shall be restored, and rights which would have been established except for the war shall be recognized and established (Art. 306, pp. 415, 417; p. 152). The German owner shall not be able to dispose of such property, rights, or interests nor to subject them to any charge without the consent of that state. (Art. 297 (b), p. 367; p. 134.) Until the completion of the liquidation so provided for, the property, rights, and interests of German nationals will continue to be subject to exceptional war measures that have been or will be taken with regard to them. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 9, p. 381; p. 139.)

The nationals of Allied and Associated Powers shall be entitled to compensation in respect of damage and injury inflicted upon their property, rights, or interests, including any company or association in which they are interested in German territory as it existed on August 1, 1914, by the application either of the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Annex hereto. This compensation shall be borne by Germany, and may be charged upon the property of German nationals within the territory of or under the control of the claimant's state, which property may be constituted as a pledge for enemy liabilities under the con-

the manner therein prescribed, shall be credited to her (Germany) towards liquidation of her obligations under the above articles." (Art. 236, p. 253; p. 93.)

Price or amount of compensation fixed in accordance with the methods of sale or valuation adopted by the laws of the country in which the property has been retained or liquidated. (Art. 297 (c), p. 367; p. 134.)

No credit on compensation account for the product of the liquidation of the property covered by these sections, except in so far as concerns any final balance in favor of Germany under Article 243. (Art. 242, p. 257; p. 94.)

Compensation shall be determined by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI or by an arbitrator appointed by that Tribunal. (Art. 297 (e), p. 369; p. 134; and see Art. 298, Annex, p. 4, p. 379; p. 138, opposite column below.)

Table of cessions, renouncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

I. ELEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES OF GERMAN RESPONSIBILITIES AND LIABILITIES—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

ditions fixed by paragraph 4 of the Annex thereto. The payment of this compensation may be made by the Allied or Associated state, and the amount will be debited to Germany. (Art. 297 (e), p. 369; p. 134.)

All property rights and interests of German nationals within the territory of any Allied or Associated Powers and the net proceeds of their sale, liquidation, or other dealing therewith, may be charged by that Allied or Associated Power *in the first place* with payment of amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of that Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights, and interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested in German territory, or debts owing to them by German nationals, and with payment of claims growing out of acts committed by the German Government or by any German authorities since July 31, 1914, and before that Allied or Associated Power entered into the war. The amount of such claims may be assessed by an arbitrator appointed by Mr. Gustave Ador, or he being unwilling, by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. They may be charged *in the second place* with payment of the amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of such Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights, and interests, within the territory of other enemy powers in so far as those claims are otherwise unsatisfied. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 4, p. 379; p. 138.)

Each of the Allied and Associated Powers reserves the right to impose limitations on industrial, literary, or artistic property, acquired before or during the war, or hereafter, of a character deemed necessary by the Power for national defense or the public interest, or except as to rights hereafter acquired, as a coercive or preventative measure against Germany, or for securing performance of the obligations of the present Treaty. But these provisions shall not apply to properties dealt with under war measures. (Art. 306, p. 419; p. 152.) Rights lapsed on account of nonperformance of any formality because of the war shall be revived. (Art. 307, p. 421; p. 153.) Such revival to be subject to regulations of war time.

Rights of priority as to such property shall be extended. (Art. 308, p. 421; p. 153.)

Any claim for compensation in respect of damage or injury to property, rights, or interests by the application of measures of transfer shall be satisfied by the restitution of the said property, if it still exists in specie (Art. 297 (f), p. 369; p. 135); but such right of restitution is reserved to owners who are nationals of Allied or Associated Powers within whose territory legislative measures prescribing the general liquidation of enemy property, rights, or interests were not applied before the signature of the Armistice. (id. (g) p. 371; p. 135.)

Up to the time when restitution is carried out under Article 297, Germany is responsible for the conservation of property, rights, and interests of the nationals of allied and associated powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested that have been subjected by her to exceptional war measures. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 6, p. 381; p. 139.)

All investments, wheresoever effected, with the cash assets of nationals of the High Contracting Parties, including companies and associations in which such nationals were interested, by persons responsible for the administration of enemy properties or having control over such administration, or by order of such persons or of any authority whatsoever shall be annulled. These cash assets shall be accounted for irrespective of any investment. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 12, p. 383; p. 140; Art. 306, p. 417; p. 151.)

Germany undertakes to transfer to any Power to which German territory in Europe is ceded and to any Power administering former German territory as a mandatory, under Article 22 of Part I (League of Nations) such portion of the reserves accumulated by the Government of the German Empire or of German states, or by public or private organizations under their control, as is attributable to the carrying on of social or state insurance in such territory, the funds transferred to be applied to the performance of obligations arising from such insurance. (Art. 312, p. 427; p. 155.)

Without prejudice to other announcements in the Treaty the Reparation Commission may within one year from the coming into force of the Treaty demand that the German Government shall become possessed of rights and interests of German nationals in any public utility, undertaking or in any concession, operating in Russia, China, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria or in the possessions or dependencies of these states or in any territory formerly belonging to Germany or her allies, to be ceded by Germany or her allies to any power or to be administered by a mandatory under the present Treaty, and may require that the German Government transfer, within six months of the date of demand, all such rights and interests and any similar rights and interests the German Government may itself possess to the Reparation Commission. (Art. 260, p. 317; p. 116.) The provisions of this article apply in the case of all agreements concluded with German nationals for the construction or exploitation of German works in the German oversea possessions, as well as any sub-concessions or contracts resulting therefrom which may have been made to or with such nationals. (Art. 123, p. 171; p. 63.)

Credit given on reparation account for the value assessed by the Reparation Commission of the transferred rights. (Art. 260, p. 317; p. 116.)

WAIVER OF CLAIMS BY GERMANY.

To China and any Allied or Associated Government:

All claims arising out of the internment of German nationals in China and their repatriation, and all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of German ships in China or the liquidation, sequestration, or control of German property rights and interests in that country since August 14, 1917. (Art. 133, p. 177; p. 65.) Rights of individuals are protected under Part X of the Treaty (id.).

Table of cessions, renouncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

I. ELEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES OF GERMAN RESPONSIBILITIES AND LIABILITIES—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

To Siam:

Germany waives all claims against the Siamese Government on behalf of herself and her nationals arising out of the seizures and condemnation of German ships, the liquidation of German property, or the internment of German nationals in Siam. (Art. 137, p. 179; p. 66.) Rights of individuals are protected under Part X of the Treaty (id.).

To Allied and Associated Governments:

Germany waives all claims of any description against the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals in respect of the detention, employment, loss, or damage of any German ships or boats, exception being made of payments due in respect of the employment of ships in conformity with the Armistice Agreement of January 13, 1919, and subsequent agreements.

Germany waives all claims to vessels or cargoes sunk by or in consequence of naval action and subsequently salvaged, in which any of the Allied or Associated Governments or their nationals may have any interest either as owner, charterer, insurer, or otherwise, notwithstanding any decree of condemnation which may have been made by a prize court of Germany or her allies. (Art. 244, Annex III, pars. 8-9, pp. 281-283; pp. 103-104.)

No claims or indemnities which may result from the annulment of concessions, privileges, and favors of any kind granted since August 1, 1914, to Germany or to a German national by Russia or a state or government of which the territory formerly constituted a part of Russia, shall be charged against the Allied or Associated Powers or the powers or states, governments, or public authorities which are released from their engagements by the present article. (Art. 293, p. 345; p. 126.)

Without prejudice to the provisions of the present treaty Germany undertakes not to put forward directly or indirectly against any allied or associated power signatory of the present Treaty, including those which, without having declared war, have broken off diplomatic relations with the German Empire, any pecuniary claims based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of the present Treaty. The present stipulation will bar completely and finally all claims of this nature, which will be thenceforward extinguished whoever may be the parties in interest. (Art. 439, p. 535; p. 193.)

No claim shall be made or action brought by Germany or German nationals in respect of any industrial, literary, or artistic property used during the war by any Allied or Associated Power or the nationals thereof, nor in respect of any sale, offering for sale, or use of any products, articles, or apparatus whatsoever to which such rights applied. (Art. 306, p. 417; p. 152.)

II. ABSOLUTE CESSIONS OR RENOUNCEMENTS OF TERRITORY BY GERMANY.

TERRITORY CEDED.

To Belgium:

Morsenet neutre. (Art. 32, p. 55; p. 21.)

Prussian Morsenet. (Art. 33, p. 55; p. 21.)

To France:

Alsace-Lorraine. (Art. 51, p. 93; p. 35.)

To Czecho-Slovak State:

Small area in Southeastern Silesia. (Art. 83, p. 119; p. 44.)

To Poland:

Considerable portions of Eastern Germany, seemingly German Poland (boundaries can not be followed on maps available). (Art. 87, p. 123; p. 46.)

To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:

Free city of Danzig, with adjacent surrounding territory (Art. 100, p. 149; p. 55), to be placed under the protection of the League of Nations. (Art. 102, p. 151; p. 56.)

To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:

All Germany's rights and titles over her oversea possessions. (Art. 110, p. 169; p. 63.)

To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:

Memel. (Art. 99, p. 147; p. 55.)

No compensation beyond the assumption by the cessionary of a portion of the German pre-war debt in an amount equal to that represented by the ratio between the pre-war revenues of the ceded area and the total revenues of the Empire or states, respectively. (Art. 254, p. 309; p. 113.)

No credit on reparation account, but debt assumed. (Art. 39, p. 59; p. 34; Art. 254, p. 309; p. 113.)

No credit on reparation account, and debt not assumed. (Art. 55, p. 95; p. 36; Art. 255, p. 311; p. 113.)

No credit on reparation account, but debt assumed. (Art. 254, p. 309; p. 113.)

No credit on reparation account, but debt assumed, *minus* that portion thereof which represents cost of German colonization of Poland. (Art. 92, p. 137; p. 51-52; Art. 255, p. 311; p. 113.)

No credit on reparation account, but debt assumed. (Art. 254, p. 309; p. 113.)

Debt not assumed. No credit on reparation account. (Art. 257, p. 313; p. 114.)

No credit on reparation account, and debt assumed. (Art. 257, p. 313; p. 114.)

Table of cessions, renouncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

III. CONTINGENT CESSIONS OR RENOUNCEMENTS OF TERRITORY BY GERMANY.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.	Credit allowed for same.
<i>To Belgium:</i>	
Kreise of Eupen and Malmedy, final disposition determined by plebiscite. (Art. 34, p. 57; p. 22.)	No credit on reparation account, but debt assumed. (Art. 39, p. 59; p. 23; Art. 254, p. 309; p. 113.)
<i>To League of Nations, as Trustee, with possibility in France:</i>	
Saar Basin, final disposition determined by plebiscite (Art. 49, p. 67; p. 25; Art. 50, Annex, Chap. III, par. 34-35, pp. 87-89; p. 33), meanwhile governed by a Commission (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. II, par. 16-33, pp. 77-87; pp. 29-33.)	No credit on reparation account, and debt not assumed. (Art. 257, p. 313; p. 114.)
<i>To Poland:</i>	
Upper Silesia, a portion of, if plebiscite so determines. (Art. 88, p. 125; p. 47.)	No credit on reparation account, but debt assumed.
<i>To Poland, or somebody else:</i>	
East Prussia, portion of, if plebiscite so determines. (Art. 94, p. 141; p. 52.)	
<i>To Poland or East Prussia:</i>	
Kreise of Stuhm and Rosenberg, and a portion of the Kreise of Marienburg. (Art. 96, p. 145; p. 53.)	If to Poland, <i>minus</i> that portion thereof which represents cost of German colonization of Poland. (Art. 92, p. 137; p. 51; Art. 255, p. 311; p. 113.)
<i>To Czecho-Slovak State:</i>	
Kreis of Leobschutz, a portion of, if a determination of Polish frontier isolates this from Germany. (Art. 83, p. 121; p. 44.)	No credit on reparation account but debt assumed. (Art. 254, p. 309; p. 113.)
<i>To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:</i>	
Schleswig, to be handed over to Denmark, if plebiscite so determines. (Art. 109, p. 155; p. 58; Art. 110, p. 163; p. 60.) For purposes of plebiscite, the territory is divided into two zones. (Art. 109, p. 155; p. 60.)	No credit on reparation account but debt assumed. (Art. 114, p. 165; p. 61; Art. 254, p. 309; p. 113.)

IV. GERMANY'S RELINQUISHMENT OF EXTRATERRITORIAL AND ANALOGOUS RIGHTS.

<i>With Siam:</i>	
As from July 22, 1917. (Art. 135, p. 177; p. 66.)	
<i>With Morocco:</i>	
As from August 3, 1914, "renounces the régime of the capitulations." (Art. 142, p. 181; p. 67.)	
<i>With Egypt:</i>	
As from August 4, 1914, "renounces the régime of the capitulations." (Art. 147, p. 183; p. 68.)	
<i>Samoa:</i>	
Rights under the tripartite convention of December 2, 1899. (Art. 288, p. 341; p. 125.) No statement as to who receives these rights. [But see general overseas cession, Art. 118, p. 169; p. 63.]	

V. GERMAN RECOGNITION OF SPECIAL TERRITORIAL RIGHTS AND ACCEPTANCE OF CONSEQUENCES.

<i>Morocco:</i>	
Recognition of French Protectorate, and "accepts all the consequences of its establishment." (Art. 142, p. 181; p. 67.)	
<i>Egypt:</i>	
Recognizes protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on December 18, 1914. (Art. 147, p. 183; p. 68.)	

VI. GERMANY RECOGNIZES THE INDEPENDENCE OF CERTAIN STATES AND THE BOUNDARIES OR FRONTIERS THEREOF AS ALREADY OR HEREAFTER DETERMINED.

<i>Austria:</i>	
Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria, which independence will be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, within the frontier fixed in a treaty between that State and the Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 80, p. 117; p. 44.)	
<i>Czecho-Slovak State:</i>	
Germany recognizes the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State, which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians, and recognizes the frontiers of this State as determined by the Allied and Associated Powers and the other interested States. (Art. 81, p. 119; p. 44.)	
<i>Poland:</i>	
Germany recognizes the complete independence of Poland; the boundaries not laid down in the treaty to be subsequently determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 87, p. 125; p. 46.)	
<i>Russia and Russian States:</i>	
Germany acknowledges and agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all the territories which were part of the former Russian Empire on August 1, 1914. Germany undertakes to recognize the frontiers of any State now existing or coming into existence which formed a part of the former Empire of Russia as it existed on August 1, 1914, and to recognize the frontiers of such States as determined by them and the Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 116, p. 167; p. 62.)	

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

VI. GERMANY RECOGNIZES THE INDEPENDENCE OF CERTAIN STATES AND THE BOUNDARIES OR FRONTIERS THEREOF AS ALREADY OR HEREAFTER DETERMINED—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

Allied and Associated Powers:

Germany undertakes to recognize the full force of the Treaties of Peace and additional conventions which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the Powers who fought on the side of Germany, and to recognize whatever disposition may be made concerning the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of the Kingdom of Bulgaria, and of the Ottoman Empire, and to recognize the new States within their frontiers as those laid down. (Art. 434, p. 525; p. 190.)

VII. GERMANY RENOUNCES SPECIAL NAMED CONVENTIONAL RIGHTS OUTSIDE EUROPE.

To China:

"Benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final Protocol, signed at Peking on September 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes, and documents supplementary thereto," and in "favor of China," any "claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to March 14, 1917" ("Boxer Indemnity"). (Art. 128, p. 173; p. 64.) China not bound to grant to Germany the advantages of the arrangement of August 29, 1902 (regarding the new Chinese tariff) or the arrangement of September 27, 1905, regarding Wheng-Poo, and the provisional supplementary arrangement of April 4, 1912. (Art. 129, p. 173; p. 64.)

Leases under which the German concession at Hankow and Tientsin are now held. (Art. 132, p. 175; p. 65.)

With Siam:

All treaties, conventions, and agreements between Siam and Germany terminated. (Art. 135, p. 177; p. 66.)

With Liberia:

All rights and privileges arising from the arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, and particularly the right to nominate a German receiver of customs (no one named to exercise this right) are renounced (Art. 138, p. 179; p. 66) and all treaties and arrangements between the two countries terminated. (Art. 139, p. 179; p. 66.)

With Morocco:

All rights and titles and privileges conferred by the General Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906, and the Franco-German Agreements of February 9, 1909, and November 4, 1911, are renounced. All treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded with the Sherifian Empire are abrogated as from August 3, 1914. (Art. 141, p. 179; p. 67.)

German protected persons, semsars and "associés agricoles" no longer have a privileged status but are subject to the ordinary law. (Art. 143, p. 181; p. 67.) Germany will not intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco between France and any other power. (Art. 141, p. 181; p. 67.)

With Egypt:

All treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts with Egypt are abrogated as from August 4, 1914. Germany will not intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt between Great Britain and any other power. (Art. 148, p. 183; p. 68.) Germany consents to abrogation of the Khedival decree of November 28, 1904, relating to the Commission of the Egyptian Public Debt or to changes therein as the Egyptian Government may wish. Germany renounces all participation in the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt. (Art. 151, p. 185; p. 69.)

To Japan:

All her rights, title and privileges which Germany acquired from China by the Treaty of March 6, 1898, and all other arrangements relating to the Province of Shantung. (Art. 156, p. 187; p. 70.)

To France:

All rights under the Conventions and Agreements with France of November 4, 1911, and September 23, 1912, relating to Equatorial Africa. (Art. 125, p. 171; p. 64.)

To Great Britain:

Transfer to Great Britain, of the powers conferred on his Majesty the Sultan, by the Convention signed at Constantinople on October 29, 1888, relating to free navigation on the Suez Canal. (Art. 152, p. 185; p. 69.)

VIII. GERMANY CONSENTS BEFOREHAND TO ANY TREATIES WHICH THE ALLIED OR ASSOCIATED POWERS MAY MAKE.

(See Memorandum No. 7.)

With Belgium:

Any treaties entered into by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, Belgium, and Holland, to replace the Treaties of April 19, 1839. (Art. 31, p. 55; p. 21.)

With Luxemburg:

Germany accepts in advance all international arrangements which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers relating to the Grand Duchy. (Art. 40, p. 61; p. 23.)

Russia and Russian States:

Germany will recognize all treaties or agreements entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers with states now existing or coming into existence in the future in the whole or part of the Empire of Russia as it existed on August 1, 1914. (Art. 117, p. 167; p. 62.)

Table of cessions, renouncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

VIII. GERMANY CONSENTS BEFOREHAND TO ANY TREATIES WHICH THE ALLIED OR ASSOCIATED POWERS MAY MAKE—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

Allied and Associated Powers or one of them with any other Power:

Germany will accept and observe all agreements made by these Powers relating to trade in arms and spirits, and to matters dealt with in the General Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885, the General Act of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the conventions completing or modifying the same. (Art. 126, p. 173; p. 64.)

Turkey and Bulgaria:

Germany recognizes and accepts all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers may make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to the rights, interests, and privileges claimed by or for German nationals in those States. (Art. 155, p. 187; p. 69.)

New States:

Germany undertakes not to refuse her assent to conclusion of certain arrangements by new states. (Art. 283, p. 339; p. 124.)

Principal Allied and Associated Powers with Third Power:

Germany hereby undertakes to recognize and to conform to the measure and agreements taken by the foregoing powers to carry out the renouncement of Germany's rights, titles, and privileges whatever in or over territories which belonged to her or to her allies, and all rights, titles, and privileges whatever their origin which she held as against the Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 118, p. 169; p. 62.)

Allied and Associated Powers:

Germany undertakes to adhere to any general conventions regarding international régime of transit, waterways, ports or railways which may be concluded by the Allies and Associated Powers, with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years of the coming into force of the present Treaty. (Art. 379, p. 483; p. 175.)

Germany undertakes to recognize the full force and effect of the Treaties of Peace and Additional Conventions which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the Powers who fought on the side of Germany. (Art. 434, p. 525; p. 190.)

IX. GERMANY CONSENTS TO ABOGATION OF ALL TREATIES NOT SPECIALLY RESERVED, WITH RESULTING LOSS OF ALL ADVANTAGES APPERTAINING THERETO.

Multilateral Engagements:

Multilateral treaties, conventions, and agreements of an economic character as enumerated in the Treaty shall alone be applied as between Germany and those of the Allied and Associated Powers party thereto. (Art. 282, p. 335; p. 122.)

Bilateral Engagements:

Each of the Allied or Associated Powers shall notify to Germany the bilateral treaties or conventions which such Allied or Associated Power wishes to revive with Germany. Only such bilateral treaties so notified shall be revived; all the others are and remain abrogated. (Art. 289, p. 343; p. 125.)

Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey:

All treaties, conventions, or agreements concluded with these powers since August 1, 1914, to the coming into force of this Treaty "are and shall remain abrogated." (Art. 290, p. 343; p. 125.)

Russia, Roumania:

All treaties, conventions, or arrangements concluded with Russia, or any Russian state or Government, or with Roumania, either before August 1, 1914, or after that date until the coming into force of the present Treaty, "are and remain abrogated." (Art. 292, p. 345; p. 126.) Germany accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties and all other treaties, conventions, and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia. (Art. 116, p. 167; p. 62.)

Belgium:

Recognizes neutralizing treaties of April 19, 1839, as no longer conformable to the requirements of the situation and consents to the abrogation thereof. (Art. 31, p. 55; p. 21.)

Luxemburg:

Germany "Adheres to the termination of the régime of neutrality of the Grand Duchy" established by the treaty of May 11, 1867. (Art. 40, p. 61; p. 23.)

X. GERMAN PROPERTY TURNED OVER, SURRENDERED, ETC.

1. GERMAN NATIONAL PROPERTY, IMPERIAL AND STATE, AND THE PRIVATE PROPERTY OF THE EX-EMPEROR AND OTHER ROYAL PERSONAGES. (COMPENSATION, WHERE MADE, IS TURNED OVER TO REPARATION COMMISSION.)

To Belgium:

Moresnet neutre and Prussian Moresnet, such property in.

No credit or compensation. (Art. 39, p. 59; p. 23; Art. 256, p. 313; p. 114.)

To France:

Alsace-Lorraine, such property in.

No credit or compensation. (Art. 56, p. 95; p. 36; Art. 256, p. 313; p. 114.)

To Czecho-Slovak State:

Silesia, such property in small area in southeastern part of.

Credit on reparation account. (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)

Table of cessions, renouncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

X. GERMAN PROPERTY TURNED OVER, SURRENDERED, ETC.—Continued.

1. GERMAN NATIONAL PROPERTY, IMPERIAL AND STATE, AND THE PRIVATE PROPERTY OF THE EX-EMPEROR, ETC.—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.	Credit allowed for same.
<p><i>To Poland:</i> Eastern Germany, such property in ceded portions of.</p>	<p>Credit on reparation accounts, <i>minus</i> valuation of buildings, forests, and other state property belonging to the former Kingdom of Poland. (Art. 256, p. 313; p. 114; Art. 92, p. 139; p. 51.)</p>
<p><i>To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:</i> Memel, such property in.</p>	<p>Credit on reparation account. (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:</i> Free City of Danzig, such property in.</p>	<p>Credit on reparation account. (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.) But property shall be given to Free City of Danzig or to Poland as the owning Powers may determine. (Art. 107, p. 155; p. 58.)</p>
<p><i>To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:</i> German Colonies, all such property in.</p>	<p>No credit on reparation account. (Art. 257, p. 313; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To Belgium:</i> Kreise of Eupen and Malmedy, such property in, if area ceded to Belgium after plebiscite.</p>	<p>No credit on reparation account. (Art. 39, p. 59; p. 23; Art. 256, p. 313; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To League of Nations as Trustee with possibility in France:</i> Saar Basin, such property in, if area ceded to France after plebiscite.</p>	<p>No credit (?) (See Art. 257, p. 313; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To Poland:</i> Upper Silesia, such property in portions of, if area goes to Poland after plebiscite.</p>	<p>Credit if to Poland. (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To Poland or somebody else:</i> East Prussia, such property in portions of, if area goes to Poland after plebiscite.</p>	<p>Credit on reparation account. (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To Poland or East Prussia:</i> Kreise of Stuhm and Rosenberg, and a portion of the Kreise of Marienburg, such property in, if area goes to Poland after plebiscite.</p>	<p>Credit (?) (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114; but see Art. 114, p. 165; p. 61.)</p>
<p><i>To Czecho-Slovak State:</i> Kreise of Leobschutz, such property in a portion of, if area goes finally to Czecho-Slovak State.</p>	<p>Credit (?) (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:</i> Schleswig, such property in, if area goes to Denmark after plebiscite.</p>	<p>Credit (?) (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To Great Britain:</i> Canton, such property in the British Concession at Shameen.</p>	<p>Credit (?) (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To France and China conjointly:</i> Shanghai, property in German school at.</p>	<p>Credit (?) (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To China:</i> Tientsin and Hankow or elsewhere in Chinese territory, such property in German concession, enumerated in this instance by classes, diplomatic and consular residences or offices being excluded. <i>Shantung reserved also.</i></p>	<p>Credit (?) (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)</p>
<p><i>To Siam:</i> All such property, <i>except</i> premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices.</p>	<p>"Without compensation." (Art. 136, p. 177; p. 66.)</p>
<p><i>To Maghzen (Morocco):</i> Sherifian Empire, all such property in.</p>	<p>"Without payment." (Art. 144, p. 181; p. 67.)</p>
<p><i>To Egypt:</i> Egypt, all such property in.</p>	<p>"Without payment." (Art. 153, p. 185; p. 69.)</p>
<p><i>To Japan:</i> Kiaochow, all such property in.</p>	<p>"Free and clear of all charges and encumbrances." (Art. 157, p. 187; p. 70.)</p>

2. GERMAN PROPERTY, NATIONAL OR PRIVATE, AND RIGHTS THEREIN, SUCH AS NATURAL RESOURCES, DEVELOPMENT OR EXPLOITATION WORKS, TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS, CABLES, TELEGRAPH LINES, ETC., GIVEN UP BY GERMANY.

NATURAL RESOURCES.

<p><i>To France:</i> Saar Basin, coal mines in (Art. 45, p. 63; p. 24), whether Government or private owned. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. I, par. 2, p. 69; p. 26.) If Saar Basin goes ultimately to Germany, she repurchases mines for gold. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. III, par. 36, p. 89; p. 34.) Alsace-Lorraine, all rights regarding trade in potash salts, under the law of May 25, 1910, and any stipulation for the interruption of German organizations in the working of potash mines, as well as all rights under any existing agreements, stipulations, or laws with regards to other products. (Art. 71, p. 107; p. 40.)</p>	<p>"As compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment toward the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war." (Art. 45, p. 63; p. 24.) Credit given on reparation account. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. I, par. 5, p. 71; p. 27.) (See Art. 243 (a), p. 257; p. 94.)</p>
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Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

X. GERMAN PROPERTY TURNED OVER, SURRENDERED, ETC.—Continued.

2. GERMAN PROPERTY, NATIONAL OR PRIVATE, AND RIGHTS THEREIN, SUCH AS NATURAL RESOURCES, ETC.—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

To Japan:

Mines, plants, and materials for exploiting mines, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto, connected with Tsingtao-Tsinaufu Railway. (Art. 156, p. 187; p. 70.)

To Morocco:

Mining rights recognized as belonging to German nationals. (Art. 144, p. 181; p. 67.)

PUBLIC UTILITIES, INCLUDING RAILWAYS.

To France:

Accessories and subsidiaries to Saar coal mines, particularly their plant and equipment, surface and underground extracting machinery, electric, coke and by-products plants, workshops, means of communication, electric lines, plant for catching and distributing water, lands, buildings as offices and dwellings for officers, managers, employees, and workmen, schools, hospitals, and dispensaries, stocks and supplies of every description, their archives and plans, and everything which those who own or exploit the mines possess or enjoy for the purpose of exploiting the mines and their accessories. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. I, par. 3, pp. 69-71; p. 26.)

Rights of German Empire over all railways, administered by the Imperial Railway Administration, which are in operation or under construction in Alsace-Lorraine. (Art. 67, p. 103; p. 39.)

Rights of German Empire over all railways and tramway concessions in Alsace-Lorraine. (Art. 67, p. 103; p. 39.)

To Luxemburg (?):

All rights in the exploitation of the railways. (Art. 40, p. 61; p. 23.)

To Cessionaries of German Territory:

Belgium, France, Poland, Principal Allied and Associated Powers (for Denmark and Free City of Danzig and for themselves) and Czecho-Slovak State.

Railways in ceded territory named above, complete and in good condition, with all the rolling stock thereto belonging, complete and in normal state of upkeep; if no rolling stock belongs thereto, a proportionate part of rolling stock of systems to which railway belongs. (Latter provision applies to railways of "former Russian Poland.") (Art. 371, p. 477; p. 173.)

To Japan:

All German rights in the railways in Kiaochow. All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinaufu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiaries, of all kinds—stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock. (Art. 156, p. 187; p. 70.)

To the Power concerned:

Where any Allied or Associated Power, Russia, or a state or government, of which the territory formerly constituted a part of Russia, which has been forced since August 1, 1914, by reason of military occupation or by any other means or for any other cause to grant or allow to be granted concessions, privileges, and favors of any kind to Germany or to a German national, such concession, privilege, and favors are *ipso facto* annulled. (Art. 293, p. 345; p. 126.)

SHIPPING, OCEAN AND INLAND.

To Allied and Associated Powers:

All German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upwards.

One-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) such ships, reckoned in tonnage, of ships between 1,000 tons and 1,600 tons gross.

One-quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) reckoned in tonnage of German steam trawlers.

One-quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) reckoned in tonnage of other German fishing boats. (Art. 244, Annex III, par. I, p. 277; p. 101.)

These to be transferred entirely, free from all encumbrances, charges, and liens of all kinds. (Id., par. 4, p. 279; p. 102.)

Boats are regarded as German within the above provisions which (a) fly, or may be entitled to fly, the German merchant flag; or (b) are owned by any German national, company, or corporation or by any company or corporation belonging to a country other than an Allied or Associated country and under the control or direction of German nationals; or (c) are now under construction (1) in Germany, (2) in other than Allied or Associated countries for the account of any German national, company, or corporation. (Id., par. 3, pp. 277-279; p. 102.)

Germany agrees to take measures indicated by the Reparation Commission for obtaining full title to the property in all ships which have during the war been transferred, or are in process of transfer, to neutral flags, without the consent of the Allied and Associated Governments. (Id., par. (7), p. 281; p. 103.)

To the Reparation Commission:

To make good loss in inland navigation, from whatever cause arising, a portion of the German river fleet, up to the amount of the loss, but not to exceed 20% of river fleet as it existed November 11, 1918. (Art. 244, Annex III, par. 6, p. 281; p. 103.)

To Allied and Associated Powers:

A proportion of tugs and vessels remaining registered in the ports of the river systems referred to in Article 331 (the Elbe, Oder, Niemen, and Danube) after deducting those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation. Craft must be provided with fittings and gear, in good state of repair, in condition to carry goods, and selected from those most recently built.

Seemingly no compensation. (Art. 156 (last paragraph), p. 187; p. 70.)

Credit given on reparation account. (Art. 144, p. 181; p. 67; Art. 297 (b), p. 367; p. 134; Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94.)

Credit on reparation account for value, determined by Reparation Commission. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. I, par. 3, pp. 69-71; p. 26.)

No compensation. (Art. 67, p. 103; p. 39.)

No compensation. (Art. 67, p. 103; p. 39.)

Compensation (?).

Compensation (?). (See general provisions of Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94.)

Seemingly no compensation. (Art. 156 (final paragraph), p. 187; p. 70.)

While boats are for "replacement" of shipping lost, seemingly credit will be given on reparation account. (Art. 236, p. 253; p. 93; Art. 237, p. 253; p. 93; Art. 243 (c), p. 257; p. 95.)

Seemingly credit given on reparation account, as boats go to Reparation Commission. (Art. 236, p. 253; p. 93; Art. 243 (c), p. 257; p. 95.)

Credit given on reparation account. (Art. 339, p. 449; p. 163.)

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

X. GERMAN PROPERTY TURNED OVER, SURRENDERED, ETC.—Continued.

2. GERMAN PROPERTY, NATIONAL OR PRIVATE, AND RIGHTS THEREIN, SUCH AS NATURAL RESOURCES, ETC.—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

Materials of all kinds necessary to the Allied and Associated Powers concerned for the utilization of those river systems.

Number of craft, amount of material, and distribution determined by arbitrators appointed by the United States. (Art. 339, p. 449; p. 163.)

To France:

Tugs and vessels, from among those remaining registered in German Rhine ports after the deduction of those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation, or shares in German Rhine navigation companies, such tugs and vessels, together with their fittings and gear to be in a good state of repair, in condition to carry on commercial traffic on the Rhine, and to be selected from among those most recently built. Amount, specifications, and credit value of (in no case to exceed the capital expended in the initial establishment of the material ceded) such tugs and vessels to be determined by an Arbitrator appointed by the United States. (Art. 357, p. 463; p. 167.)

Installations, berthing, and anchorage accommodations, platforms, docks, warehouses, plant, etc., owned by German subjects or companies in Rotterdam August 1, 1914, and also shares or interests in such installations at the same date, possessed by Germany or German nationals, the credit value thereof to be determined by an Arbitrator appointed by the United States. (Art. 357, p. 463; p. 168.)

CABLES AND TELEGRAPHS.

To Japan:

German State submarine cables from Tsingtau to Shanghai, and from Tsingtau to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges, and properties attaching thereto. (Art. 156, p. 187; p. 70.)

To Principal Allied and Associated Powers:

All rights, titles, or privileges of whatever nature belonging to Germany or her nationals, in following submarine cables:

Emden-Vigo: From the Straits of Dover to off Vigo.

Emden-Brest: From off Cherbourg to Brest.

Emden-Teneriffe: From off Dunkirk to off Teneriffe.

Emden-Azores (1): From the Straits of Dover to Fayal.

Emden-Azores (2): From the Straits of Dover to Fayal.

Azores-New York (1): From Fayal to New York.

Azores-New York (2): From Fayal to the longitude of Halifax.

Teneriffe-Monrovia: From off Teneriffe to off Monrovia.

Monrovia-Lome: From about lat. 2° 30' N. long. 7° 40' W. of Greenwich, to about lat. 2° 20' N. long. 5° 30' W. of Greenwich; and from about lat. 3° 48' N. long. 0° 00', to Lome.

Lome-Duala: From Lome to Duala.

Monrovia-Pernambuco: From off Monrovia to off Pernambuco.

Constantinople-Constanza: From Constantinople to Constanza.

Yap-Shanghai, Yap-Guam, and Yap-Menado (Celebes): From Yap Island to Shanghai, from Yap Island to Guam Island, and from Yap Island to Menado. (Art. 244, Annex VII, p. 299; p. 110.)

For three months from coming into force of this treaty, Germany will not use the high-power wireless telegraph stations at Nauen, Hanover, and Berlin for transmission of certain messages concerning naval, military, or political questions, without the consent of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The use of the stations for commercial purposes will be under the supervision of said governments. (Art. 197, p. 223; p. 83.)

PUBLIC UTILITIES CONCESSIONS.

Germany must acquire (on demand of Reparation Commission) rights and interests of German nationals in any public utility undertaking or in any concession operating in Russia, China, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, or in the possessions or dependencies of these States, or in any territory formerly belonging to Germany or her Allies, to be ceded by Germany or her Allies to any Power or to be administered by a Mandatory under the present Treaty, and must if required cede the same to the Reparation Commission, and any similar rights and interests possessed by the German Government itself. (Art. 260, p. 317; p. 116.)

This rule shall apply also to all agreements concluded with German nationals for the construction or exploitation of public works in the German overseas possessions, as well as the subconcessions or contracts resulting therefrom which may have been made to or with such nationals. (Art. 123, p. 171; p. 63.)

XI. GERMANY TO ISSUE BONDS, AND TO DELIVER UP GOLD, CASH DEPOSITS, SECURITIES, CONTROL OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, ETC.

BONDS.

For Belgium:

Bearer bonds, payable in gold marks, on May, 1926, or at the option of the German Government on any May 1 prior to May 1, 1926, for a sum equivalent to the sum Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, with interest on such sum at the rate of 5 per cent per annum, the amount to be determined by the Reparation Commission. This in addition to compensation for damages and is included in restoration of Belgium. (Art. 232, p. 249; p. 91.)

Credit on reparation account. (Art. 357, p. 463; p. 167.)

Credit on reparation account. (Art. 357, p. 463; p. 167.)

"Free and clear of all charges and encumbrances." (Art. 156, p. 187; p. 70.)

Credit on basis of original cost, less suitable allowance for depreciation, for such cables or parts thereof as are privately owned. (Art. 244, Annex VII, p. 301; p. 110.)

Credit on reparation account. (Art. 260, p. 317; p. 116.)

Credit on reparation account? (Art. 232, p. 249; p. 91; Art. 243 (c), p. 257; p. 95.)

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

XI. GERMANY TO ISSUE BONDS, AND TO DELIVER UP GOLD, CASH DEPOSITS, SECURITIES, CONTROL OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, ETC.—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

For Allied and Associated Countries:

To facilitate and continue the immediate restoration of the economic life of Allied and Associated countries, the Reparation Commission will take from Germany, by way of security for and acknowledgment of her debt, a first installment of gold bearer bonds free of all taxes and charges of every description established or to be established by Germany, gold bearer bonds as follows (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 12, pp. 267-269; p. 98):

(1) Gold bearer bonds "issued forthwith" for 20,000,000,000 gold marks, without interest, payable not later than May 1, 1921. [These bonds are to be amortised by the payment of 20,000,000,000 marks in gold (or in commodities, ships, securities, or otherwise as the Reparation Commission may determine) during 1919, 1920, and first four months of 1921. (Art. 235, p. 253; p. 93; Art. 244, Annex II, par. 12-c. (1), p. 267; p. 98.)] If any bonds not redeemed, they shall be exchanged for new bonds (p. 267; p. 98).

(2) Gold bearer bonds "issued forthwith," for 40,000,000,000 gold marks, interest at 2½ per cent from 1921-1926, and thereafter at 5 per cent, with 1 per cent additional for amortization after 1925 (p. 267; p. 98).

(3) Undertaking in writing, "delivered forthwith," to issue when Commission is satisfied Germany can meet interest and sinking fund, 40,000,000,000 bearer gold 5 per cent bonds, time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the Commission (p. 269; p. 99.)

(4) Further issue by way of acknowledgment and security may be required as the Commission subsequently determines from time to time (p. 269; p. 99.)

GOLD.

To the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, to be disposed of as they see fit. (Art. 259, p. 315; p. 115.)

(1) Gold deposited in the Reichsbank in the name of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the first issue of Turkish Government notes to be delivered within one month from coming into force of Treaty.

(2) Gold payments for twelve years, as provided in the German Treasury bonds deposited by her in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the second and subsequent issues of Turkish Government currency notes.

(3) Gold deposit constituted in the Reichsbank or elsewhere representing the residue of the advance in gold agreed to on May 5, 1915, by the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt to the Imperial Ottoman Government to be delivered in one month from coming into force of Treaty to such authority as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate.

(4) Any title Germany has to the sum in gold and silver transmitted by her to the Turkish Ministry of Finance in November, 1918, in anticipation of the payment to be made in May, 1919, for the service of the Turkish internal loan.

(5) Any sums in gold transferred as pledge or as collateral security to the German Government or its nationals in connection with loans made by them to the Austro-Hungarian Government, to be delivered within one month from the coming into force of this treaty.

CASH DEPOSITS AND SECURITIES.

To France:

All deposits, credits, advances, effected by virtue of the conventions and agreements between Germany and France of November 4, 1911, and September 28, 1912, relating to Equatorial Africa. (Art. 125, p. 171; p. 64.)

Shares representing Germany's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco, transferred to whomsoever France nominates. (Art. 145, p. 183; p. 68.)

All debts owing for products delivered from Saar Basin area before the entry into possession of the French State, and after the signature of the present Treaty, and all deposits of money made by customers. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. I, par. 3, p. 71; p. 27.)

Repayment in marks of exceptional war expenditures advanced during the course of the war by Alsace-Lorraine or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine, on account of the Empire. (Art. 58, p. 97; p. 36.)

To Roumania or Principal Allied and Associated Powers:

All monetary instruments, specie, securities, and negotiable instruments or goods which Germany received under the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk. (Art. 259; p. 317; p. 115.)

To each Allied or Associated Power:

All securities, certificates, deeds, or other documents of title held by its nationals and relating to property, rights, or interests situated in the territory of that Allied or Associated Power, including any shares, stock debentures, debenture stocks, or other obligations of any company incorporated in accordance with the laws of that Power; and full information regarding all such property. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 10, p. 383; p. 139.)

Germany undertakes to restore without delay from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty all articles, money, securities, and documents which have

Credit on reparation account? *If bonds, etc., disposed of outright not by way of pledge, to persons other than the several governments in whose favor Germany's original reparation indebtedness was created an amount of such reparation indebtedness shall be deemed to be extinguished corresponding to the nominal value of the bonds, etc., so disposed of outright, and the obligation of Germany in respect of such bonds shall be confined to her liabilities to the holders of the bonds, as expressed upon their face.* (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 12 (d), p. 269; p. 99.)

Credit on reparation account. Sums of money delivered under this article (p. 315; p. 115) to be disposed of as determined by principal Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 259, p. 315; p. 115.)

Credit on reparation account. (Art. 125, p. 171; p. 84; Art. 243 (c), p. 257; p. 94.)

Credit on reparation account. (Art. 145, p. 183; p. 68.)

Credit on reparation account. To be disposed of as Principal Allied and Associated Powers may determine. (Art. 259, p. 317; p. 115.)

Credit on reparation account, probably, but method of accounting to Reparation Commission not clear. (Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94.)

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

XI. GERMANY TO ISSUE BONDS, AND TO DELIVER UP GOLD, CASH DEPOSITS, SECURITIES, CONTROL OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, ETC.—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

belonged to nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and which have been retained by the German authorities. (Art. 223, p. 241; p. 89, Part IV, Prisoners of War and Graves.)

Germany undertakes to transfer to the Allied and Associated Powers any claims she may have to payment or repayment by the Governments of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey, and, in particular, any claims which may arise, now or hereafter, from the fulfillment of undertakings made by Germany during the war to those Governments. (Art. 261, p. 319; p. 116.)

To Brazil:

All sums representing the sale of coffee belonging to the State of Sao Paulo in the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, and Trieste, which were deposited with the Bank of Bleichroder at Berlin shall be reimbursed, together with interest, at the rate or rates agreed upon, the reimbursement to be effected at the rate of exchange of the day of deposit. (Art. 263, p. 319; p. 117.)

No credit on reparation account. (Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94; Art. 239, p. 255; p. 94.)

CONTROL OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Germany renounces all rights accorded to her or her nationals by treaties, conventions, or agreements, of whatsoever kind, to representation upon or participation in the control or administration of commissions, state banks, agencies, or other financial or economic organizations of an international character, exercising powers of control or administration, and operating in any of the Allied or Associated States, or in Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey, or in the dependencies of these States, or in the former Russian Empire. (Art. 258, p. 313; p. 115.)

XII. GERMANY AGREES TO RESTORE PROPERTY SEIZED, OR TAKEN, OR COMING INTO GERMANY'S POSSESSION.

To Allied and Associated Powers:

Boats and other movable appliances belonging to inland navigation which since August 1, 1914, have by any means whatever come into her possession or into the possession of her nationals and which can be identified. (Art. 244, Annex III, par. (6), p. 281; p. 103.)

Animals, machinery, equipment, tools, and like articles of a commercial character, seized or taken away by Germany. (Art. 244, Annex IV, par. 2 (a), p. 283; p. 104.)

As immediate advance on account of such animals the following are to be furnished:

To French Government:

- 500 stallions (3 to 7 years);
- 30,000 fillies and mares (18 months to 7 years), type: Ardennais, Boulonnais, or Belgian;
- 2,000 bulls (18 months to 3 years);
- 90,000 milch cows (2 to 6 years);
- 1,000 rams;
- 100,000 sheep;
- 10,000 goats.

To Belgian Government:

- 200 stallions (3 to 7 years), large Belgian type;
- 5,000 mares (3 to 7 years), large Belgian type;
- 5,000 fillies (18 months to 3 years), large Belgian type;
- 2,000 bulls (18 months to 3 years);
- 50,000 milch cows (2 to 6 years);
- 40,000 heifers;
- 200 rams;
- 20,000 sheep;
- 15,000 sows.

(Art. 244, Annex IV, par. 6, p. 289; p. 105.)

To European Commission of the Danube:

Germany shall make to Commission all restitutions, reparations, and indemnities for damages inflicted on the Commission during the war. (Art. 352, p. 457; p. 166.)

No credit on reparation account. (Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94; Art. 238, p. 255; p. 93.)

No credit on reparation account. (Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94; Art. 238, p. 255; p. 93), except to extent animals can not be identified as animals taken away or seized. (Arts. 236, 237, p. 253; p. 93; Art. 244, Annex IV, par. 6, p. 289; p. 105.)

XIII. GERMANY UNDERTAKES TO BUILD OR CONSTRUCT TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, OR TO REFRAIN FROM BUILDING COMMERCIAL UTILITIES.

For Czecho-Slovak State:

A railway line between the stations of Schlauney and Nachod in Germany. (Art. 373, p. 479; p. 174.)

For Account of Allied and Associated Powers:

Ships, tonnage to be laid down in each of five years not to exceed 200,000 tons gross, construction to be in accordance with specifications of Reparation Commission which also determines conditions of building, delivery, price per ton, etc. (Art. 244, Annex III, par. 5, p. 279; p. 102.)

Cost of construction borne by Czecho-Slovak State. (Art. 373, p. 479; p. 174.)

Reparation Commission credits price of vessel to Germany's account on her reparation obligations. (See Art. 244, Annex III, par. 5, p. 279; p. 102; also Art. 243 (c), p. 257; p. 95; Art. 236, p. 253; p. 93.)

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

XIII. GERMANY UNDERTAKES TO BUILD OR CONSTRUCT TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, OR TO REFRAIN FROM BUILDING COMMERCIAL UTILITIES—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

For Belgium:

A deep-draught Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway, in accordance with plans communicated by Belgian Government, so far as such waterway runs through German territory, if Belgium decides to build the same within 25 years. (Art. 361, p. 467; p. 169.)

Germany shall not build any high-power wireless telegraphy stations in her own territory or that of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey, within a period of three months from the coming into force of this Treaty. (Art. 197, p. 223; p. 83.)

Seemingly no compensation cost of undertaking is divided among States crossed by waterway. (Art. 361, p. 469; p. 170.)

XIV. GERMANY UNDERTAKES TO DELIVER NATURAL OR MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS.

To France:

Per year, for three years (options covering) delivered at the French frontier by rail or by water:

Benzol, 35,000 tons.
Coal tar, 50,000 tons.
Sulphate of ammonia, 30,000 tons.

Coal tar, may, at option of French Government, be replaced by corresponding quantities of products of distillation, such as light oils, heavy oils, anthracene, naphthalene, and pitch. (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 8, p. 293; p. 108.)

Per year, seven million tons for ten years, and in addition, for ten years, coal equal to the difference between the annual output of the mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais before the war and the output of these mines during the ten years period. In place of coal, metallurgical coke may be accepted in the proportions of 3 tons of coke to 4 tons of coal (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 7, p. 293; p. 107), total delivery not to exceed 20,000,000 tons per year for the first five years, and 8,000,000 tons in any one year of the succeeding five years. (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 2, p. 291; p. 106.)

To Belgium:

Eight million tons of coal (option covering) annually for ten years with same privileges as to exchanging coal for coke that control with France. (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 3, p. 291; p. 107.)

To Italy:

Coal (option covering) in the following quantities:

July 1919 to June 1920, four and one-half million tons.
July 1920 to June 1921, six million tons.
July 1921 to June 1922, seven and one-half million tons.
July 1922 to June 1923, eight million tons.
July 1923 to June 1924, and each of the following five years, eight and one-half million tons.

Two-thirds of actual deliveries to be land borne. Coal may be replaced by coke as in case of France. (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 4, p. 291; p. 107.)

To Luxemburg:

Coal (option covering) equal to the prewar annual consumption of German coal in Luxemburg, if Reparation Commission so directs. (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 5, p. 293; p. 107.) Coal may be replaced by coke as in the case of France.

If Reparation Commission determines that full exercise of foregoing options would interfere unduly with industrial requirements of Germany, the commission is authorized to postpone or cancel deliveries, and in so doing to settle all questions of priority; but the coal to replace the coal from destroyed mines shall receive priority over other deliveries. (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 10, p. 295; p. 108.)

To Reparation Commission:

Dyestuffs and chemicals (option covering) as commission may designate, up to 50 per cent of the total stock of each and every kind in or under German control at date of coming into force of Treaty. "Dyestuffs and chemical drugs" includes all synthetic dyes and drugs and intermediate or other products used in connection with dyeing. This arrangement also includes cinchona bark and salts of quinine. (Art. 244, Annex VI, pars. 1 and 5, pp. 295-299; pp. 108-109.)

Dyestuffs and chemical drugs each six months until January 1, 1925, up to an amount not exceeding 25 per cent of the German production of such dyestuffs and chemical drugs during the previous six months' period. (Id. par. 2, p. 297; p. 109.)

To Allied and Associated Powers:

Reconstruction materials (stones, bricks, refractory bricks, tiles, wood, window glass, steel, lime, cement, etc.), machinery, heating apparatus, furniture, and like articles of a commercial character which Powers desire to have produced and manufactured in Germany and delivered to them to permit of the restoration of invaded areas. (Art. 244, Annex IV, par. 2 (b), pp. 283, 285; p. 104.)

Animals, machinery, equipment, tools, and like articles of a commercial character now in Germany which Governments desire to replace animals and articles of the same nature that have been seized, consumed, or destroyed by Germany or destroyed in direct consequence of military operations. (Art. 244, Annex IV, par. 2 (a), p. 283; p. 104.)

Credit on reparation account. (Art. 236, p. 253; p. 93.) The material is to be purchased at a price which shall be the same as that at which they are sold to German nationals. (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 9, p. 295; p. 108.)

Credit on reparation account. (Art. 236, p. 253; p. 93.) Coal to be purchased by France under stipulations as to price. (Art. 244, Annex V, par. 6, p. 293; p. 107.)

Same conditions that control supply of coal to France. (*Supra.*)

Same conditions that control supply of coal to France. (*Supra.*)

Same conditions that control supply of coal to France. (*Supra.*)

Credit on compensation account. (Art. 236; p. 253; p. 93.)
Price fixed by Reparation Commission. (Art. 244, Annex VI, par. 3, p. 297; p. 109.)

Credit on reparation account. (Arts. 236-237, p. 253; p. 93; Art. 244, Annex IV, par. 5, p. 287; p. 105.)

Credit on reparation account. (Arts. 236, 237, p. 253; p. 93; Art. 244, Annex IV, par. 5-6, p. 289; p. 105.)

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

XV. GERMANY ACCEPTS THE FOLLOWING RESTRICTIONS, GRANTS THE FOLLOWING RIGHTS, AND MAKES THE FOLLOWING OBLIGATIONS AS TO HER EXTERNAL COMMERCE.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

Duties, Charges, Prohibitions, and Restrictions Affecting Allied or Associated States:

Importations into Germany from any such states, from whatsoever place arriving, of goods, the product or manufacture of such states, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties, including internal charges, or to the maintenance or imposition of other prohibitions and restrictions, than those to which are subjected like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such state or of any other foreign country. (Art. 264, p. 321; p. 117.)

The same principles apply as to exports from Germany and her duties, charges, prohibitions, and restrictions, levied thereon by Germany. (Art. 266, p. 323; p. 117.)

Germany shall not, in administrative régime, make any discrimination against the commerce of any of the Allied and Associated States, as compared with any other of the said states or any other foreign country, even by indirect means. (Art. 265, p. 321; p. 117.)

RECIPROCITY TREATIES.

Every favor, immunity, or privilege in regard to the importation, exportation, or transit of goods granted by Germany to any Allied or Associated State or to any other foreign country whatever shall simultaneously and unconditionally without request and without compensation be extended to all the Allied and Associated States. (Art. 267, p. 323; p. 118.)

CUSTOMS PROVISIONS.

To France:

For five years, all natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from Alsace-Lorraine shall be admitted into German customs territory free of all customs duty. The French Government shall fix the amount of such importations for each year, which shall not exceed annually the average amounts of 1911-1913.

For the same period, Germany shall allow free export from Germany and reimportation to Germany exempt from all customs duties and other charges (including internal charges), yarns, tissues, and other textile materials or textile products of any kind and in any condition sent from Germany into Alsace-Lorraine, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, pointing, mercerization, gassing, twisting, or dressing. (Art. 268 (a), p. 323; p. 118; Art. 68, p. 193; p. 39.)

Germany shall establish no railway or canal tariff which directly or indirectly discriminate to the prejudice of the transport of the personnel or products of the Saar mines and their accessories or subsidiaries, or of the material necessary to their exploitation, all of which shall enjoy the rights and privileges which are guaranteed to similar products of French origin. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. I, par. 6, p. 71; p. 27.)

French customs régime shall apply to the Saar Basin. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. II, par. 31, p. 85; p. 32.)

Products which both originate in and pass from the basin into Germany shall for five years be free of import duties. (Id.)

To Poland:

For a period of three years, the same privileges as to natural or manufactured products from Poland that are granted to France in respect of Alsace-Lorraine (supra) with analogous limitations. (Art. 268 (b), p. 325; p. 118.)

To Luxembourg:

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to require Germany to accord freedom from customs duty, on importation into German customs territory, to natural products and manufactured articles which both originate in and come from the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, for five years, subject to certain prescribed limitations as to amounts. (Art. 268 (c), p. 325; p. 119.)

For first six months after Treaty comes into force, German duties on imports from Allied and Associated States shall not be higher than the most favorable duties which were applied to imports into Germany on July 31, 1914. For a further period of thirty months, this provision applies to products which comprised in section A of the First Category of the German Customs Tariff of December, enjoyed rates conventionalized by Treaty (on July 31, 1914) with the addition of all kinds of wine and vegetable oils, of artificial silk, and of washed or scoured wool. (Art. 269, pp. 325-327; p. 119.)

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to apply to German territory occupied by their troops a special customs régime as regards imports and exports, in the event of such a measure being necessary in their opinion in order to safeguard the economic interests of the population of these territories. (Art. 270, p. 327; p. 119.)

To Morocco:

Moroccan goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods. (Art. 146, p. 183; p. 68.)

To Egypt:

Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods. (Art. 154, p. 185; p. 69.)

SHIPPING.

Allied and Associated Powers:

Vessels of, entitled to treatment of most-favored nation, in German territorial waters, as regards sea fishing, maritime coasting trade, and maritime towage (Art. 271, p. 327; p. 119), and as to fishing boats all rights of inspection exercised solely

Table of cessions, renouncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued

XV. GERMANY ACCEPTS THE FOLLOWING RESTRICTIONS, GRANTS THE FOLLOWING RIGHTS, AND MAKES THE FOLLOWING OBLIGATIONS AS TO HER EXTERNAL COMMERCE—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

by ships belonging to such Powers. (Art. 272, p. 327; p. 119.) These provisions are terminable in five years. (Art. 280, p. 333; p. 122.)

New states without seacoast may have a merchant marine. (Art. 273, pp. 327-329; p. 120.)

UNFAIR COMPETITION.

Allied and Associated Powers:

Goods of, to be protected from unfair competition by all legislative and administrative measures necessary, Germany to seize all fraudulently marked as to maker, origin, type, nature, or special characteristics (Art. 274, p. 329; p. 120), with special provisions relating to wines and spirits and their markings. (Art. 275, pp. 329-331; p. 120.)

TREATMENT OF NATIONALS OF ALLIED OR ASSOCIATED POWERS.

All measures relating to occupations, professions, trade, and industry must be equally applicable to all aliens and the same as enjoyed by the nationals of the most-favored nation; and all taxes, charges, and imposts direct or indirect, as to the property, rights, or interests of nationals or companies of such powers, and restrictions, must be those applied to German nationals and none other. (Art. 276, p. 331; p. 121.)

Germany will recognize new nationalities acquired by her nationals under the laws of the Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 278, p. 333; p. 121.)

Germany will admit and permit to exercise their functions, consuls, appointed by the Allied or Associated Powers. (Art. 279, p. 333; p. 121.)

Germany will extend to nationals of Allied and Associated Powers all rights and advantages of any kind which she has granted to nationals of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey, by treaties, conventions, or arrangements concluded before August 1, 1914, so long as such treaties, etc., remain in force. (Art. 291, p. 345; p. 125.)

Germany will give to Allied and Associated Powers the benefit *ipso facto* of the rights and advantages of any kind which she has granted by treaties, conventions, or arrangements to non-belligerent states or their nationals since August 1, 1914, until the coming into force of this Treaty, so long as such treaties, conventions, or arrangements remain in force. (Art. 294, p. 347; p. 126.)

XVI. GERMANY ACCEPTS THE FOLLOWING RESTRICTIONS ON HER CONTROL OF INLAND COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION, AND THE INSTRUMENTALITIES THEREOF.

FREEDOM OF TRANSIT.

Germany grants freedom of transit, including crossing of territorial waters by rail, navigable waterways, or canal, to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails coming from or going to the territories of any of the Allied or Associated Powers, without subjection to any transit duty or undue delay, and to national treatment as regards charges, facilities, and other matters, all charges imposed in traffic to be reasonable and not dependent directly or indirectly on ownership or nationality of the vessel or other vehicle. (Art. 321, p. 435; p. 157.)

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs and other similar duties. (Art. 321, p. 435; p. 157.)

Transmigration traffic across Germany is to be free and unimpeded. (Art. 322, p. 435; p. 158.)

Importations and exportations:

Germany will make no discrimination or preference, direct or indirect, in duties, charges, and prohibitions on goods or persons entering or leaving her territory on account either of origin or destination. (Art. 323, p. 437; p. 158.)

Germany will not establish, as against the ports and vessels of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, any surtax or direct or indirect bounty for export or import by German vessels or ports, or by those of another Power, for example, by means of a combined tariff; and goods or persons passing through ports or by vessels of the Allied and Associated Powers shall be subject to no formality or delay other than is incident to such traffic on German vessels or through German ports. (Art. 323, p. 437; p. 158.)

Germany shall take all necessary administrative and technical measures to expedite transmission and forwarding of Allied and Associated goods, particularly perishable goods, equally with any other goods similarly routed and carried. (Art. 324, p. 437; p. 158.)

Seaports of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy all favors and all reduced tariffs granted on German railways or navigable waterways for the benefit of German ports or the port of another Power. (Art. 325, p. 439; p. 159.) And Germany must participate in the tariffs or combinations of tariffs intended to secure for ports of any Allied or Associated Power advantages similar to those granted by Germany to her own ports or the ports of any other Power. (Art. 326, p. 439; p. 159.)

Nationals, vessels, and property of Allied or Associated Powers shall, without impediment, enjoy in all German ports and on the inland navigation routes of Germany, national treatment in all respects, with complete freedom of access to all places in Germany, and with national treatment as to port and harbor facilities, including stationing, loading and unloading, duties, charges of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, lighthouse,

Table of cessions, renouncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

XVI. GERMANY ACCEPTS THE FOLLOWING RESTRICTIONS ON HER CONTROL OF INLAND COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION, AND THE INSTRUMENTALITIES THEREOF—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

quarantine and all analogous duties. Any preferential régime granted by Germany to any Power is immediately and unconditionally extended to all Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 327, p. 441; p. 159.)

FREE ZONES.

Existing free zones in ports shall be maintained, and, with others to be established (Hamburg and Stettin, Art. 363, p. 469; p. 170), shall be subject to the Treaty régime. Goods entering or leaving such zones shall be subject to no import or export duty (except they leave the zone for consumption in the country where the zone is situated, or enter the zone for export, when the duties shall be the regular normal import or export duties Art. 330, p. 443; p. 160), except handling charges and specified statistical duty used for defraying the expenses of the port. (Art. 328, p. 441; p. 160.) All goods consumed in the zone shall be free of duty. (Art. 329, p. 443; p. 160.)

The foregoing stipulations and provisions are subject to revision at any time after five years by the Council of the League of Nations. Failing such revision, the privileges may be enjoyed only on a basis of reciprocity, unless the Council extends the period. (Art. 378, p. 481; p. 175.)

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF WATERWAYS.

Rivers Elbe, Vltava, Oder, Niemen (Russgrom-Memel-Niemen), and Danube are, as to certain parts thereof, declared international, and also all navigable parts of these river systems which naturally provide more than one state with access to the sea, together with lateral canals and channels, and any Rhine-Danube navigable waterway. (Art. 331, p. 443-445; p. 161.)

On international waterways, declared by the Treaty, nationals, property, and flags of all nations are on a perfect equality—no distinctions being made between shipping of riparian and nonriparian state to the detriment of the latter, except that Germany may not engage in traffic between the ports of any Allied or Associated Power without the consent of that Power. (Art. 332, p. 445; p. 161.) This article also is subject to review and adjustment by the council of the League of Nations, as above set out. (Art. 378, p. 481; p. 175.) Only maintenance charges may be levied for the use of such waterways (Art. 333, p. 445; p. 161), or for use of port facilities. (Art. 335, p. 447; p. 162.) Riparian states obliged to remove obstacles to navigation (Art. 336, p. 447; p. 162), and to erect no impeding work. (Art. 337, p. 447; p. 162.)

To France:

On the French frontiers, subject to the provisions of the Convention of Mannheim, or a substituted Convention, or the stipulations of this Treaty, France has the right to take water from the Rhine to feed navigation and irrigation canals, with the right to execute necessary works on the German banks, and the exclusive right to the power derived from the works of regulation on the river (subject to payment to Germany of half the power actually produced), the exercise of such rights not to impede navigation or involve increase to tolls, Germany undertaking not to allow construction of lateral canals on the right bank opposite French frontiers and recognizing France's right to use lands on right bank for necessary works, compensation being made to Germany therefor. (Art. 358, p. 465; p. 168.)

To Switzerland:

Equivalent rights as to her Rhine frontier if she demands. (Art. 358, p. 465; p. 168.)

To Belgium:

An equivalent right to take water to feed a Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway, if constructed. (Art. 358, p. 465; p. 168.)

Germany agrees to offer no objection to extending the jurisdiction of the central Rhine Commission, to designated portions of the Moselle, to additional portions of the upper part of the Rhine, and to lateral canals established to improve naturally navigable sections of the Rhine and Moselle, etc. (Art. 362, p. 469; p. 170.)

RAILWAY PROVISIONS.

German railway lines to carry goods of Allied and Associated Powers, either on through transit across Germany or to a destination in Germany, under the most favorable treatment as to rates, facilities, etc., accorded to any traffic by the railroads under similar conditions of transport, for example, length of route. The same treatment shall be accorded on request of any Allied or Associated Powers to specially designated goods coming from Germany to the Power. International tariffs involving through way bills shall be established. (Art. 365, p. 471; p. 171.) This article also subject to review and adjustment by the Council of the League of Nations as above set out. (Art. 378, p. 481; p. 175.)

Germany must cooperate in the establishment of a through ticket service (for passengers and their luggage) which any Allied or Associated Power may require; must accept trains and carriages coming from the territories of such Powers, forward the same at her best speed for long-distance trains, at rates no higher than for German internal service for the same distance. Most favorable tariffs must be applied to emigrant traffic going to or coming from ports of the Allied or Associated Powers. (Art. 367, p. 473; p. 171.)

Germany must not apply to such through service, or to emigrant service, any technical, fiscal, or administrative measures, such as customs examinations, general police, sanitary police, and control, which would impede or delay the service. (Art. 368, p. 475; p. 172.)

Table of cessions, renuncements, grants, deliveries, releases, waivers, recognitions, obligations, and undertakings by Germany, and of compensation for and credits against the same, under the treaty of Versailles—Continued.

XVI. GERMANY ACCEPTS THE FOLLOWING RESTRICTIONS ON HER CONTROL OF INLAND COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION, AND THE INSTRUMENTALITIES THEREOF—Continued.

Property and rights given up and duties and obligations undertaken by Germany.

Credit allowed for same.

Articles 367, 368 are also subject to review and adjustment by the Council of the League of Nations as above set out. (Art. 378, p. 481; p. 175.)

German railway rolling stock must be so fitted with apparatus as to permit their inclusion in trains of such Allied and Associated Powers as are parties to the Berne Convention (May 15, 1886, modified May 18, 1907) without hampering the action of the continuous brake, which may within ten years be adopted by Allied and Associated Powers and the acceptance of Allied and Associated rolling stock in German trains, which rolling stock shall have on the German lines the same treatment as German rolling stock as regards movement, upkeep, and repairs. (Art. 370, p. 475; p. 172.)

Germany's railway administration must make arrangements with contiguous states as to the working of interstate railways; if these fail to make an agreement, the points of difference will be settled by a Commission of experts, designated by the Allied and Associated Powers, on which Germany will be represented. (Art. 372, p. 479; p. 173; Art. 371, p. 477; p. 173.)

For the present Germany must carry out instructions given her on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers for the carriage of troops under the provisions of this treaty, and of material, ammunition, and supplies for any use, for the transportation of supplies for certain regions, for the restoration, as rapidly as possible, of the normal conditions of transport, and for the organization of postal and telegraphic services. (Art. 375, p. 481; p. 174.)

Disputes between the interested Powers regarding the "interpretation and application of the preceding articles" (seemingly articles 321-375) are to be settled as provided by the League of Nations (Art. 376, p. 481; p. 174), which may at any time "recommend the revision of such of these Articles as relate to a permanent administrative régime." (Art. 377, p. 481; p. 174.)

KIEL CANAL.

Kiel Canal and its approaches must be maintained free and open to vessels of commerce and of war, of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality. (Art. 380, p. 483; p. 175.)

Vessels of all nations to be treated on an absolute equality as to charges and facilities and in all other respects, with vessels of Germany or of the most favored nation, without impediment as to movements of vessels or persons beyond reasonable and necessary police, customs, sanitary, immigration and emigration regulations. (Art. 381, p. 483; p. 175.) Charges levied are to be such only as are necessary for maintenance, improvements, and expenses incurred in the interests of navigation. (Art. 382, p. 485; p. 176) and no other charges shall be levied. (Art. 384, p. 485; p. 176.)

Germany is bound to remove obstacles or dangers to navigation, to insure maintenance of good conditions, and not to undertake any works of a nature to impede navigation on the canal or its approaches. (Art. 385, p. 485; p. 176.)

Violations of the foregoing or disputes as to the interpretations of these articles are to be referred "to the jurisdiction instituted for the purpose by the League of Nations," but small questions shall be settled in the first instance by a local authority established at Kiel by Germany. Complaints thereto may be presented by the consuls of the interested Power. (Art. 386, p. 485; p. 176.)

"MEMORANDUM NO. 1.

"SPECIAL OBLIGATIONS OF GERMANY RELATING TO ALSACE-LORRAINE.

"Shall apply no special measures to German money or monetary instruments current in Alsace-Lorraine. (Art. 57, p. 97; p. 36.)

"Shall refund exceptional war expenditures advanced by Alsace-Lorraine or public bodies therein, beyond a proportional amount based on the ratio of the revenues of the Empire to the revenues of Alsace-Lorraine. (Art. 58, p. 97; p. 36.)

"Restore to Alsace-Lorraine all property rights and interests belonging to them November 11, 1918, and now in Germany. (Art. 60, p. 99; p. 37.)

"Shall bear expense of civil and military pensions earned on November 11, 1918. (Art. 62, p. 99; p. 37.)

"Pay damages for injuries suffered by the civilian population as if Alsace-Lorraine were an Allied or Associated Country. (Art. 63, p. 99; p. 37; Art. 244, Annex I, p. 259; p. 95.)

"For ten years, furnish electrical energy (power) under contracts in force, at a rate not higher than paid by German nationals. (Art. 60, p. 105; p. 39.)

"Property rights of Alsace-Lorrainers dealt with as if they had been during war on part of allied territory. (Art. 73, p. 107; p. 40.)

"France may retain and liquidate all German national and society interests, Germany compensating her nationals. (Art. 74, p. 109; p. 40.)

"France retains exclusive control over all questions of nationality of Alsace-Lorrainers. (Art. 79, Annex, p. 115 et seq.; p. 43 et seq.)

"Germany to cancel any contract notified by French Government between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans or German States or Empire, save certain contracts partly performed before November 11, 1918; who makes the compensation not specified. (Art. 75, p. 109; p. 41.)

"Alsace-Lorrainers preserve full and entire enjoyment of industrial property rights in Germany. (Art. 76, p. 111; p. 41.)

"France may prohibit—

"Management or exploitation by Germans.

"Ownership of mines and quarries by Germans.

"German participation in metallurgical establishments.

"(Art. 70, pp. 105-107; p. 40.)

"Germany is to pay to the French Government such proportion of all reserves accumulated by the Empire or by public or private bodies dependent upon it, for the purposes of disability and old-age insurance, as would fall to the disability and old-age insurance fund at Strasbourg. The same shall apply in respect of the capital and reserves accumulated in Germany falling legitimately to other social insurance funds, to miners; superannuation funds, to the fund of railways of Alsace-Lorraine, to other superannuation organizations established for the benefit of the personnel of public administrations and institutions operating in Alsace-Lorraine, and also in respect of the capital and reserves due by the insurance fund of private

employees at Berlin, by reason of engagements entered into for the benefit of insured persons of that category resident in Alsace-Lorraine. (Art. 77, p. 111; p. 41.)

"MEMORANDUM No. 2.

"REDUCTION OF MILITARY, NAVAL, AND AIR FORCES.

"1. Military Clauses:

"Army must not exceed 100,000 effectives, who must be used only to maintain order in Germany, of whom 4,000 may be officers (Art. 160, p. 191; p. 71), the Army organization, equipment, armament, munitions, and material being specified by provisions and tables in the Treaty. (Arts. 160-162, pp. 191-193; pp. 71-72, and tables following Art. 180, p. 207; p. 77.) Compulsory military service is abolished and hereafter the German Army can be constituted and recruited by voluntary enlistment only. (Art. 173, p. 201, p. 74.) The period of enlistment of noncommissioned officers and privates is twelve consecutive years (Art. 174, p. 201; p. 75), and the period of service for officers is twenty-five consecutive years. (Art. 175, p. 201; p. 75.) Officers remaining in the service must serve till they are 45 years old, and officers previously in the service must not take part in any military exercise, theoretical or practical. (Art. 175, pp. 201-203; p. 75.) Provisions covering allowable military schools are inserted (Art. 176, p. 203; p. 75), and 'Educational establishments, the Universities, societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, and, generally speaking, associations of every description, whatever be the age of their members, must not occupy themselves with military matters. In particular they are forbidden to instruct or exercise their members or allow them to be instructed or exercised in the profession or use of arms.' (Art. 177, p. 203; p. 75.) All measures of or appertaining to mobilization are forbidden. (Art. 178, p. 205; p. 76.) Germany must not send or accredit to any foreign country any naval, military, or air mission, nor allow any such mission to leave her territory, and must prevent her nationals enrolling in the Army, Navy, or Air Service of a foreign power, or being attached thereto as instructors. No Allied or Associated Power must enroll in or attach to their armies or naval or air forces any German national as instructors, but this shall not affect France's right to recruit for the Foreign Legion under her laws. (Art. 179, p. 205; p. 76.) Maintenance of military forces or assembling them, or upkeep of permanent works of mobilization, are forbidden on the left bank of the Rhine or within fifty kilometers of the right bank. (Art. 43, p. 61; p. 24.) All surplus arms, munitions, and war materials, including aircraft, must be surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 169, p. 199; p. 73.)

"2. Naval Clauses:

"German naval forces in commission must not exceed after 2 months from coming into force of Treaty, 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, but no submarines, and an equal number of vessels constructed to replace these (Art. 181, p. 211; p. 78), but replacement ships must not exceed a specified displacement (10,000 tons for armored ships), and except when a ship is lost replacement shall not occur except after 20 years for battleships and cruisers, and 15 years for destroyers and torpedo boats, counting from the launching of the ship. (Art. 190, p. 217; p. 81.) All other warships must be placed in reserve or devoted to commercial purposes. (Art. 181, p. 211; p. 78.) The navy personnel shall not exceed 15,000 officers and men, with a total officers' strength of 1,500, and including naval and military corps or reserves (Art. 183, p. 211; p. 79), all raised by voluntary enlistment, for periods of 25 consecutive years for officers and 12 consecutive years for petty officers and enlisted men; replacements shall not exceed 5 per cent per annum of totals; and no officer or man of the mercantile marine shall receive any training in the Navy. (Art. 194, pp. 219-221; p. 82.) All surface warships not in German ports, and all now interned in neutral ports or in the ports of the Allied and Associated Powers, 'cease to belong to Germany, who renounces all rights over them.' (Art. 184, p. 213; p. 79.) Eight named German battleships, 8 named light cruisers, 42 modern destroyers, and 50 modern torpedo boats chosen by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 185, p. 213; p. 79.) Surface warships now under construction are to be broken up (Art. 186, p. 215; p. 80) and certain named auxiliary cruisers and flat auxiliaries are to be disarmed and treated as merchant ships. (Art. 187, p. 215; p. 80.)

"All German submarines, submarine salvage vessels, and docks for submarines, 'including the tubular dock,' are to be delivered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. If any are unfit to proceed under their own power or to be towed to allied ports, they and all others in course of construction are to be broken up. (Art. 188, p. 217; p. 80.)

"No materials derived from any of this breaking up shall be used except for purely industrial or commercial purposes; they may not be sold or disposed of to other countries. (Art. 189, p. 217; p. 81.)

"The construction or acquisition of any submarine even for commercial purposes is forbidden. (Art. 191, p. 219; p. 81.)

"3. Air Clauses:

"The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces and no dirigibles shall be kept. (Art. 198, p. 223; p. 83.) All military and naval aeronautical material (except 100 seaplanes, with a spare engine for each to be used in searching for submarine mines), must be delivered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 198, p. 223; p. 83.)

"In addition to the foregoing clauses, others in this Part may be noted as follows:

"Within three months Germany must disclose to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers the nature and mode of manufacture of all explosives, toxic substances, and other like chemical preparations used or prepared for use by them in the war. (Art. 172, p. 201; p. 74.)

"Moreover, the importation into Germany and the manufacture for and export out of Germany of all arms, munitions, and war materials (Art. 170, p. 199; p. 74), the manufacture and importation of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and all analogous liquids, materials, or devices (Art. 171, p. 199; p. 74), the manufacture and importation into Germany of armored cars, tanks, and similar constructions suitable for use in war (id. p. 199; p. 74), the manufacture for and export from Germany of arms, munitions, or naval war material (Art. 192, p. 219; p. 81), and for a period of six months 'the manufacture and importation of aircraft, engines for aircraft, and parts of engines for aircraft' (Art. 201, p. 225; p. 84) is forbidden.

"All the foregoing clauses are carried out under inter-Allied Commissions (one for military matters, Art. 208, p. 229, p. 85; one for naval, Art. 209, p. 231, p. 86; and one for aeronautics, Art. 210, p. 233, p. 86) whose 'upkeep and cost,' and 'expenses of their work' shall be borne by Germany (Art. 207, p. 229, p. 85), which shall attach a qualified representative to each Commission, and which will give to the Commission 'all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of their missions.' (Art. 206, p. 229, p. 85.) At the end of three months, 'German laws must have been modified and shall be maintained by the German Government in conformity with this part of the present treaty.' (Art. 211, p. 233; p. 87.)

"4. Fortifications:

"No fortification on left bank of Rhine nor on right bank within 50 kilometers of the river. (Art. 42, p. 61; p. 23.)

"No fortifications in plebiscite areas of Kreise of Stuhm and Rosenberg and part of Kreise of Marienburg, if plebiscite gives them to East Prussia. (Art. 97, p. 147; p. 54.)

"Of Heligoland—destroyed—neither they nor any similar works shall be reconstructed. (Art. 115, pp. 165, 167; p. 61.)

"In territory occupied by Allied and Associated troops, disarmed and dismantled, and no new ones erected. (Art. 180, pp. 205-207; p. 76.)

"On east coast of Schleswig, Holstein, and north coast of Mecklenburg, existing fortifications demolished and guns removed, and no guns installed commanding maritime routes. (Art. 195, p. 221; p. 82.)

"Fortifications on southern and eastern frontiers maintained as now. (Art. 180, p. 207; p. 76.)

"Those already established within 50 kilometers of the German coast or on German islands off that coast (other than those specified in Art. 195) considered as of defensive character, and may remain where they are. (Art. 196, p. 221; p. 82.)

"5. Evacuation by Military Forces of Germany:

"From Poland, the German plebiscite area, within 15 days of coming into force of Treaty. (Art. 88, Annex I, p. 129; p. 48.)

"From East Prussia—the plebiscite area, within 15 days of coming into force of Treaty. (Art. 95, p. 141; p. 52.)

"From Kreise of Stuhm and Rosenberg and portion of Kreise of Marienburg—a plebiscite area—within 15 days of coming into force of Treaty. (Art. 97, p. 145; p. 54.)

"From Schleswig—designated portion—within 10 days of coming into force of Treaty. (Art. 109, p. 157; p. 58.)

"MEMORANDUM No. 3.

"COMMISSIONS AND ANALOGOUS BODIES ESTABLISHED FOR THE CARRYING OUT OF THE TREATY PROVISIONS (EXCEPT THE CLEARING OFFICES, THE REPARATION COMMISSION, AND THE MIXED ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL, WHICH ARE TREATED IN SEPARATE MEMOS.)

"1. Belgium Boundary Commission:

"A commission composed of seven persons—five appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany, and one by Belgium—will be set up within 15 days from the

coming into force of the present Treaty and will settle on the spot the new frontier lines between Belgium and Germany, taking into account the economic factors and means of communication. Decisions will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned. (Art. 35, p. 57; p. 22.)

"2. Saar Basin Boundary Commission:

"A commission composed of five members—one appointed by France, one by Germany, and three by the Council of the League of Nations, which will select nationals of other powers—will be constituted within 15 days from the coming into force of the present Treaty, and will trace on the spot the frontier line prescribed by the Treaty, taking into consideration so far as possible local economic interests and existing communal boundaries. The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned. (Art. 48, p. 67; p. 24.)

"3. Saar Basin Governing Commission:

"The government of the territory of the Saar Basin shall be entrusted to a commission representing the League of Nations. This commission shall be composed of five members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations—one to be a citizen of France, one a native of the Saar Basin not a citizen of France, and three members belonging to three countries other than France or Germany. The members are appointed for one year and may be reappointed. They may be removed by the Council of the League of Nations, which will refill the positions so vacated. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. II, pars. 16, 17, pp. 77, 79; p. 29.) The chairman, appointed from the members by the Council of the League, will act as the executive of the commission. (Id., par. 18, p. 79; p. 30.)

"Within the territory of the Saar Basin the governing commission shall have all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia, or Bavaria, including the appointment and dismissal of officials and the creation of such administrative and representative bodies as it may deem necessary. It shall have full powers to administer and operate the railroads, canals, and the different public services. Its decisions shall be taken by a majority. (Id., par. 19, p. 79; p. 30.)

"4. Commission of Experts:

"A commission of three experts—one nominated by Germany, one by France, and one, who will be neither a Frenchman or German, by the Council of the League of Nations—the decisions of the experts to be given by a majority, will determine the price in gold which Germany is to pay for France's right of ownership in the Saar Basin coal mines, which may be situated in such part of the territory of the Saar Basin as the League of Nations may decide favors a union with Germany as the result of the plebiscite to be held 15 years from the coming into force of the treaty. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. III, pars. 34, 36, pp. 87, 89; pp. 33, 34.)

"5. Boundary Commission for Czecho-Slovak State:

"A commission composed of seven members—five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Poland, and one by the Czecho-Slovak State—will trace on the spot the frontier line between Poland and the Czecho-Slovak State. The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned. (Art. 83, p. 119; p. 44.)

"6. Boundary Commission of Poland:

"A commission consisting of seven members—five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany, and one by Poland—shall delimit on the spot the frontier line between Poland and Germany. The decision of the commission will be taken by a majority of five and shall be binding on the parties concerned. (Art. 87, p. 125; p. 46.)

"7. International Commission Exercising Authority over Poland Upper Silesia Plebiscite Area:

"A commission composed of four members designated by the following powers: United States of America, France, the British Empire, and Italy, will exercise authority over the plebiscite area of Upper Silesia. The commission shall enjoy all the powers exercised by the German or the Prussian Government, except those of legislation or taxation, and shall have the competence of interpreting its own powers, with authority to settle all questions arising from the execution of the commission clauses of the Treaty, which decision shall be taken by a majority vote. It shall be assisted by technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population. It shall conduct the plebiscite provided for by the treaty. (Art. 88, Annex, pars. 2, 3, pp. 129, 131; p. 48.)

"8. International Commission Exercising Authority over the East Prussia Plebiscite Area:

"A commission composed of five members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers shall have general

powers of administration and in particular will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to insure its freedom, fairness, and secrecy. The commission will have all necessary authority to decide any questions to which the execution of these provisions will give rise and will make such arrangements as may be necessary for assistance in the exercise of its functions by officials chosen by itself from the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority. After the vote has been taken the Principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region. (Art. 95, pp. 141, 143; p. 52.)

"9. Boundary Commission for Free City of Danzig:

"A commission composed of five members, three appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, including a High Commissioner as president, one appointed by Germany and one by Poland, shall delimit on the spot the frontier of the Free City of Danzig territory, taking into account as far as possible the existing communal boundaries. (Art. 101, p. 151; p. 56.)

"10. International Commission to Exercise Authority over the Northern Schleswig Plebiscite Area:

"A commission composed of five members, three designated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Norway, and one by Sweden, or in the event of their failing to name the members, these two members also to be chosen by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers will exercise authority over the Northern Schleswig plebiscite zone.

"The commission will have general powers of administration, with the power to remove and replace German authorities and to take all steps deemed by it necessary to insure the freedom, fairness, and secrecy of the vote. It shall be assisted by German and Danish technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority. (Art. 109, pp. 157, 159; p. 53.)

"11. Schleswig Boundary Commission:

"A commission composed of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Denmark, and one by Germany, shall be constituted within 15 days from the date when the final result of the vote is known, to trace the frontier line on the spot.

"The decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority of votes and shall be binding on the parties concerned. (Art. 111, p. 163; p. 60.)

"12. Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control:

"The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the military clauses. (Art. 208, p. 229; p. 85.)

"The number of members composing this commission and its internal procedure are not provided for.

"The members of the commission are appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 203, p. 227; p. 85.)

"13. Naval Inter-Allied Commission of Control:

"The Naval Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the naval clauses. (Art. 209, p. 231; p. 86.)

"The members are appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 203, p. 227; p. 85.)

"The method of appointment and provisions for the internal government of the commission are not given.

"14. The Aeronautical Inter-Allied Commission of Control:

"The Aeronautical Inter-Allied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the air clauses. (Art. 210, p. 233; p. 86.)

"The members are appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 203, p. 227; p. 85.)

"The number of members or the internal procedure of the commission are not provided for.

"15. Prisoners' Commission:

"A commission composed of representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part and of the German Government on the other will carry out the repatriation of German prisoners of war and interned civilians.

"For each of the Allied and Associated Powers a subcommission, composed exclusively of representatives of the interested Power and of delegates of the German Government, shall regulate the details of carrying into effect the repatriation of the prisoners of war. (Art. 215, p. 237; p. 88.)

"The repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians shall take place as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present treaty and shall be carried out with the greatest rapidity. (Art. 214, p. 237; p. 87.)

"16. Commission on Graves:

"Germany agrees to recognize any commission appointed by an Allied or Associated Government for the purpose of identifying, registering, caring for, or erecting suitable memorials over the graves of soldiers and sailors buried in German territory, and to facilitate the discharge of the duties of such commissions. This provision seems to be reciprocal in favor of Germany. (Art. 225, p. 243; p. 89.)

"17. Commission on Social and State Insurance in Ceded Territory:

"A commission of five members, one appointed by the German Government, one by the other interested Government, and three by the governing body of the International Labor Office from the nationals of other States, shall determine the conditions of transfer of such portions of the reserves accumulated by the Government of the German Empire or of German States, or by public or private organizations under their control, as is attributable to the carrying on of social or State insurance in ceded territory, unless such transfer has been arranged by special convention within three months after the coming into force of the present treaty. (Art. 312, p. 427, 429; p. 155-156.)

"18. International Commission for the Elbe (Labe) River:

"The Elbe (Labe) shall be placed under the administration of an international commission which shall comprise four representatives of the German States bordering on the river, two representatives of the Czecho-Slovak State, one representative of Great Britain, one representative of France, one representative of Italy, and one representative of Belgium. Whatever be the number of members present, each delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it. If certain of these representatives can not be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid. (Art. 340, p. 451; p. 164.)

"This commission shall proceed immediately to prepare a project for the revision of existing international agreements and regulations (Art. 343, p. 453; p. 164), which project shall designate the headquarters of the commission, prescribe the manner in which its president is to be nominated, specify the extent of the commission's powers, particularly in regard to the execution of works of maintenance, control, and improvements on the river system, the financial régime, the fixing and collection of charges and regulations for navigation, and shall define the sections of the river or its tributaries to which the international régime shall be applied. (Art. 344, p. 453; p. 165.)

"19. International Commission for the Oder (Odra) River:

"The Oder (Odra) shall be placed under the administration of an international commission which shall comprise one representative of Poland, three representatives of Prussia, one representative of the Czecho-Slovak State, one representative of Great Britain, one representative of France, one representative of Denmark, and one representative of Sweden.

"If certain of these representatives can not be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid. (Art. 341, p. 451; p. 164.)

"This commission shall proceed immediately to prepare a project for the revision of existing international agreements and regulations (Art. 343, p. 453; p. 164), which project shall designate the headquarters of the commission, prescribe the manner in which its President is to be nominated, specify the extent of the commission's powers, particularly in regard to the execution of works of maintenance, control, and river improvements on the river system, the financial régime, the fixing and collection of charges and regulations for navigation, and shall define the sections of the river or its tributaries to which the international régime shall be applied. (Art. 344, p. 453; p. 165.)

"20. International Commission of the Niemen (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen) River:

"Upon request to the League of Nations by any riparian State, the Niemen (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen) shall be placed under the administration of an international commission, which shall comprise one representative of each riparian State and three representatives of other States specified by the League of Nations. (Art. 342, p. 453; p. 164.)

"21. International Commission for the Danube System:

"A commission shall be appointed composed of two representatives of German riparian States, one representative of

each other riparian State, and one representative of each non-riparian represented in the future on the European Commission of the Danube, and shall be placed in charge of the administration of the Danube system referred to in Article 331 (p. 443; p. 161).

"If certain of these representatives can not be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid. (Art. 347, p. 455; p. 165.)

"This commission shall undertake provisionally the administration of the river in conformity with the principles of Articles 332 to 337 (pp. 445-447; pp. 161, 162) until such time as a definite statute regarding the Danube is concluded by the Powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 348, p. 455; p. 165.) This conference will be of the Powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 349, p. 457; p. 166.)

"22. Commission Free Zones in Northern Ports:

"A commission consisting of one delegate of Germany, one delegate of the Czecho-Slovak State, and one delegate of Great Britain shall decide as to the delimitation of the free zones in Hamburg and Stettin, which Germany shall lease to the Czecho-Slovak State for a period of 99 years (Art. 363, p. 469; p. 170) and the equipment of such areas, their exploitation, and in general all conditions for their utilization, including the amount of the rental. Such conditions shall be susceptible of revision every 10 years in the same manner and Germany declares in advance that she will adhere to the decisions so taken. (Art. 364, p. 471; p. 170.)

"23. Commission of Experts on Railways:

"Commission of Experts on Railways designated by the Allied and Associated Powers, on which Germany shall be represented, shall as regards railway lines, ceded by Germany to States obtaining part of her territory, where said railway lines have no special rolling stock, fix the proportion of the stock existing on the system to which the lines belong, which Germany shall hand over to the ceded system. These commissions shall also specify the locomotives, 'carriages,' and 'wagons' to be handed over in each case; they shall decide upon the conditions of their acceptance and shall make the provisional arrangement necessary to ensure their repair in German workshops. (Art. 371, p. 477; p. 173.)

"The High Contracting Parties agree that, in the absence of any subsequent agreement to the contrary, the chairman of any commission established by the present Treaty shall in the event of an equality of votes be entitled to a second vote. (Art. 437, p. 533; p. 19.)

"MEMORANDUM NO. 4.

"THE REPARATION COMMISSION.

"1. Constitution and Personnel of the Commission (Art. 244, Annex II, p. 261 et seq.; p. 96 et seq.):

"Each of the Powers named below will appoint one delegate and also one assistant delegate, who takes the delegate's place in case of the latter's illness or necessary absence, the assistant delegate at other times having merely the right to be present at proceedings without taking any part therein.

"These powers are the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. On no occasion shall more than five of the Powers have the right to take part in the proceedings of the commission and record votes, and the delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy shall have the right on all occasions. The delegate of Belgium shall sit whenever the delegate of Japan (who sits on questions relating to damage at sea and the condemnation of concessions in Russia, China, etc., Art. 260, p. 317; p. 116, or the delegate of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, who sits on questions relating to Austria, Hungary, or Bulgaria) does not sit.

"Any Government represented on the commission may withdraw upon 12 months' notice filed with the commission, the notice being confirmed in the course of the sixth month after the date of the original notice.

"Other interested Allied and Associated Powers may appoint a delegate to be present and act as assessor in respect to that Power's claims and interests when under examination or discussion, but the assessor has no right to vote.

"Proceedings of the commission are private unless the commission otherwise determines.

"There shall be a chairman or vice chairman of the commission holding office for one year and eligible for reelection.

"The German Government will accord to the members of the commission and its authorized agents the same rights and immunities as are enjoyed in Germany by duly accredited diplomatic agents of friendly Powers and will pay the salaries

and expenses of the commission and of its staff. (Art. 240, p. 255; p. 94.)

"A member of the commission is responsible to his own Government for his acts of omission or commission, and no Allied or Associated Government assumes any responsibility in respect to any other Government.

"The commission shall be dissolved when all the amounts due from Germany and her Allies under the present Treaty or the decisions of the commission have been discharged and all sums received, or their equivalents shall have been distributed to the Powers interested. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 23, p. 277; p. 101.)

"Powers and Jurisdiction of the Commission (Art. 244, Annex II, p. 261; p. 96):

"The commission is not bound by any code or rules of law or by any particular rule of evidence of procedure, 'but shall be guided by justice, equity, and good faith.' Cases involving the same principles and rules should be similarly decided. The commission will establish rules relating to methods of proof of claims and will act on any trustworthy modes of computation. (Par. 11.)

"The commission has the right to appoint all necessary officers, agents, and employees requisite for the executions of its functions and fix their remuneration; may constitute committees, whose members need not be members of the commission; take all executive steps necessary for the discharge of its duties; and delegate authority and discretion to officers, agents, and committees. (Par. 7.)

"The commission shall in general have wide latitude as to its control and handling of the whole reparation problem as dealt with in this part of the present Treaty and shall have authority to interpret its provisions. Subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, the commission is constituted by the several Allied and Associated Governments referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 above (those appointing delegates and assessors) as the exclusive agency of the said Governments, respectively, for receiving, selling, holding, and distributing the reparation payments to be made by Germany under this part of the present Treaty. (Par. 12.)

"The Reparation Commission determines the amount of damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany after giving the German Government a 'just opportunity' to be heard (Art. 233, p. 251; p. 92), but Germany may take no part in the decisions of the commission, which shall also afford a similar opportunity to the Allies of Germany when it shall consider that their interests are in question. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 10, p. 265; p. 97.)

"The following additional functions are worthy of note:

"The Reparation Commission shall—

"Draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging the entire obligation within a period of 30 years from May 1, 1921. (Art. 233, p. 251; p. 92.)

"Determine in its discretion when and to what extent the payments of Germany shall be extended or modified (Arts. 233, 234, p. 251; p. 92), and shall hear evidence and arguments on the part of Germany on any questions connected with her capacity to pay. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 9, p. 265; p. 97.)

"Determine within the limits of rules laid down the amount of bonds or other obligations which Germany shall issue and as to when they shall be issued, which bonds are to be both a guarantee and an acknowledgment of the debt they cover. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 12, p. 269, et seq.; p. 99.)

"Lay down the procedure under which shall be restored cash and property seized or sequestered by Germany during the war. (Art. 238, p. 255; p. 93.)

"Receive from Germany the merchant ships and fishing boats which she must deliver. (Art. 244, Annex III, p. 277; p. 102.)

"Determines the specifications of the ships to be built by Germany for the account of the Allied and Associated Governments, the conditions under which they are to be built and delivered, the price per ton at which they are to be accounted for by the Reparation Commission, and all other questions relating to the accounting, ordering, building, and delivery of the ships. (Id., p. 279; p. 103.)

"Take title to that portion of the German River fleet which is turned over to make good the losses incurred during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers. (Id., p. 281; p. 103.)

"Consider the lists filed with it by the Allied and Associated Governments showing animals, machinery, equipment, tools, and like articles of a commercial character, which have been seized, consumed, or destroyed by Germany, or destroyed in direct consequence of military operations, which the Governments desire to have restored for meeting their immediate and urgent needs, as also of reconstruction materials (stones, bricks,

refractory bricks, tiles, wood, window glass, steel, lime, cement, etc.), machinery, heating apparatus, furniture and like articles which the powers desire to have produced and manufactured in Germany and delivered to them to permit of the restoration of the invaded areas. The commission shall then determine the amount and number of materials and animals mentioned in the lists which Germany is to be required to furnish. (Id., Annex IV, pp. 283, 285; p. 104-105.)

"Give the representatives of the German Government an opportunity and a time to be heard on their ability to furnish such materials, articles, and animals. (Id., p. 287; p. 105.)

"Determine the value to be attributed to such materials, articles, and animals and the amount thereof to be credited against the reparation account. (Id., p. 287; p. 105.)

"Pass upon the amount of coal which Germany should be called upon to furnish under the options granted in the Treaty, as also the replacement of coke for coal, the delivery of benzol, coal tar, and sulphate of ammonia. (Art. 244, Annex V, p. 291, et seq.; p. 106, et seq.)

"Have the right to require the delivery of 50 per cent of the total stock of each and every kind of dyestuff and chemical drug in Germany or under German control at the date of the coming into force of the treaty, the price to be paid for such dyestuffs and so to be credited against the reparation account to be fixed by the commission. (Art. 244, Annex VI, p. 295, et seq.; p. 108.) Germany also agrees to deliver during any six months period up to January 1, 1925, up to 25 per cent of the German production of such dyestuffs and chemicals produced during the preceding six months, or 25 per cent of the normal production. (Id., par. 2, p. 297; p. 109.)

"Have the power to make exceptions to the priority distribution provided by the Treaty for the revenue of the German Empire and its constituent States. (Art. 248, p. 305; p. 111.)

"Determine the amount of the public debt (Empire or State) which cessionary States shall assume in respect to the territorial areas ceded to them, as also the method of discharging such obligation. (Art. 254, p. 309; p. 113.)

"Fix the value of all State property ceded by the Treaty to the Allied and Associated Powers, which property shall include the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages, such value to be paid by the acquiring States to the Reparation Commission for credit on the reparation account in favor of the German Government. (Art. 256, p. 311; p. 114.)

"May demand that the German Government become possessed of rights and interests of German nationals in public utilities and concessions in Russia, China, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria or in the possessions or dependencies of these States or any territory formerly belonging to Germany or her allies to be ceded by Germany or her allies to any Power or to be administered by a mandatory under the present Treaty; and may require the German Government to transfer all such rights and interests to the Reparation Commission, which shall credit Germany on the reparation account the value of said rights and interests as assessed by itself. (Art. 260, p. 317; p. 116.)

"Is authorized to accept on account of the bill against Germany for the total amount of her damage (which shall be concluded and notified to the German Government on or before May 1, 1921, as representing the extent of the Government's obligations) (Art. 233, p. 251; p. 92) chattels, properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, within or without German territory, ships, bonds, shares or securities of any kind, or currencies of Germany or other States, the value of such substitutes for gold being fixed at a fair and just amount by the commission itself, which shall have due regard in accepting such payments, for any legal or equitable interests of the Allied and Associated Powers or of neutral Powers or of their nationals therein. (Art. 244, Annex II, pars. 19, 20, p. 275; p. 101.)

"Determine the debt Belgium owes to the Allied and Associated Powers, incurred up to November 11, 1918, with interest at 5 per cent, and accept German bonds for this amount. (Art. 232, p. 249; p. 91.)

"Make decisions regarding cancellation of German debt (Art. 234, p. 251, p. 92; Art. 244, Annex II, par. 13, p. 271; p. 99), accompanied by a statement of reasons (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 12 (f), p. 269, p. 99), but any cancellation must be with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the commission. (Art. 234, p. 251; p. 92.)

"Require information from German Government relative to financial situation and operation and to the property productive capacity, and stocks and current production of raw materials and manufactured articles of Germany and her nationals, also information regarding military operations. (Art. 240, p. 255; p. 94.)

"Determine credits to be made to Germany on account of transfers, rights, concessions, or other interests not specifically covered. (Art. 243, p. 257; p. 94.)

"Must take bonds and undertakings from Germany as stipulated. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 12 (c), p. 267; p. 98.)

"May take into account in fixing total amount of debt against Germany, interest due on sums arising out of the reparation of material damages as from November 11, 1918, up to May 1, 1921. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 16, p. 273; p. 100.)

"Make recommendation of action to be taken against Germany in case of default by Germany in performance of any obligation imposed by Part VIII. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 17, p. 273; p. 100; and see Art. 430, p. 521; p. 189.)

"Indicate to German Government measures to be taken by it to secure full title to ships transferred to neutral flags during war, or now in process of such transfer without consent of Allied or Associated Governments. (Art. 244, Annex III, par. 7, p. 281; p. 103.)

"Determine amounts representing expenditures by the German Empire or States upon the Government properties referred to in Article 256. (Art. 255, p. 311; p. 113.)

"Determine value of Saar Basin property ceded to France. (Art. 50, Annex, Chap. I, par. 5, p. 71; p. 27.)

"Determine amount of German debt arising from measures adopted by the German and Prussian Governments with a view to German colonization of Poland. (Art. 92, p. 137; p. 51.)

"Approve estimates of French Government relating to deposits, credits, and advances effected under the agreements dealing with Equatorial Africa. (Art. 125, p. 171; p. 64.)

"Determine value of buildings, forests, and other State property which belonged to former Kingdom of Poland. (Art. 92, p. 137; p. 51.)

"Determine value of Germany's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. (Art. 145, p. 183; p. 68.)

"All proceedings of the commission shall be private, unless on particular occasions the commission shall otherwise determine for special reasons. (Art. 244, Annex II, par. 8, p. 265; p. 97.)

"MEMORANDUM No. 5.

"CLEARING OFFICES.

"Property, rights, and interests, including pecuniary obligations of German nationals in allied and associated countries and of the nationals of the Allied and Associated countries in Germany.

"[See generally Part X, Sec. III, pp. 347-367, pp. 127-133, and Sec. IV, pp. 367-385, pp. 134-141.]

"First. As to the property of German nationals in Allied and Associated territory:

"Under the Treaty the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to retain and liquidate all property, rights, and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions, and protectorates, including territory ceded to them by the present Treaty, this liquidation to be carried out in accordance with the laws of the allied or associated state concerned, the price to be fixed in accordance with the methods of sale or valuation adopted by the laws of the country in which the property has been retained or liquidated. Proceeds of industrial property dealt with in the same way, unless legislation in force at the time of signature of treaty, otherwise directs. (Art. 306, p. 417; p. 152.) The German owner shall not be able to dispose of his property, right, or interests, nor to subject them to any charge without the consent of the State in which the property is located. (Art. 297 (b), p. 367; p. 134.)

"The Treaty also provides that as between the Allied and Associated Powers or their nationals on the one hand and Germany or her nationals on the other hand all the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer (both of which terms are defined in the Treaty, see Art. 298, Annex, par. 3 and 4, p. 377, 379, p. 138, and cover roughly activities such as those of the Alien Property Custodian in the United States) or acts done or to be done in execution of such measures as defined in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Annex to Article 298 (pp. 375-377; pp. 137-138) shall be considered as final and binding upon all persons except as regards the reservations laid down in the Treaty.

"Paragraph 1 (p. 375; p. 137) of the Annex above mentioned amplifies this confirmation of the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer by the powers (and as to the provisions of paragraph 1, of Germany also). Paragraph 2 (p. 377; p. 137) provides further that no claim or action shall be made or brought against any Allied or Associated Power or against any person acting on behalf of or under the direction of any legal authority or department of the Government of such a Power by Germany or by any German national wherever resident in respect of any action or omission with regard to his property,

right, or interests during the war or in preparation for the war. Similarly no claim or action shall be made or brought against any person in respect of any act or omission under or in accordance with the exceptional war measures, laws, or regulations of any Allied or Associated Power.

"The property, rights, and interests of German nationals will continue to be subject to exceptional war measures that have been or will be taken with regard to them pursuant to the authorization above recited until the complete liquidation therein contemplated has been completed. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 9, p. 381; p. 139.)

"Furthermore all investments wheresoever effected with the cash assets of the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany, including companies and associations in which such nationals were interested, by persons responsible for the administration of enemy property or having control over such administration or by order of such persons or of any authority whatsoever, shall be annulled. These cash assets shall be accounted for irrespective of any such investments. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 12, p. 383; p. 140.)

"Again compensation in respect of damages or injuries inflicted upon the property of the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers in Germany may be charged upon the property of German nationals within the territory or under the control of the creditor national's State. This German property may be constituted as a pledge for enemy liabilities under the conditions fixed by paragraph 4 of the Annex hereto. The payment of the compensation may be made by the Allied or Associated State and the amount will be debited to Germany. (Art. 297 (e), p. 369; p. 134.)

"Finally Germany undertakes to compensate her nationals in respect of the sales or retention of their property, rights, or interests in Allied or Associated States. (Art. 297 (i), p. 373, p. 136.)

"Second. The property of the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers of Germany:

"In the first place the exceptional war measures and measures of transfer (defined as already indicated), taken by Germany with respect to the property, rights, and interests of the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers including companies and associations in which they are interested, when liquidation has not been completed, shall be immediately discontinued or stayed and the property, rights, and interests concerned restored to their owners who shall enjoy full rights therein as provided in the Treaty. (Art. 297 (a), p. 367; p. 134.)

"As to the confirmation (of paragraph 1 of the Annex to Art. 298, p. 375; p. 137) of the complete acts of the German Government instrumentalities (equivalent to the American Alien Property Custodian) there is this proviso: This confirmation will not apply to such of the measures mentioned as have been taken by the German authorities in invaded or occupied territory, nor to such of the mentioned measures as have been taken by Germany or the German authorities since November 11, 1918, all of which shall be void. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 1, p. 377; p. 137.)

"As to the property and rights of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers within whose territory legislative measures prescribing the general liquidation of enemy property, rights, or interests were not applied before the signature of the armistice the following procedure may be had. (Art. 297 (f) (g), pp. 369-371; p. 135.)

"Whenever a national of such a power is entitled to property which has been subjected to a measure of transfer in German territory, and expresses a desire for its restitution, his claim for compensation shall be satisfied by the restitution of the said property, if it still exists in specie, free from any encumbrances or burdens with which it may have been charged after the liquidation, all third parties injured by the restitution being indemnified. Allied and Associated Powers must specify the property, rights, and interests as to which they intend to exercise this right of restitution which will be carried out by order of the German Government or of the authorities which have been substituted for it. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 7, p. 381; p. 139.)

"As to all such property, rights, and interests so restored Germany undertakes to restore and maintain such property in the legal position obtaining in respect of the property, rights, and interests of German nationals under the laws in force before the war, and not to subject any such property, rights, or interests to any measures in derogation of property rights which will not apply equally to property, rights, and interests of German nationals and to pay adequate compensation in the event of the application of these measures. (Art. 298, p. 373; p. 136.) These provisions apply also to property as to which exceptional war measures of transfer have been discontinued.

"Furthermore, the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers shall be entitled to compensation in respect of damages or in-

jury inflicted upon their property, rights, or interests, including any company or association in which they are interested in German territory as it existed on August 1, 1914, by the application either of the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Annex hereto. The claims made in this respect by such nationals shall be investigated and the total of the compensation shall be determined by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI of Part X or by an arbitrator appointed by that tribunal. (Art. 297 (e), p. 369; p. 134.)

"Finally, Germany must, within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, deliver to each Allied or Associated Power all securities, certificates, deeds, or other documents of title held by its nationals and relating to property, rights, or interests situated in the territory of that Allied or Associated Power, including any bonds, stocks, debentures, debenture stocks, or other obligations of any company incorporated in accordance with the laws of that power. (Art. 298, Annex, par. 10, p. 383; p. 139.)

"In brief, Germany is to cease all exceptional war measures and measures of transfer and restore to the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers their property affected thereby; is to restore any of their property still existing in specie; is to grant compensation for all damages or injuries inflicted upon their property; and is to deliver to each of the Powers the securities held by Germans of any company created under the laws of the Power.

"Third. Disposition of the proceeds of enemy property:

"The net proceeds of the sales of enemy property, rights, or interests wherever situated carried out either by virtue of war legislation or by the application of the provisions of Article 297, and in general all cash assets of enemies shall be dealt with as follows:

"Two plans are provided—one for those not adopting the provisions of Section III and the Annex thereto (Part X) and the other that provided for by said section. (Art. 297 (h-1, 2) p. 371; p. 135.)

"A. Plan to be followed by those not adopting Section III of Part X:

"(1) Property of the nationals of Allied or Associated Governments held by Germany.

"The proceeds of property, rights, and interests and the cash assets of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers held by Germany shall be paid immediately to the person entitled thereto or to his Government. (Art. 297 (h-2), p. 371; p. 135.)

"(2) Property of German nationals held by Allied or Associated Powers.

"The proceeds of property, rights, and interests and the cash assets of German nationals received by an Allied or Associated Power shall be subject to disposal by such power in accordance with its laws and regulations and may be applied in payment of claims and debts defined by this article or paragraph 4 of the Annex hereto. (Art. 297 (h-2), p. 371; p. 135.)

"The provisions of paragraph 4 referred to are as follows:

"All property, rights, and interests of German nationals within the territory of any Allied or Associated Power and the net proceeds of their sale, liquidation or other dealing therewith may be charged by that Allied or Associated Power in the first place with payment of amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of that Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights, and interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested in German territory, or debts owing to them by German nationals, and with payment of claims growing out of acts committed by the German Government or by any German authorities since July 31, 1914, and before that Allied or Associated Power entered into the war. The amount of such claims may be assessed by an arbitrator appointed by Mr. Gustave Ador, if he is willing, or if no such appointment is made by him, by an arbitrator appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI. They may be charged in the second place with payment of the amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of such Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights, and interests in the territory of other enemy powers, in so far as those claims are otherwise unsatisfied." (Art. 298, Annex, par. 4, p. 379; p. 138.)

"Any property, rights, and interests or proceeds thereof or cash assets not used as above provided may be retained by the said Allied or Associated Power, and if retained the cash value thereof shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243 (p. 257; p. 94)—that is to say, it will be credited to Germany in respect of her reparation obligations. (Art. 297 (h-2), p. 371; p. 135; and see Arts. 242, 243, p. 257; p. 94.)

"Liquidation effected in new States signatories of the present Treaty or in States which are not entitled to share in the reparation payments to be made by Germany. The proceeds of liquidations effected by such States shall, subject to the rights of the Reparation Commission under the present Treaty, particularly under Articles 235 (p. 253; p. 93) and 260 (p. 317; p. 116), be paid direct to the owner. If the owner be not satisfied and apply to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, such tribunal

shall itself or by an arbitrator examine the case and if satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Government of the State in question outside its general legislation were unfairly prejudicial to the price obtained shall have discretion to award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by that State. (Art. 297 (h-2), p. 373; p. 136.)

"B. Powers adopting Section III (p. 347; p. 127) and the Annex thereto proceed as follows:

"It is in the first place to be observed that this section is entitled 'Debts' and apparently relates, primarily at least, only to the settlement and adjustment of debts between German nationals and the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers. It does not appear clear in what manner property, rights, and interests other than debts, which are covered by Section IV, which follows (p. 367; p. 134), are to be adjusted under Section III, although the plan for adjustment under Section IV is reasonably clear, and it seems in contemplation (Art. 296, p. 349; p. 127) that such property, rights, and interests mentioned in Section IV shall be accounted for under this procedure. Moreover, the class of debts which may be adjusted under this section are confined to the following (Art. 296, p. 347; p. 127):

"1. Debts payable before the war and running from a national of one of the Contracting Powers residing within its territory and due to a national of an Opposing Power residing within its territory;

"2. Debts which became payable during the war to nationals of one of the Contracting Powers residing within its territory and arose out of transactions or contracts with the nationals of an Opposing Power, resident within its territory, of which the total or partial execution was suspended on account of the declaration of war;

"3. Interest which has accrued due before and during the war to a national of one of the Contracting Powers in respect of securities issued by an Opposing Power, provided that the payment of interest on such securities to the nationals of that Power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war;

"4. Capital sums which have become payable before and during the war to nationals of one of the Contracting Powers in respect of securities issued by one of the Opposing Powers, provided that the payments of such capital sums to nationals of that Power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war.

"The settlement of these debts is accomplished under the following principles and plan:

"A. Each Government guarantees the payment of all such debts of its nationals except where the debtor was in a state of bankruptcy before the war or had given formal indication of insolvency or where the debt was due by a company whose business had been liquidated under emergency legislation during the war. This does not apply to territory invaded or occupied by the enemy before the armistice. (Art. 296 (b), p. 349; p. 127.) This guaranty is effective whenever for any reason a debt is not recoverable because of the reasons above mentioned or where the debt has been barred by the statute of limitations in force in the debtor's country. (Id., Annex, par. 4, p. 355; p. 129.)

"Within six months of the establishment of the Clearing Office, creditors must give notice of debts due them, and shall furnish the office with any document and information required of them. (Art. 296, Annex, par. 5, p. 355; p. 129.)

"A debtor Clearing House must credit a Creditor Clearing House with every debt admitted by the debtor even though it be unable to collect it. The Government concerned will, nevertheless, invest their respective Clearing Offices with all necessary powers for the recovery of debts which have been admitted. (Id., par. 14, p. 359; p. 131.)

"B. Each of the High Contracting Parties shall prohibit, as from the coming into force of the present Treaty, both the payment and the acceptance of payment of such debts and also of communications between the interested parties with regard to the adjustment of said debts otherwise than through the Clearing Offices to be established. (Art. 296 (a), p. 349; p. 127.) Violations of this prohibition shall be punished with the same penalties which are provided by legislation for trading with the enemy (id., Annex, par. 3, p. 353; p. 129), and the parties to the Treaty agree to take all suitable measures to trace and punish collusion between enemy creditors and debtors and to communicate one with another any evidence and information which might help the discovery and punishment of such collusion. (Id., Annex, par. 5, p. 355; p. 129.) Moreover, each country must prohibit within its territory all legal processes relating to the payment of enemy debts except in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty. (Id., par. 3, p. 353; p. 129.)

"C. Each country shall establish a Clearing Office for the collection and payment of debts due to its nationals and for the collection for payment of debts due from its nationals to

nationals of the opposing party. (Art. 296, Annex, par. 1, p. 353; p. 128.) It moreover appears that by agreement between the Allied and Associated Powers, these Clearing Offices may similarly act with reference to the nationals of one resident in the other; that is, an American Clearing Office could act in the settlement of a debt running from a German to a Frenchman resident in the United States. (Art. 296 (f), p. 353; p. 128.)

"In appointing the personnel of a Clearing Office or of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal due regard shall be paid to the knowledge possessed by the personnel of the language of the other country concerned. (Id., Annex, par. 21, p. 363; p. 132.)

"D. Each Clearing Office is both a debtor Clearing Office and a Creditor Clearing Office. As a creditor Clearing Office it notifies the Clearing Office of the other country (which for this purpose is a debtor Clearing Office) of all the debts which have been declared against the other Clearing Office. (Id., Annex, par. 5, p. 355; p. 129.) As a debtor Clearing Office it informs the Clearing Office of the other country (which for that purpose is a Creditor Clearing Office) of all debts which have been admitted and of debts which are contested, in the latter case giving the grounds for the nonadmission of the debts. (Id.)

"Or, differently stated, the American Clearing Office notifies the German Clearing Office of all debts claimed by American citizens against Germans and of all claims admitted by American citizens in favor of Germans; and the German Clearing Office notifies the American Clearing Office of all debts admitted by Germans in favor of Americans and of all claims made by Germans against Americans.

"If any person makes a claim which in whole or in part is not admitted, he must pay by way of fine, interest at 5 per cent on the part not admitted. If any person denies liability of the whole or part of a debt claimed he shall pay by way of fine interest at 5 per cent on the amount with regard to which his refusal is disallowed. (Id., par. 10, p. 357; p. 130.) The amount recovered from these fines applies on the expenses of the Clearing Office. (Id.)

"Where any debt is not admitted in whole or in part, the two Clearing Offices (debtor and creditor) examine the matter jointly and endeavor to bring the parties to an agreement. (Id., par. 8, p. 357; p. 130.) Seemingly, if creditor and debtor are unable to reach an agreement, the two Clearing Offices may undertake to reach an agreement. (Id., par. 16, p. 361; p. 131.)

"If the Clearing Offices do not reach an agreement, the dispute shall be either referred to arbitration on terms agreed to by the parties or referred to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in the Treaty. However, if the creditor Clearing Office so requests, the dispute shall be submitted to the jurisdiction of the courts of the place of domicile of the debtor (that is, an American claim would go to the German courts). (Id., par. 16, p. 361; p. 131.) Sums found due by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal or by the court or the tribunal agreed to by the parties shall be recovered through the Clearing Office, as if the sums were debts admitted by the debtor Clearing Office. (Id., par. 17, p. 361; p. 132.) In case an appeal is taken to the Mixed Tribunal from a decision of the Clearing Office, the appellant shall make a deposit against the costs. A fee of 5 per cent of the amount in dispute shall be charged in respect of all cases brought before the Mixed Tribunal and shall unless the tribunal directs otherwise be borne by the unsuccessful party. 'Such fee shall be added to the deposit referred to.' (Id., par. 20, p. 363; p. 132.)

"If the Clearing Offices or the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal hold that the claim does not fall within Article 296 (p. 347; p. 127), the creditor may prosecute the claim before the courts or otherwise as he may wish. (Id., par. 23, p. 365; p. 133.)

"Persons who have suffered injuries from acts of war and who admit owing debts shall not have their debts charged against them until the compensation due to such persons concerned in respect of such injuries has been paid. (Id., par. 14, p. 359; p. 131.)

"Unless an agreement otherwise is reached by the Governments concerned, debts shall carry interest in accordance with rules set out in the Treaty. (Id., par. 22, p. 363; p. 133.)

"Balances between the Clearing Offices shall be struck monthly and the credit balance paid in cash by the debtor State within a week. (Id., par. 11, p. 359; p. 131.)

"Statutes of limitation are suspended from the time of the presentation of the claim to the Clearing Office. (Id., par. 23, p. 365; p. 133.)

"Each Government defrays the expenses of the Clearing Office set up in its territory, including the salaries of the staff. (Id., par. 15, p. 361; p. 131.) Fines that may be levied (as above provided) are credited by the Clearing Office col-

lecting them, which is responsible therefor to the other Clearing Office 'which shall retain them as a contribution towards the costs of carrying out the present provisions.' (Id., par. 10, p. 357; p. 130.) The expenses for postal and telegraphic communication through the intervention of the Clearing Offices by the debtors and creditors desirous of coming to agreement as to the amount of their debts shall be borne by the parties concerned. (Id., par. 5, p. 355; p. 129.)

"Debts shall be paid or credited in the currency of such one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, of the British Dominions, of India, as may be concerned. If the debts are payable in some other currency, they shall be paid or credited in the currency of the country concerned, whether Allied or Associated Power, colony, protectorate, British Dominion, or India, at the prewar rate of exchange, which the treaty defines. If a contract provides for a fixed rate of exchange in the transaction, then the above provisions concerning the rate of exchange shall not apply. (Art. 296 (d), p. 351; p. 128.)

"The foregoing provisions may, however (as to matters provided for in Art. 297), be rendered inapplicable by notice to that effect to Germany on the part of the Allied or Associated Power concerned within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty. (Art. 296 (e), p. 351; p. 128.)

"The creditor Clearing Office pays to the individual creditor the sums due him out of the funds placed at its disposal by its own Government. (Art. 296, Annex, par. 9, p. 357; p. 130.)

"MEMORANDUM NO. 6.

"MIXED ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL.

"[Art. 304, and Annex, pp. 409-415; pp. 149-151.]

"Within three months of the coming into force of this treaty, the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall be established by each of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand and Germany on the other. Each tribunal is to consist of three members, one appointed by Germany, one appointed by the Allied and Associated Powers concerned, and the third, who is to be the president of the tribunal, shall be chosen by agreement of the two Governments, or that failing, by the Council of the League of Nations, and until that is set up, by M. Gustave Ador. The Council of the League and Mr. Ador shall name two other persons who may take the place of the president in case of need, and all three persons named by either of them must be nationals of powers who were neutral during the war.

"Where the number of cases before a tribunal justifies it, the personnel may be increased, and the tribunal may then sit in divisions.

"In case vacancies in personnel are not filled by the Governments concerned within one month, the members shall be chosen by the other Government from the two persons named as alternates for the presidency.

"Decisions shall be reached by a majority vote and shall be final.

"The jurisdiction of the tribunal shall relate to cases coming up to it from the Clearing Offices (provided for in Part X, Section III); cases in reference to compensation for damage done to nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers in Germany and also the adjustment of claims of nationals of new States and of States not entitled to share in the reparation payments made by Germany, and to cases arising under Sections V and III of Part X, none of which latter concern the United States because of reservations made in the Treaty.

"Each tribunal determines its own procedure, except as provided in the Annex to Article 304, which establishes the tribunal.

"Each Government pays the expenses of its own representative upon the tribunal and a proportionate part of the joint expenses, including the compensation, etc., of the president.

"The national courts of each of the parties are required to render all assistance in their power, particularly as regards transmitting notices and collecting evidence.

"There are no rules of law laid down by which the tribunals are to be guided, and the procedure is practically unprovided for on all matters pertaining thereto, except that it is stipulated that 'The tribunal shall decide all questions and matters submitted upon such evidence and information as may be furnished by the parties concerned.'

"The language in which the proceedings shall be conducted shall unless otherwise agreed be English, French, Italian, or Japanese, as may be determined by the Allied or Associated Power concerned.

"MEMORANDUM NO. 7.

"ADDITIONAL CONVENTIONS OR AGREEMENTS TO BE MADE.

"1. A further agreement to be made between France and Germany, dealing with the interests of the inhabitants of territories ceded to Germany in 1871. (Art. 53, p. 93; p. 35.)

"2. A special convention to determine the conditions for repayment, in marks, of the exceptional war expenditures advanced during the course of the war by Alsace-Lorraine, or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine. (Art. 58, p. 97; p. 36.)

"3. A special convention between France and Germany which shall be submitted to the approval of the Central Rhine Commission to fix the details particularly as regards financing of the administration of the port of Strasbourg and the port of Kehl. (Art. 65, p. 101; p. 38.)

"4. An agreement establishing frontier railway stations, it being stipulated in advance that on the Rhine frontier they shall be situated on the right bank. (Art. 67, p. 103; p. 39.)

"5. A special convention to determine the conditions and procedure of transferring of funds covering social insurance from the German Government to the French Government. (Art. 77, p. 111; p. 42.)

"6. A special convention between France and Germany, settling all questions not covered by the Treaty, as to competence, procedure, or administration of justice. (Art. 78, p. 113; p. 42.)

"7. Further convention between France and Germany covering all questions concerning Alsace-Lorraine, which are not regulated by Section V, and the Annex thereto of Part III, or by the general provisions of the Treaty. (Art. 79, p. 113; p. 42.)

"8. Subsequent agreements to decide questions not decided by the present Treaty which may arise in consequence of the cession of German territory to the Czecho-Slovak State. (Art. 86, p. 123; p. 46.)

"9. A treaty between the Czecho-Slovak State and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, containing the provisions deemed necessary by the Powers to protect the inhabitants of the Czecho-Slovak State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion. (Art. 86, p. 123; p. 46.)

"10. A treaty between the Czecho-Slovak State and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, containing such provisions as the Powers deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations. (Art. 86, p. 123; p. 46.)

"11. A treaty between Poland and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers containing provisions deemed necessary by the Powers to protect the interests of the inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion. (Art. 93, p. 139; p. 52.)

"12. A treaty between Poland and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers containing the provisions deemed necessary by the Powers to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations. (Art. 93, p. 139; p. 52.)

"13. Convention between Germany and Poland (differences to be settled by the Council of the League of Nations) securing to Germany and to Poland, respectively, full and adequate railroad, telegraphic, and telephonic facilities over one another's territories. (Art. 98, p. 147; p. 55.)

"14. An agreement between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers of the one part, the Polish Government of another part, and the Free City of Danzig of a third part, relating to customs, use of waterways, docks, basins, wharves, etc., railway administration, postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communications: to provide against discrimination within the Free City of Danzig to the detriment of citizens of Poland, and other persons of Polish origin or speech; to provide that the foreign affairs of the Free City of Danzig shall be taken care of by the Polish Government. (Art. 104, p. 153; p. 57.)

"15. Further agreements to settle all other questions which may arise from the cession of territory made by Germany to the Principal Allies and Associated Powers, in establishing the Free City of Danzig. (Art. 108, p. 155; p. 58.)

"16. International agreements between the Allied and Associated Powers and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, fixing their relations. (Art. 40, p. 61; p. 23.)

"17. Special agreements regarding the interest on debts (these not necessarily entered into.) (Art. 296, Annex, par. 22, p. 363; p. 133.)

"18. Special conventions between the German Government and the Governments concerned covering social and State insurance in ceded territory. (Art. 312, p. 427; p. 156.)

"19. General convention drawn up by the Allied and Associated Powers, and approved by the League of Nations, relating to waterways recognized in such convention as having international character. (Art. 338, p. 449; p. 163.)

"20. Régime for the Danube, formulated by a conference of the Powers. (Art. 349, p. 457; p. 166.)

"21. Revision of the convention of Mannheim. (Art. 354, p. 459; p. 166.)

"22. A new convention to replace the Berne convention of 1890, covering the transportation of passengers, luggage, and goods by rail. (Art. 366, p. 473; p. 171.)

"23. General conventions regarding the international regime of transit, waterways, ports, or railways, which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the approval of the League of Nations. (Art. 379, p. 483; p. 175.)

"24. Subsequent agreements covering all matters, not covered by the present Treaty, relating to the occupation of German territory by troops of the Allied and Associated Governments. (Art. 432, p. 521; p. 189.)

"(And see Table, Section VIII, Germany consents beforehand to any other treaties which the Allied or Associated Powers may make.)

"MEMORANDUM NO. 8.

"CONVENTION OR AGREEMENTS MADE BUT NOT SUBMITTED.

"The agreement for the division by the Allied and Associated Governments, in determined proportions, of the sums paid by Germany in satisfaction of claims. (Art. 237, p. 253; p. 93.)

"2. Convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers. (Art. 319, p. 433; p. 157.)"

Mr. HITCHCOCK. On behalf of the minority members of the Committee on Foreign Relations I desire to state that we hope to-morrow to be able to file our minority views in reply to the majority report of the committee.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

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

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 2976) relating to the issuance of passports; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PITTMAN:

A bill (S. 2977) to amend section 8 of an act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories, approved March 3, 1877, as amended by an act to repeal timber culture laws, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1891; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. NEWBERRY:

A bill (S. 2978) to establish additional fish-cultural subsidiary stations in the State of Michigan; to the Committee on Fisheries.

By Mr. CURTIS:

A bill (S. 2979) to appropriate additional sums for Federal aid in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 2980) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain widows and former widows of soldiers and sailors of the Civil War;

A bill (S. 2981) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain Army nurses; and

A bill (S. 2982) granting a pension to James W. Murphy (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ELKINS:

A bill (S. 2983) granting an increase of pension to Robert L. Boseley; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KENDRICK:

A bill (S. 2984) authorizing the acquirement of a site and the construction of a building for a post office at Greynell, Wyo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SPENCER:

A bill (S. 2985) granting a pension to James W. Wilson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 107) extending the provisions of the act of Congress approved the 22d day of May, 1918, entitled "An act to prevent in time of war departure from and entry into the United States contrary to the public safety"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CONTROL OF FOOD PRODUCTS.

Mr. DIAL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 8624) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August 10, 1917, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. JONES of Washington, it was

Ordered, That the manuscript entitled "Discussion of river and harbor improvements by the United States, by Rinehart J. Swenson," presented to the Senate and referred to Committee on Printing, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, there having been no adverse report thereon.

ARTS AND CRAFTS EXPOSITION AT ST. LOUIS.

Mr. SPENCER. Mr. President, there is to be held from October 15 to November 11 in the city of St. Louis an industrial arts and crafts exposition, the first of its kind in the United States. In behalf of my colleague, the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], and myself I ask for the adoption of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 182) was read and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate learns with gratification of the proposed exposition of industrial arts and crafts which is to be held in St. Louis, Mo., from October 15 to November 11. The sole purpose of the exposition is to display manufactured and wrought articles combining beauty with utility for the purpose of arousing an interest in American designs and craftsmanship.

Particularly because it is the first exposition of its kind ever held in the United States it marks a step in advance in industrial art and deserves the support and approval of the American people alike from the standpoint of industry and from the standpoint of art.

Mr. SPENCER. Mr. President, I desire to lay before the Senate some facts in regard to this industrial exposition.

Every product of industry, the elements of utility and price being equal, possesses an additional commercial value in direct proportion to its attractiveness in appearance.

The rule is universal and applies to every industrial product—to furniture, to hardware, to clothing, to all things having practicable utility. Of any two articles, equal so far as utility and price are concerned, the one that possesses artistic merit has the more ready market.

In fact, it is often true that an article beautiful to look upon commands a far more ready sale than a competitive article of greater utility and strength that is unattractive to the eye.

It is as difficult to understand as it is unfortunate that in our industrial educational plans the United States has comparatively made no provision for art in industry. There are industrial schools that train for manufacture, that teach economy in production, but there is no provision for art in industry.

Other nations are forging ahead in this schooling. England has 40 schools of industrial arts and crafts; France has 30 industrial schools; Germany, before the war, led the world both in the number of schools of industrial art and in exploiting expositions; and what is true of these nations is strikingly true of Italy and of Japan.

Even the savage in primitive production seeks constantly for beauty and teaches his children, in the manufacture of pottery or beads or works of brass or articles of wear, to produce in color and in artistic lines an article that is beautiful to the eye as well as durable for usefulness.

The Industrial Arts and Crafts Exposition to be held in St. Louis for four weeks, beginning October 15, is the first such exposition to be held in the United States. It heralds a great national exposition along similar lines. It will call the attention of the country to our need of American industrial designers. We now depend upon Europe. There are 100 lines of trade in the United States that need to-day tens of thousands of designers for American patterns and for the development of American art, for at the present time our industrial enterprises either copy the designs of Europe or are almost entirely dependent upon industrial designers who have been educated in foreign schools.

This exposition will educate the people to appreciate and demand beauty in industrial production. It will make the stamp "Made in America" signify at once both beauty of design and efficiency of use. It will promote trade with the Latin Americans. Their love of the artistic is a hereditary characteristic. It will give added strength to our friendly competition with every other nation in the world in every industrial article man uses.

It is, Mr. President, from whatever angle you use it, a great step in American industrial progress and deserves the commendation which this resolution calls for.

If there is no objection, Mr. President, I ask that a few short articles upon this general subject may be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE EXPOSITION.

[By F. E. A. Curley, secretary of the St. Louis Art League.]

"With general cooperation and the support of large interests in the city, the St. Louis Art League is organizing a St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts, to open October 15 for four weeks, and a National Art Exposition to follow about a year later.

"For this year's big art show the league has engaged the old Southern Hotel Building, reminiscent of grand traditions, which

with its spacious chambers and corridors offers remarkable opportunities for installation; and all will readily understand how St. Louis with the record of the greatest world's fair and other memorable civic achievements is going to set forth then and there an art exposition of outstanding and wide effect—how all the art spirit in this great community will be evoked and every means will be taken to make this the preeminent enterprise of the city—how the highest available forms of art will be displayed for their educational value and as public attractions; music and the varied forms of expressional arts which entertain as well as instruct will be drawn upon to the fullest extent to make a 'live show,' with the cooperation of the numerous specialized art organizations that lead in their respective art forms; how sentiment associated with the old St. Louis and the South and West, with pleasantly remembered forms of folk art, will be revived for this occasion.

"It will be recalled that Belgium had opened a big national exposition of industrial art at Brussels—Germany a gigantic International Kunstgewerbe Show at Cologne—and all Europe was quick with art spirit when the conflagration broke that has given America its wonderful opportunity to take leadership.

"The fact that this country is far behind as to availing itself of the arts of design makes it singularly appropriate that St. Louis, which appealed to the world with the trail-breaking Louisiana Purchase Exposition, should now undertake this greatly needed educational work of national import.

"Thus attempting a service to the country, we intend primarily a great educational influence upon ourselves, the people of St. Louis, and thus aspire to make our city a high place.

"In the work just outlined we strive for all possible cooperation, confident of the good will of patriotic Americans everywhere, and especially we believe that we shall serve the interests and deserve the cooperation of all those who have any business relationship with the arts.

"Follows a symposium by leaders whose qualifications to speak for the city will not be questioned."

GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR ST. LOUIS.

[By George S. Johns, editor of the editorial page of the Post-Dispatch, chairman of the Exposition Committee.]

"The primary purpose of the Art League in originating and planning the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts is to awaken the business men to the importance of original designs in industry.

"Design is a fundamental necessity for industrial production. It enters as an essential factor in practically every branch of manufacture. The producer who considers utility only without regard to beauty will fail. He will be hopelessly handicapped in the market, because there is no purchaser quite so ignorant that he can not distinguish some marks or lines of beauty in the article he purchases, or judge between ugliness and sightliness. As public taste improves the demand for beauty combined with utility becomes more insistent and the judgment more critical.

"There are two phases of the question of providing original design in American industry: The first is the necessity of good design for ourselves for two reasons—one, the desirability of cultivating the taste for and the love of the beautiful in the articles that we use in everyday life, and thus adding to the joy of life; the other concerns the growing public taste among our own people and the satisfaction of this rising demand for good design in articles of common use.

"Another phase of the subject is the necessity of good design for American industrial products in competition for world trade.

"The close of the war marks the beginning of a tremendous opportunity for American business in the world market. We are now organizing branch banks and exchanges for the purpose of extending trade and carrying credits. Millions of dollars of investment will be put in banks, exchanges, shipping, industrial plants, commercial agencies, and all the factors necessary to American success in world trade. But of what avail will all of this organization and investment be if we can not deliver the goods? We must compete with the manufacturers of the world not alone in quality and price, but in design.

"Beauty of design, or line, form, color—the perfect combination of beauty and utility—is now a governing factor in salesmanship. Other things being equal, purchasers choose the more attractive and well-designed article. Many intelligent business men would rather have design than quality in the goods they sell. Attractive articles of inferior quality frequently sell better than unattractive articles of superior quality. The lines of an automobile is one of the principal arguments of the advertiser and the salesman. So with household furniture, clothing, every form of textile pottery, glassware, and a thousand other articles that might be mentioned.

"In preparing for this competition in the world market as well as the home market, where will the American manufacturer get the designs which he must have in order to compete successfully with the manufacturers of other nations? In the main hitherto we have either copied European designs or imported designers trained in European schools of design. We can do it no longer. Competition with copied designs will be a sorry failure. Europe no longer has the corps of designers from which we can draw; it has need of all its designers and is preparing to train many more. England has 40 schools of industrial arts and crafts. Craftsmanship is just as important as design. France has not less than 30. Germany before the war practically led all the rest in schools of design and in exhibitions of industrial arts and crafts. There is no doubt that this activity will be revived with tenfold intensity after the war.

"America lacks both schools of design and teachers of design. The few beginnings we have made in this direction are woefully inadequate to the needs of American industry. It has been estimated that there are at least 100 lines of trade in which original design is essential, and that we need now not less than 200,000 trained designers.

"American business men—for the subject is of vital interest not only to manufacturers but to all business men who handle their products—must awaken to the necessity of making adequate provision for this vital necessity.

"American industry should stand on its own feet hereafter and supply its own designs as well as its own goods. We should be wholly independent of any other nation. We should develop our own industrial arts and crafts—our own designers and craftsmen.

"The St. Louis Art League proposes to begin the work of arousing the business men at home. We want to awaken the manufacturers and the business men in and around St. Louis. The first step is the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts. If this is successfully organized, it will demonstrate not only what St. Louis industries have, but what they need. If it does nothing more than demonstrate the needs of our industries in the way of designs and designers, crafts and craftsmen, it will accomplish a great end. It will be the beginning of better things.

"In order to make this exposition a success in fully covering the field which it occupies, it will be necessary to have the cooperation, not merely of the members of the Art League, but of all the industrial and business organizations in St. Louis and in the St. Louis industrial district. The best-laid plans will not succeed unless the manufacturers and business men vitally interested in this subject join with the Art League in making the exposition a thoroughgoing success.

"We need the backing of the business men. We need their moral and financial support. We need their cooperation in obtaining exhibits of St. Louis industries and of industrial products on sale in St. Louis. The exposition is limited only in name to St. Louis and the St. Louis industrial district; we shall not put up the bars against manufacturers who are interested in St. Louis or against designers or schools of design, or movements similar to the art-league movement in other cities.

"We hope in this preliminary St. Louis exposition to lay the foundation for a great national exposition, which will exhibit the industrial arts and crafts of the United States. We hope eventually to have an international exposition.

"For the Art League and the advisory committee I ask the active and liberal support and cooperation of all the interests and organizations in St. Louis and of all individual St. Louisans.

"The success of the exposition will be a long step forward toward industrial and commercial supremacy. Out of it undoubtedly will grow the adequate facilities for teaching and training designers and craftsmen who are necessary for our industries."

THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND CRAFTS EXPOSITION.

[By Clark McAdams, chairman of the Executive Committee of the St. Louis Art League.]

"In undertaking the Industrial Arts and Crafts Exposition the St. Louis Art League is making the most ambitious effort in its career to prove itself useful to the community. What such an exposition will mean to the community is abundantly revealed upon other pages. What it will mean to the Art League is the thing which concerns us here. No other American art organization, so far as we know, has thus deliberately linked itself with business. Why this is so is difficult to understand. Surely American industry needs art. That need, as more than one writer in this issue points out, is to be the greater from this time on, when we shall seek to compete in foreign markets with an American marine. Where are the American designers

coming from in such a development? How are we to compete with the industrial art products of Germany, France, Italy, and Japan without having first trained American designers in the art of making manufactured things beautiful? The whole country is awakening to a realization of this. We are to have ships—but what are we to ship in them? We had not thought of that. We are thinking of it now. Every big city is moving to a common end of preparedness, and the Art League has taken the initiative in this movement in St. Louis. It ought to mean to the league a usefulness even beyond the expectation of its founders. It ought to mean to it greater strength and power. It ought to mean to it a stronger support from the community. It will mean these things. The league shall never come out of the time ahead as it went in. It shall come out immensely strengthened and proven—a real citizens' body in the promotion of art. They say in Chicago and some other cities that St. Louis is the best organized city in art in America. That probably is true. If it is not quite true, we are going to make it true; and its fruits shall be beautiful."

BLAZING THE PATHWAY.

[By Charles D. Platt, director of the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts.]

"My statement will deal only with some salient facts in relation to the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts as arranged by the St. Louis Art League, leading to a national exposition of similar character at a later date.

"From many sources and localities comes the testimony that the arts in America are coming into their own—a recognition brought about primarily through the war and its aftermath.

"In our work of rehabilitation, reconstruction, and looking forward into the future of world relations art looms up as one of the dominating factors.

"Art is destined to play a conspicuous part in the domain of world commerce, which beckons us with outstretched hands. For supremacy in design America is sadly in need of trained craftsmen. But first we must study our needs, deficiencies, and accomplishments.

"A decade ago we had here in St. Louis a distinguished citizen—the late Dr. Halsey C. Ives—whose life ambition was the furtherance of distinctive American art, not only in painting and sculpture, but also in the arts and crafts—the applied arts. To show what art meant in dollars and cents, he frequently carried with him a common railroad spike, worth intrinsically only a few cents, and a candleholder made from a similar piece of metal through art craftsmanship was enhanced in value several dollars.

"The St. Louis Art League, an outgrowth of the old art museum membership, proposes to carry out the ideas so long advocated by Dr. Ives in a practical manner through an industrial arts exposition here in the fall.

"In this exposition will be shown art in its various relations to the world of commerce, with the idea of stimulating craftsmanship and developing American style, so that 'Made in America' shall be synonymous with beauty as well as utility. Americanization can best be stimulated through the arts—the highest form for inculcating American ideas.

"To introduce beauty and the love of the beautiful into the lives of the people is the surest cure for social unrest. Take away the saloon and the substitution of beauty is imperative. 'Beautiful St. Louis' will be an asset second to none in drawing to itself and holding a gratified and contented people. Some cities, by making themselves less ugly, have increased real estate values 200 per cent. Beauty in the home means efficiency in the shop.

"No less an authority in practical matters than Charles M. Schwab pronounced in New York a few days ago that 'it is the duty of patriotic men and women to encourage movements which tend to develop the beautiful and the good. A successful civilization is one in which the love of the arts has been cultivated, and such a people need not fear Bolshevism.'

"Expositions of industrial art have been held successfully abroad, but St. Louis, the center of our population, will be the first city in America to blaze the pathway in this direction.

"Not only will there be 'still life' exhibits in this exhibition but processes will be illustrated; and it is proposed to have the arts deliver their messages to the public at the same time in various interpretations of music, drama, pageantry, interpretive dancing, etc., making a striking representation in this way of the things for which the St. Louis Art League stands in the community.

"There will be special lighting features and decorations, lectures, and docents, talks on house planning and interior decoration, the 'city beautiful,' planting of shrubbery, and so

on. Rooms will be built up before your eyes and a singer placed at the piano to sing a song or two, the audience joining in the chorus. Community service in the arts will be exemplified. Educational displays from the public schools, the School of Fine Arts, and demonstrations from hospitals in occupational therapy will be featured.

"The industrial life of this region will be in touch with the exposition at every point, whether it be through architecture, building materials, house furnishing, lighting devices, floral displays, the graphic arts, art metals, art fabrics of all descriptions, including fashions, leather novelties, art furniture, hardware labels, laces and embroideries, glass products, lithography, art dyes, art tiles, ornamental iron and bronze, art paints, awnings, photography, plastic relief work, printing processes, automobile accessories, saddlery, art shoes, fancy goods, stamping and enameling, terra cotta, upholstery, woodenware, theater and movie arts, and so on down the line.

"The Latin-American countries in particular demand artistry in the articles of commerce presented for their approval.

"As expositions of similar character when properly set forth and exploited have invariably netted certain sums of money for the organizations promoting the same, it is confidently expected that some moneys for future art-league activities in furthering the national exposition from suitable headquarters will be forthcoming.

"The Industrial Arts Exposition will occupy the Southern Hotel Building. The Southern Hotel was one of the most famous hostelrys in the United States. With parlors, ball-rooms, cafés, buffets, its many high-ceilinged rooms, and immense corridors, it provides the variety of room and space so necessary to exhibition purposes. Extending from Broadway or Fifth Street east to Fourth Street and from Walnut to Elm Street, the Southern Hotel Building is easily accessible from all parts of the city."

AMERICAN MADE FROM THE GROUND UP.

[By Jackson Johnson, chairman of the board of the International Shoe Co. and president of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.]

"The reconstruction of American business is bringing us face to face with many new conditions, the least important of which is by no means the question of designs. We can no longer look to Europe, with its training schools for applied art, to supply us designers. Their members have been greatly depleted by the war, and for the next decade Europe will retain all such well-trained men.

"America for the first time, and this is particularly true of St. Louis, is going forth to foreign nations of the world with her merchandise. There will be the keenest sort of competition between the greater nations of the world for this business. America will find herself selling to a class of trade that has been educated to seeking an article of utility plus one of appealing form and color. Usefulness, of course, is always the first essential, but our foreign customers, perhaps more than our domestic market, have been trained to seek articles expressed in design of pleasing form. Taste must be the keynote of American industry if we expect to compete successfully for our share of the vast foreign business. More especially does this apply to St. Louis, because we in this industrial center are making a bid for the big portion of Latin-American trade, which naturally belongs to us through the advantage of direct water-borne commerce. The Latin American is especially attracted and educated to the artistry of ordinary everyday merchandise.

"I construe art in industry to even extend to the manner in which we pack our foreign shipments. For instance, we have found through experience that this one small item has been one of the most serious drawbacks to an increase of foreign trading, because we did not understand the conditions under which the merchandise we were shipping would be handled and received; consequently the form in which we sent it was wholly unsatisfactory. This is all being changed through the application of our experience in this respect, and the successful packing and handling of our foreign shipments is, to my mind, but another phase of applied art in industry.

"The great industrial struggle for foreign trade must include the art value. The United States can not expect to create wares that will compete in the markets of the world so long as Europe dominates the field of designing art. Our goods must be after patterns and shapes of our own—distinctively American.

"We all know the advantage of a trade-mark, the big selling phase of a popularized brand. That is exactly the idea in truly American designs for our merchandise. I know, and all the business men know, the wonders which American minds accomplish once they assume the initiative. Once directed along the

lines of applied arts, the style and design in which our goods will reach foreign markets will be such as to retain the trade once secured. The patterns and models will appeal to the people they are made for—that's America's way when once started—and this appeal will hold them to the distinctively American article, purchasable only on the American market.

"So you see that in the readjustment of world trade good designing will not only be an investment but an asset. The objects of manufactured production must from now on possess more and more the inspiration of original designs—truly American trade.

"Art and industry at first mention do not seem to have analogous meanings, mainly because in this country we have until now failed to actually associate the two as commercial factors. Although we pride ourselves on being strictly adaptable to new requirements, we still think of art as pictures, sculptures, architecture, or music. Yet gradually, under the guise of advertising, window displays, etc., we have been admitting art into our realms of commerce. But the so-called higher arts and the application of art to industry have interested me only casually, because I am not in any sense a connoisseur of either, as some of my experience along this line has proven. But recently the importance of applied art has been brought forcefully to my attention in a purely business way. For example, the subdivision of our members' conferences composed of tailors recently stated that they were faced with a serious shortage of designing tailors, because the supply coming up through the ranks was not sufficient for their needs. They stated that the tailoring business was almost wholly dependent upon the influx of immigrants for their supply of cutters and designers, and that the bulk of these men came from Russia, and consequently none have been available since 1914.

"A little investigation showed me that since the World War started approximately 5,000,000 foreigners have been cut off from immigrating into the United States. The majority of these were, of course, of the common labor variety, whose absence is not in this article under consideration; but numbered among them were the designers, tailors, the superskilled originators of industrial patterns, upon whom America has been, unfortunately, largely dependent for its manufacturing designs.

"Now, the tailoring business is but a very small portion of our commercial life which is being confronted with the same situation. To Americans manufacturing has truly meant 'big business'; in other words, achieving a large selling figure.

"We have gone pellmell after bulk production, producing our output largely after the design of foreign makers or after patterns furnished us in this country by foreign-trained applied artists.

"So many people believe that art in industry means fancy work or overelaboration. It has no such meaning. No filigree or gimcrack work, unless that so happens to harmonize with the entire lines of the article of manufacture.

"I understand that there are more than a hundred trades demanding designers—artists in industry.

"We make, for example, about 10 per cent of the furniture of the country, and artistry of design plays an important rôle in this industry. St. Louis's printing industry is about 12 per cent of the Nation's production, and graphic art, a closely allied trade, is one of the most emphasized among foreign applied-art schools. The same improvement of our leadership through arts and crafts training could be applied to all of our industries—shoes, hardware, tile, woodenware, jewelry, metal stamping, etc.

"To be sure, skilled craftsmen of this sort could not be produced overnight. In Europe it takes a six years' course, starting at 16 or 17 years of age, four years' general and two years' special training in applied art; but education along these lines seems our only remedy.

"An industrial-arts exhibit is to be held in St. Louis this year. This will go far toward demonstrating the necessity of combining beauty with utility in our St. Louis plants, all of whom, our own plants included, have paid but little heed to art's relation to commerce.

"An impression such as an exhibit of this sort is bound to make should foster a general demand for a great school of industrial art in St. Louis, an institution in which fundamental instruction in the art trades will augment in the Central West the number of high-class designers and original craftsmen, which will in turn increase our industrial domination and world trade.

"There are few such schools in America. With the Rankin Trade School, distinctively a St. Louis institution, and our two big universities to form the nucleus for such an American seat of applied-art learning, St. Louis could early establish an American leadership in this respect."

BUSINESS MANAGERS, ART, AND EFFICIENCY.

[By Sam Hellman, editor the Republic.]

"Among other natural causes of industrial unrest is the leveling of workers to the sordid task of reproducing ugly things. A sense of depression, a hopelessness, goes with the helpless reiteration of what is ugly and uninspiring. The laissez faire system that holds too much of manhood down toward mere machinery is a bad side of our vaunted industrial era. We have abandoned or neglected ideality in the arts because that quality was not inherent in the machines upon which we have come to completely depend—somewhat as a slave-owning people take an impress from the ostensibly subservient race that thus becomes an exaggerated Frankenstein. Absorbed in replacing sinews by stronger, quicker, cheaper, mechanical levers and bands for profit, we have somewhat overlooked the creative association of sinews with brains in the higher and more human industrial arts.

"Next to one who imagines and creates a beautiful thing is the one who enjoys it and helps to reproduce its beauty for the enjoyment of others. With every effort that has the ideal of beauty before it, is there not an exultation? Surely the joy of the worker in the production of a more beautiful thing, through higher workmanship and finer use of machinery, should be a vital factor in that contentment which captains of industry now desire.

"The Lord looked upon what he had done and saw that it was good.' That was his recompense. Who can doubt that, could he look upon the work of his hand and recognize beauty, the industrial worker of America would consider it in some sort a recompense? He must indeed feel depressed and trodden down often enough in the thought that all his labor is for what has but the spirit of blind moneygrubbing—all for a short-sighted utilitarianism in whose eyes art is a ghost unbelieved in.

"It may not be so easy for business managers to see this. No doubt it is easier for them to understand the worker's stomach, which they know will not now be too content with the old tin pail, or his skin, which it is now understood responds glowingly to a cool shower bath, or even his end-of-the-day cousinship to 'the tired business man,' which calls for motion pictures and picnics; but has he not, too, his spirit, his soul?

"For some workers the need of individual expression, of spiritual expansion, is absolute. Shut in and bound about with conditions that may not prove onerous to their less imaginative coworkers, it is precisely these men and women of finer possibilities who are directly antagonized by a system ignoring the quality they would so gladly contribute. They are, indeed, an asset wasted and denied, the talent thrown away by the nation. Art in industry would open the door for this individual expression, this creative power, and in doing so would open the doors of the ports all over the world to the model products of the United States.

"In this latter fact, because the world loves beauty, is the far-reaching commercial appeal of the movement for better American design. The direct appeal to the 'practical minded,' both among business men and wage workers, is, of course, in this fact, that beautiful things are worth more money, and that those who make them can 'make more money.' Much is being said about the world's trade, looked upon now as in a state of flux and more than usually susceptible to influence, and the most obvious thing about the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts is that in educating the American manufacturer, the American workman, the American merchant, to an understanding of just how art can be utilized in commerce it will be a large factor in drawing trade, and better trade, to St. Louis.

"An adequate exposition of art in St. Louis will open the eyes of our people not only to the value of art in expanding commerce, but also to its subtler value, as it renders more worth the living the life that our industries and commerce buy. We should learn now what true art, public art, municipal art, community art, can do to make more beautiful the city, its common places, its homes, and its hours of work and play. In such an enterprise there is hardly an organization or group of St. Louisans without a place. The opportunities open before us. Let all the city join to bring them into the foreground of reality."

THE BASIS OF INDUSTRIAL ART.

[By John G. Lonsdale, president of the National Bank of Commerce in St. Louis.]

"Art for the dollar's sake" may sound rather offensive to some aesthetic ears, but it is the one appeal which will develop the designers and craftsmen which industrial America needs in such large numbers. The artists' calling must be made more attractive from a material viewpoint. We must arrive at the point where the young man with his dream of money and fame

will ask himself: 'What shall I be—lawyer, banker, artist, or merchant?' Under existing conditions how many ambitious young men will include, or can afford to include, the calling of artist in the list of vocations open to them? Yet industrial art, under proper conditions of remuneration, should attract an able and idealistic element of our young manhood, for the highest faculty of the mind is that of creation, and creation is the very basis of industrial art. Those who regard 'Art for art's sake' as the only proper conception of the subject need not be concerned over the movement to commercialize artistic efforts. There will be many graduates into the field of fine arts, just as reportorial work on newspapers is so often the beginning of literary careers.

"It is hard for the average person to conceive of anyone who bears the title of 'artist' as being necessary to the personnel of a manufacturing establishment. Art is popularly thought of as an avocation rather than a vocation. And yet the creative powers of the artist have had some part in the production of 99 per cent of the manufactured articles and implements which minister to the wants and desires of civilized man in this age.

"The human race has departed very far from the stage when clothing merely served to cover the body or when furniture was constructed solely for the purpose of answering simple household needs. It is not sufficient that a thing possess utilitarian value; it must also possess that kind of beauty which harmonizes with the use to which the thing is to be put. A steam engine is artistically constructed when its appearance reflects power; a racing automobile when it reflects speed; a summer garment when it looks cool and light; and a winter garment when it appears snug and warm. Every phase of business is based on selling, while every kind of selling is an appeal to human nature. And what, pray, is more inherent in human nature than love of the beautiful?

"Industrial America has been accustomed to borrow either artists or artistry from other countries. But we must cease to borrow. Europe has no man power of any kind to spare us; her supply is too badly depleted. And, too, we have plans for the invasion of foreign markets which make it essential that there be originality of design in our manufactured goods. We can not continue to rely on quantity production to hold our place in the export fields. In satisfying Latin-American industrial tastes, especially will there be need of industrial artists who can cater to broad racial preferences as to the designing and packing of goods.

"On the whole, the situation confronting us is very peculiar. The American public, though its artistic sense is not as highly developed as in some other countries, is yet influenced more than it knows in its day-to-day purchases by the work of the industrial artist. Nor are the leaders of industry themselves fully aware of the importance of originality of design and craftsmanship in the products of their factories. Hence we have the anomalous situation of needing an army of industrial artists and yet not being conscious of the need. Under such circumstances only one thing will answer: It is education.

"The interest of the public in art and beauty must be more thoroughly awakened. Leaders of business should be aroused to the essentiality of art in industry. Then will arise a demand for industrial artists at attractive salaries, which demand in turn will provide students for the art schools to be established.

"The Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts in St. Louis is but the beginning of the movement. This exposition will put St. Louis to the fore in a necessary and laudable line of national endeavor. It will attract wide attention and possess great advertising and educational value. It should be liberally supported."

INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND CRAFTS.

[By Edward J. Troy, secretary Manufacturers' Association of St. Louis.]

"The imminent expansion of the trade and commerce of the Middle West, not only in the domestic but also in the foreign field, has created an acute demand for an exposition of certain products of this section, which appears to those in touch with the situation to be as necessary as are well-considered plans for actual trade expansion.

"We may talk and preach until we grow hoarse and tired concerning our resources and extensive manufactured products, but if we do not see them and feel them in the concrete all our vocalized effort resolves itself into visions of indefiniteness and glittering generalities. Every living inhabitant of this section has an interest, directly or indirectly, in selling its products to the world, and he can not keep selling the idea if he has not seen that in which he is to have a part in exploiting.

"The Louisiana Purchase Exposition was the greatest school ever attended by our people of the Middle West, and prior to it was the highly prized Annual St. Louis Exposition. Their lessons require an up-to-date review, and the session of the Mis-

souri Legislature recently adjourned proposed to authorize a creditable exposition in St. Louis which would commemorate the admission of Missouri into the Union of States. Financial necessities only prevented the passage of the proposed legislation.

"Accordingly the plan of the St. Louis Art League for an industrial arts and crafts exposition can well be regarded as being not only opportune but in principle regarded as most desirable by our State legislators.

"During the period of war activity all efforts in the direction of exhibits and expositions were of necessity repressed, but the time has arrived when not only commercial necessity but the popular demand justifies the inauguration of enterprises of this character.

"It goes without saying that any creditable and complete presentation of the varied industrial art products of the manufacturing industries of this section will not only astonish and surprise visitors from our foreign-trade territory, but will also surprise and awaken our own citizens by the vast growth in quantity and variety of the output of the St. Louis industrial district."

THE ARTS AND THE RETAILERS.

[By Melville L. Wilkinson, president of the Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co., president of the Mermod-Jaccard-King Jewelry Co., president of the Associated Retailers of St. Louis.]

"The modern department store at its best represents the choicest wares and manufactured products that are to be obtained at home or abroad. We search the markets of the world, and always in our thought and scrutiny and study is that quality of attractiveness, beauty in form or design—things that will give pleasure and gratification not only for their usefulness but for their pleasing qualities to the eye and to the soul.

"In comparatively recent years the great windows of the modern stores set forth daily for the education and attraction of the passers by, in beautiful colors and in unique settings, the choice productions of the loom and of the factory. The art of window dressing has become a highly specialized function, and the great merchandise emporiums have corps of people, competent designers and craftsmen, under highly paid specialists, who create daily visions of beauty and art that make picture galleries and interiors of home and beautifully gowned figurines with a touch of flowers or autumn leaves added to the setting—or what you will—giving the 'one touch of nature.'

"It would seem that we have everything in America to make a happy, contented, and prosperous people. But now we must go a step further and add something to the national life for which we have relied upon European countries in the past, either in the form of designs or in the bringing here of foreign designers. Here we have a great country, but it must be great not only in bulk—which does not truly constitute greatness—but our country must be great in the finer things of life, the intangible things, what Marshal Foch called 'the imponderables,' the things of beauty and spirit.

"The modern store is a great educational influence when properly set forth and is a place of exhibition itself; but we need from time to time expositions which point out particular needs and phases of industrial life, getting from them the inspiration for higher ideals in the different forms of expression which make for advancement along lines of practical endeavor.

"One of the paramount needs of the moment in this country is for American designs and designers in the arts and crafts, and for that reason we need the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts at the Southern Hotel Building this fall under the management of the St. Louis Art League. This exposition will certainly open our eyes in more ways than one, for we will doubtless find that there are many things in which we are lacking as to purely American design. But there will be presented for our edification, entertainment, and instruction many forms of American art industry and the exemplification of the arts and crafts that we did not know were in our midst.

"It is for the manufacturers to awaken to the needs of our country and provide the means of filling these needs, and it is for the retailers to aid and abet them in every way possible. So let us have a splendid industrial arts exposition this year and a national exposition of like character the year following at St. Louis."

THE WORLD APPRECIATION OF BEAUTY.

[By Frank W. Taylor, jr., managing editor of the St. Louis Star.]

"The decision of friends of art here to hold an exposition of industrial arts and crafts, showing the value of design in industries, is to be wholly commended and earnestly furthered by friends of St. Louis. Since the first caravan that bore the rich weaves of the East across to Europe, trade has followed the appeal to appreciation of the beautiful. When Venice could make this appeal the Italian mart succeeded Bagdad in drawing tribute

from the trading world; when France drew out the wonderful spirit of her people and put it into myriad forms of useful things, the world yielded yet greater tribute; when practical Germany realized what France and England had done to beautify objects of household and personal use, and what was the influence of this process upon their relations with the world, the greatest human machine in history was set to the task of a similar development, and gradually the Koniglicher and Kaiserlichen institutions for the development of design in industry had their effect, and the slogan 'Made in Germany' rang round the world to keep the ministries of rival powers awake o' nights. This stage has again been brushed away, as the industrious spider's web might be, and the field is open now for American enterprise.

"It is to be a larger field than history has known, for the world is awakening to new desires, new appreciations, new idealities. Europe, now accepting American leadership in many things, will turn favorable eyes upon American industrial products if they combine attractiveness with economy. To the south is another great continent, which should look forward to the Delta of the Mississippi and to this great central city upon the river shores for many things. But the world contends for the trade of South America, and unless genuine American design replaces our ineffectual and indifferent following of French and German and other European art patterns in our manufactures all the propinquity which the Mississippi Valley possesses as compared with the Rhine will not prevail to turn into customers those down the river friends.

"We, too, must have schools of design. We also must have art-in-industry expositions. Our people, our workmen, our manufacturers, our salesmen, must learn discrimination between the fit and the ugly. Above all, perhaps, Americans must become familiar with the best that America produces and must come to a consciousness, whether reasoned or instinctive, of those consistencies in Americanism, those consistencies of spirit, which as they develop are destined to create an American art and command the admiration of the world.

"St. Louis in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition set an example of the expansion of the concept of art and, admitting artistic workmanship into the fine-arts department in an unexampled degree, brought nearer the day when the most appreciated art will be that which most serves the people through beautifying their environment, their utensils, their daily occupations.

"St. Louis now is to constitute better industrial design and workmanship a central idea in great art expositions, and out of this creative enterprise is to come a new American industrial era."

BEAUTY AND UTILITY IN THE HOME.

[By Mrs. B. F. Bush, formerly State chairman for Missouri of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense.]

"So much depends upon the home and the environment of the growing generation that too much thought can not be given to the means for making attractive our housing for home dwellers, not only inside the dwelling but also the immediate surrounding.

"The Europeans, especially the French people, are great lovers of the home, and this intensifies the love for the land of their birth and makes for an intense patriotism. There are so many furnishings used abroad to which the distinguishing touch of art has lent its attractiveness to the necessary articles of everyday life that on returning to this country we are apt to miss something of this innate refinement in taste which so much adds to the joy of life.

"During the war England found it desirable to stop right in the middle of war operations and provide suitable housing conditions for its groups of war workers, calling them 'garden cities,' wherein were provided many attractive features both as to beauty and recreation. Several hundred million dollars were spent in this way and proved a good investment, as the added efficiency of the workers amid proper home surroundings made them more capable in their avocations, thereby making more than good any labor and time expended in this direction during the tremendously stressful period of the World War.

"We have relied upon foreign designers and craftsmen hitherto for our artistic inspirations, which were carried out in the finished product. But now we are at a standstill with this channel of supply cut off. We are left to our own resources, and it is necessary that we rise promptly to the emergency, as we always have when confronted by obstacles, difficulties, and dangers. In no better way, in my estimation, can the resources and the lack of resources in the industrial arts and crafts be better shown than in the exposition of the St. Louis Art League, to be held in the Southern Hotel Building in October.

"When confronted with the problem of such magnitude as presents itself in the field of design in this country at this time,

the first thing to be done, from the standpoint of efficiency, is to make a survey of the arts and crafts as related to industry in this, our own regional district, thereby establishing a scale of display that can be properly and successfully utilized in furthering a national exposition of this character in St. Louis another year.

"The love of beauty is implanted in the human breast by the Creator of all things and can not be eradicated. It may be obscured or choked off or trampled upon by greed and shortsightedness, but it will rise, like truth, triumphant from the welter of base things and assume its true position in the universal plan for the enjoyment of mankind the world over.

"We must make of St. Louis a more beautiful city. We must make the homes of St. Louis and the immediate surroundings of the homes beautiful, for that is the only way to make of St. Louis the great city which natural location and advantages have destined it to be."

BEAUTY IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS.

[By Casper S. Yost.]

"St. Louis is asked to step forward again as the leader in American art spirit. We are to encore our great performance of a world's fair that set a pace for the nations. An organization of St. Louisans has engaged an ample building, one intimately wrought with the fine old traditions that lie behind the 'New St. Louis,' and here we are to set forth in pictured and material array, with many attractive features to appeal to public interest, the invasion of art into a field which many Americans perhaps have fondly thought exempt or immune.

"We are to picture for ourselves and show the country what art means to industry and how it can expand the commerce of the United States. We have arrived where we should no longer be content merely to turn things out bigger and faster than anybody else, but must also make things better—must even make them beautiful. The world wants better things. Because of this the world has paid tribute to all the countries that have excelled in the arts, not in painting particularly, not in sculpture, but in weaving, in printing, in metal work, in pottery and ceramics—indeed, in a hundred, perhaps a thousand, directions of endeavor where attractiveness of design can be added to usefulness.

"It is truly time for American industrial captains to do more than consider the desirability of American leadership in this field, which the world regards as the finer and nobler side of manufactures and industries.

"We have not yet the strength to deny that the American business man has shrugged his shoulders somewhat at 'art'; it must be left to later writers, sustained by a background of achievement, to repel with indignation the charge that American business men could be so naive. But truly this shrugging of the shoulders has not been a criticism or denial of art, only a feeling that American industry had not yet attained the stage at which art should enter in. Of course, there could be no 'art' in a 'horseless carriage.' Art comes with the formation of character. It is indeed the business of art to interpret character in terms of beauty.

"But are we any longer in that 'horseless-carriage' stage of industrial advancement? Are we not, on the contrary, at the stage of the stream-line automobile, in which art and science find common voice and fulfill the spirit of the age in a harmonious expression of human aspirations and attainment?

"The arts of design will play a wonderful part in the America of immediately coming decades; and the American spirit, 'finding itself' in this illimitable vehicle of expression, modern art, will be felt as never before in every mart of the world. The St. Louis business men who are contributors to this symposium of St. Louis initiative and forethought put forth by the Art League will be proud of their foresightedness and of the leadership they have claimed for St. Louis. The St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts should be made not only a national epoch marker but also a generative force for American supremacy in the world's new era."

ARTS AND CRAFTS AND THE WOMAN.

[By Mrs. George Gellhorn, president of the Missouri Woman's Suffrage Association.]

"'Woman's sphere is the home and its surroundings,' is a truism in which women glory. The longing to establish and beautify her individual home, and the home group, the city, state, and nation, is as natural to her as any other instinct. It is only when war, or other circumstances that are too strong for her, deny her the fulfillment of this craving that we see the home destroyed and the social group to which it belongs become a potential menace.

"To fight and protect the home is an instinct common to man and woman alike. In the World War, men and women of every nation fought, in the final analysis, for their homes; to protect these homes, if possible, and to prevent their future destruction by war. This ideal inspired heretofore unimagined sacrifices. The war is ended. Women may go back to their normal pursuit of home-making.

"Now comes the question, What are we going to do with our homes, with our country, with our national life? The answer is, that the great problems coming to us as an aftermath of the war must be confronted with the same zeal, energy, foresight, and whole-heartedness, that characterized this country during the period of storm and stress through which we have passed. We are hungry, after the cruelty of the last four years, for a better and brighter future, and beauty in every form.

"Where are we to look for help to beautify our American homes and cities and the lives lived in them? We have counted too long on help from outside. Owing to the 'shut-off' in the supply of European designs and designers we now realize the need for American designers and craftsmen. We want to furnish suitable goods of artistic merit for our home markets, and also to make our goods stand second to none in the marts of the world, which are open and eager to receive our manufactured products, provided that in addition to other excellencies they have the artistic finish and style essential to satisfy critical tastes.

"For the purpose of surveying our needs in this direction for this district, the St. Louis Art League has inaugurated the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts, to be held in the Southern Hotel Building in October.

"The women of St. Louis will welcome this opportunity to study the arts in their application to home-making—some women will play an intimate part in the exposition as designers and exhibitors; all women will cooperate in working for the success of the undertaking. St. Louis is to be congratulated upon having such a vitally far-reaching movement."

THE VALUE OF EXPOSITIONS.

[By John J. Burns, superintendent of the commercial department of the Laclede Gas Light Co.]

"A complete enumeration of the multifarious values of expositions that come to the mind of one after 12 years of personal experience with such enterprises would fill volumes. At best, therefore, the subject here can be discussed only in a general and rather summary manner.

"The benefits to be derived from an exposition usually can be classified in three distinct groups:

- "First, its educational value to the community;
- "Second, its commercial value to the exhibitors;
- "Third, its financial value to the management.

"As a rule the success of any exposition is judged directly in the ratio of the benefits that accrue to each of these three interests. An exposition must first of all have a true educational value for the community, or at least for a large portion of it, before it brings anything of value to the exhibitors. The latter, in turn, must reap a tangible return for their investment in the shape of genuine publicity, business-meaning inquiries, or actual orders, before the undertaking may be considered a financial success by the managers.

"My experiences in the management of the first food show, in February of 1918, the second food show, in December, 1918, both conducted under the auspices of the Federal Food Administration, and the National Exposition and Household Show in May, 1919, conducted under the auspices of the St. Louis Community Kitchens Association, have convinced me that irrespective of the financial return to the management an exposition can not be considered a success unless it has engendered sufficient good will among both the public and the exhibitors to create a feeling of expectancy for a second performance. The St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts leads up naturally to a national exposition a year later.

"The truly successful exposition does not merely afford entertainment for the curiosity seeking and an opportunity for souvenir or sample distribution for the exhibitor. That exposition is a genuine success which brings to its displays the worker, the business man, and the housewife seeking knowledge, not gifts, efficiency, not distraction. It is the latter exposition that has lasting and far-reaching effects. An educational feature of great value in the Industrial Arts Exposition will be the working 'processes' shown.

"It is my experience that the working exhibit is the most forceful kind. The wide-awake man and woman of to-day want to 'see how it is done.' The working exhibit leaves a correct and lasting impression. The still exhibit, on the other hand, is not to be derided; although leaving the method of opera-

tion at the mercy of the imagination of the visitors, it paves the way for understanding and appreciation.

"As to the St. Louis Exposition of Arts and Crafts, it occurs to me that its very location presages its success. There is a certain sentiment attached to the old Southern Hotel building that puts most St. Louisans in a receptive frame of mind. The mere sight or mention of the old building brings interesting recollections to many of us and this should be reflected in the quality and quantity of the attendance of an exposition here."

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 17, 1919.]
"INDUSTRIAL ART IN ST. LOUIS."

"The Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts which the St. Louis Art League has planned for October 15, in the Southern Hotel building, directs public attention to a subject of vital importance to American business. It ought to be of great value to St. Louis industry and trade.

"In extending its activities to the promotion of design and craftsmanship in industry, the Art League has placed St. Louis in the forefront of a nation-wide movement to this end. American leaders in finance, industry, commerce, and art have awakened to the necessity of providing original design and skilled craftsmanship to American industry. The purposes of the movement are several fold.

"One is cultural development of art standards and taste in articles of common use.

"Another is to meet competition in the home market and the world market.

"Design is a fundamental necessity of practically all industrial production. Good design—the combination of beauty with utility—is necessary to successful competition in trade. Other things being equal, the beauty of the model, the attractiveness of the design, is the winning point of salesmanship in all lines of trade, from clocks to chairs and from automobiles to stoves. It is one of the chief points of advertising. Hundreds of articles might be mentioned—architectural necessities, house furniture, furnishings, and decorations, clothing, carpets, rugs, and other textiles; laces, brass, glass, and pottery—in which good design is essential to successful marketing. In a great variety of articles design takes precedence of quality.

"American business is preparing to enter competition in the world market on a large scale. We are organizing banks of exchange and credit systems and industrial plants and commercial agencies for the purpose. Of what avail will all these organizations and investments be if we can not deliver the goods that will sell?

"Hitherto American industry has copied designs from Europe for our domestic market or has used imported designers and craftsmen or American designers and craftsmen trained in European schools and by European teachers.

"Conditions have changed since the war. Europe has need of all her designers and is preparing to train many more. Great Britain has 40 schools of design and France at least 30 under Government encouragement. Germany before the war was a leader in schools of design and in exhibitions of industrial arts and crafts intended specifically to exchange ideas and stimulate originality of design and best combinations of beauty with utility in manufactures.

"In order to compete with Europe we must provide our own designers and craftsmen, and we ought to do it under any circumstances. American industry should stand upon its own feet and fight for business with its own standards of industrial arts and crafts. We must win supremacy in industrial art as we have won it in industrial organization and efficiency.

"The St. Louis exposition will give our manufacturers an opportunity to show what they have. If it also shows what they need and arouses them to a full realization of what our industry requires it will be invaluable. Out of it will come an effort to provide a sufficient supply of designers and craftsmen through adequate schools of design.

"It is understood that the exposition of next autumn is only preliminary to a greater exposition of national or international scope. Its success is dependent upon not only the interest but the active support and cooperation of business men. Surely they will realize how desirable it is that this first effort in this line of progress in St. Louis shall be an unqualified success."

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, July 11, 1919.]
"INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND CRAFTS EXPOSITION."

"The St. Louis Art League is receiving cordial responses from the multitude of organizations it has invited to cooperate in making the four weeks' exposition of industrial arts and crafts, to begin at the old Southern Hotel building October 15,

such a success as will attract attention to St. Louis from every direction. This is a matter that really concerns everybody interested in the material welfare of St. Louis. Even such as shudder at the word 'art'—because it brings to mind long-haired youths of eccentric dress, more eccentric ideas and irregular habits and their weird products, taken for picture puzzles until 'interpreted'—can appreciate industrial arts and crafts. This form of art does not mean gewgaws and gaudiness. There are designs for some articles that are often riotous, without offense to the most esthetic taste. Wall paper, for example, contains flowers that would make a botanist fear he had delirium tremens. No mathematician could classify all the figures on rugs. But how monotonous rooms would become without this nature faking? There is practically no part of a building or its contents whose appeal to the eye is not due to artistic cunning. This is especially true of the things of simple, unostentatious beauty.

"But art is concerned with almost all finished products, although many may be as amazed at the fact as Moliere's character was at learning he had been speaking prose without knowing it. There is scarcely an article of commerce, except raw materials, that does not owe much of its attractiveness to the designer and the skill of manual or mechanical execution. This applies not only to all cloths, jewelry, and gimcracks, but to all fabrics of wood and metal. It applies also to containers of all kinds. There must be quality, of course, to make an article a permanent success, but it would be difficult to overestimate the selling power of 'looks.' Hence, designing becomes a thing of vast commercial importance and art becomes intensely practical.

"A great manufacturing center like St. Louis can not longer depend on imported talent for this purpose. Neither can America rely on Europe, if it is to take its proper place in world commerce. We must have our own distinctive designs and they must not fall behind those of Europe. The St. Louis exposition will be a revelation and an inspiration and it should receive universal support."

[From the St. Louis Republic, July 13.]
"INDUSTRIAL ART."

"The Republic has been glad to support the big commercial and educational idea resulting in the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts, which is to be held in this city, opening October 15, for four weeks.

"The distinction comes naturally to St. Louis, of stepping into the country's leadership in this vital matter, and our city should the more wholeheartedly carry out a national service. St. Louis had a true public museum, an educational art institution, accessible to the people and open, free, every Sunday, in days when the Metropolitan Museum in New York (open except Sunday from 10 until 4) was 'public' but in name. In those early days, too, our St. Louis Museum had other unique, popular educational features, including free lectures to workmen and students on the application of art to industries. Later, the same spirit went out of St. Louis and its pioneer museum into the World's Columbian Exposition, when St. Louis lent its art director, Halsey C. Ives, to be chief of that exposition's art department, and the art department classification was broadened out, so as to include upon an equal basis of democratic spirit and fair appraisal all forms of application of the art principle in human works, without regard to media, but with all regard for excellence and originality.

There has been a vehement charge that democracy destroys art, and, therefore, is inimical to the high development of the race. Overleaping the fact that freedom ever has been the mother of true art, the charge rests upon certain obvious shortcomings of our own half-baked 'industrial era.' Democracy is viewed as a sort of leveling process, introducing a continuous social 'turnover' that unfortunately prevents the maintenance of a pet caste in contact with the beautiful and, therefore, capable of its appreciation. And democracy's answer is to spread beauty broadcast and make the beautiful accessible and appreciable by all, part of the environment of all.

"The first effect of modern machine production, of course, was to emphasize the argument against democracy by multiplying vastly the production of the commonplace. Yet ideality also can be served by the designer of machines, and some of the wonderful achievements in mechanical engineering have been in this field. The Jacquard loom, which may weave patterns at will in literally infinite variety, is but one example of a great development by which machinery can raise the standards of modern democracy above those of history, and in a double way freeing the worker from drudgery and anti-idealism, while bringing democracy and art together in the workshop and the home.

"The lands which are to claim the higher civilization, and whose works are to pervade and dominate the earth, are those whose machines are made to serve the ideals of the people, and not set up limitations upon ideality.

"More and more are machine products given purposeful form, and more and more does this purposefulness accommodate itself to—nay, insist upon—attractiveness and beauty.

"How far is our country to become a leader in this world movement? That issue is now being put to trial in St. Louis. Let us trust that, like the Chicago and St. Louis world's fairs, and perfecting what they and the old St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts began, the coming St. Louis Exposition shall mark an epoch of Americanization in art."

[From the St. Louis Times, July 14.]

"ART IN INDUSTRY.

"The enterprise of St. Louis in staging at this time a great educational exposition of art in industry, we may say, is characteristic of the truest Americanism. St. Louis is solidly constructive. We build. We have shown the country, in past operations, how the spirit of democracy and culture, with the interests of commerce, should go hand in hand to make this the unblemished land of human aspiration. We of St. Louis gave the world the greatest of fairs, and in its building we made art the keystone of the arch, setting precedents which long established 'art centers' are fain to recognize.

"Our action then widened the domain of art in the appreciation of the people, so as to include its application in unexampled degree. Now we are laying before the country the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts, as a pioneer educational step toward the great renaissance of art which surely must come as the crowning of our industrial era. Modern manufactures as they approach perfection must aim for and attain beauty. Anything less means a slur upon our civilization. And anything less so far as the United States are concerned—let us speak practically, in light of facts—means that our industrial products shall suffer in open competition and shall be driven from the marts of the world, or enjoy but precarious foothold.

"The practical immediate purpose of the Industrial Design Exposition, inaugurated by the St. Louis Art League and fostered by the Chamber of Commerce, Washington University, and other industrial, educational, and civic bodies, and to be held in the Southern Hotel Building, opening October 15 for four weeks, is to present a survey of our present state in this field, bringing out for appreciation and encouragement all that is best, and leading to an adequately organized national movement, with appropriate exhibitions, museums, and schools of design, and the varied means that have been found effective by other countries seeking to make their industries supreme in the eyes of the world."

[From the St. Louis Star, July 17.]

"AMERICAN ARTS AND CRAFTS.

"During recent years there has been growing thought along the line of developing an American school of design for the practical application of art in industry. For no apparent reason other than backwardness, America has left the creation of industrial design largely to European competitors. Europe continued a steady advance in the practical application of art in industry and America merely adopted the suggestions without any effort at American originality. More recently, however, American ideas have been emboldened to invade the field of industrial design. Now it is becoming the consensus of opinion that nothing except the necessary effort would be required to establish American preeminence in that field of endeavor.

"It is in the development of this movement that the St. Louis Art League is arranging for the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts to be held this fall. The exposition will be a pioneer affair. The plan is to follow it next year with a national exposition, after which, it is hoped, American schools of design will be established and industrial designing will become distinctively an American enterprise.

"It will be a pleasing distinction for St. Louis to be the pioneer in bringing about world-wide recognition of American types in art as embodied in industrial production. Once the American design in industrial art becomes firmly established, the American manufacturer will stand on an equal footing with manufacturers everywhere, in lines in which America heretofore has negligently taken second place to foreign competitors. The world is entering into a new industrial era, and it is particularly fitting that American industrial arts and crafts should have the benefit of every possible impetus. The exposition to be held in St. Louis will be an impetus of the needed kind."

[From the Reedy's Mirror, July 24.]

"FOR ART IN INDUSTRY.

"[By F. E. A. Curley.]

"Busy preparations are making for the pioneer St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts, to be opened October 15, for four weeks' display at the Southern Hotel Building, under the initiative of the St. Louis Art League, with cooperation by the Chamber of Commerce, Washington University, and the other civic, educational, and business interests of the city.

"Indeed, two expositions are now in the making, the first a more distinctively local show in which the art that is in St. Louis will play a leading rôle, with exemplary exhibits from other parts of the country; the second, a more generally American and national show, for which this year's collection is to be the experimental forerunner and rehearsal. As the better American industries movement already is growing to be a first concern of reconstruction times, there may be vigorous competition yet for next year's event. At the moment, however, St. Louis leads, having been awake and waiting at the switch for the moment when its electricity could be turned on.

"In many a European city a beauty-in-every-day-things display beyond what St. Louis may get together would have been quickly assembled, and taken rather as a matter of course and routine—before the war. But in St. Louis, in America, we have had no expositions of design and workmanship. Most of us little realize 'what they are for.'

"A recent letter to Reedy's Mirror by Richard F. Bach, industrial arts associate at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, calling for united action to meet the urgent American business need for 50,000 designers, threw light upon this question. If the country must provide this number of industrial artists, St. Louis, for instance, should produce several thousand—but hardly is prepared to produce any. Yet a much larger number will be called for, as this vast country's business men wrestle seriously with the practical task before it, of competing 'on its own' with a deadly earnest world.

"Our museums will have to take a new progressive trend and a new lease on life to answer the requirements of a country that at last is finding the practical use for them. They must be modernized. The museum of to-morrow is to be as different from the museum of yesterday as the public library of to-day is different—radically, almost unrecognizably different—from the half-hearted, semi-hemi-demi-public institutions of several years ago, which was hedged about by restrictions and impracticalities separating it from popular utility. The American art school, too, must emerge from the stage in which it has sleepily imitated parent institutions that themselves represented only a narrow segment of art education abroad.

"A thorough stock taking of St. Louis as to art and all industrial refinement is to be one of the wholesome services of the more local exposition this year.—A similar service for the country at large will, in itself, justify the more general national exposition next year.

"These pictures will not be wholly in somber colors. Admittedly far behind as to that practical appreciation of the beautiful which finds expression in attractive, self-advertising manufactures, Americans little realize how much fine art nevertheless has gone into American industrial productions, how many thousands of designers even now are utilized by our manufacturers and business men in the multifarious fields where beauty is a selling power, and how revealing an exposition we are destined to see this fall.

"It will be disclosed that, without waiting for the European war, the beginnings of an American renaissance in art already had come into view in the period following the World's Columbian and St. Louis World's Fairs. The war simply made the new movement a business necessity. Industries of creditable artistic merit have sprung up. The silk industries in New Jersey, the looms and furniture works of New York and New England, the furniture center at Grand Rapids, the Rookwood Pottery, the Newcomb Pottery, and various ceramic and glass works about the country, are examples. Miss Mary Powell, in a recent article in Reedy's Mirror, described a collection of silks and damasks from the Cheney Mills, of South Manchester, Conn., exhibited in her public library art department, as an incident of this development. These mills have worked up excellent designs by reproducing, adapting, and deriving from the work of other countries and times. How the museums may lend themselves to such industrial development is well instanced, for the New York, Boston, and Chicago museums contributed their stores of information to the Cheney designers.

"St. Louis has sporadically inaugurated better than she has continued in this field, again illustrating the need of organized support, such as is now undertaken. Thus there was, for a

time, in St. Louis, before the war, the Ozark Pottery, in which Robert Porter Bringham did good work. Grand fire porcelain also were turned out here by Taxile Doat, a master of glaze and color mechanism, and by Mrs. Adelaide Alsop Robineau, who added a fine intuitive quality to excellent craft knowledge. Some of the work in copper, bronze, brass, and silver by Charles Percy Davis is worthy of noble art collections. Ceramic decoration by Mrs. Katherine E. Cherry has been acclaimed in other parts of the country. Pottery made by Henrietta Ord Jones, of the School of Fine Arts, also has found its best recognition in the eastern exhibitions. Bookbinding by Miss Baker and Miss Bulkley is well executed. There have been good carvers here. Plastic relief work done in St. Louis compares well with the architectural ornament produced in New York. Some of the costumes designed for the unique dramatic enterprises for which St. Louis has achieved some fame have been remarkably effective. Stage settings extemporized here have shown that St. Louis designers are familiar with the later phases of that art. Jewelry design is carried on individually by a number of clever young women of School of Fine Arts training, as well as upon a larger industrial scale by firms whose products vie in quality with those of other cities. This may be said also of leather work, bookbinding, toys, and other industries where art has entered. The list might be extended indefinitely, but here is enough to justify exhibitions which would familiarize people with some of the possibilities of the handicrafts and the factories.

"St. Louis is active in its aesthetic thinking, and already has gotten around to several notable undertakings in art. Its public schools have led in preparing the ground for a widespread elementary cultural education. 'Art instruction better adapted to the needs of industry is what we want,' writes Dr. John William Withers in a contribution to Reedy's Mirror, and further: 'The national taste must be elevated and refined. I am inclined to think that nobody knows this better than the successful business men who have been showing an increasing appreciation of art values of this sort in the character of their advertising. To take a concrete example, compare the window advertising of the down-town stores of to-day with what this was 10 or 15 years ago.'

"That there are many colonial handicraft and industry products possessing distinguished art qualities one hardly need be reminded, and the same has been true in some degree of every period since, the trouble lying in the rarity of the good work, and, to be frank, in the absence of the superlatively beautiful either as to design or execution. One comes occasionally on American examples that are inspiring, but not comparable with the wondrous things of other countries into which proficient craftsmen have woven their lives. We have had, perhaps, no supreme workmen, and only occasional artists who could put ideality and spirit into creative workmanship. Yet the Art Industrial Exposition, with American examples as well as educational loan collections of foreign achievement, will show us how dependent upon design even now are our modern American industries.

"What is the answer? Education! We have deemed ourselves the land of popular education, but we must begin at the beginning in this field. Discrimination can come only of acquaintanceship. The people must be familiarized with works of quality. This is the task for expositions, museums, and continual minor exhibitions, the press and the schools; the work also of factory, store, and advertiser—of all agencies by which the public mind may be appealed to. As the public learns to appreciate, the manufacturer must be taught to supply. Here, no doubt, the public itself must be the great teacher, and competition the rod of instruction. But these must send the business man back to the exposition for comparisons, to the museums for research, and to the school of design for technical ability. The business man has publics other than our own to which he must respond—of the foreign lands where he must compete and of the artistically creative lands whence his competitors send forth the world's last word. The business man to-day is of the world, rather than of a State or city—of a world which has access to his customers as well as a world of customers he wants to reach. And his customers everywhere are becoming accustomed to ask for art."

[From the Mississippi Valley Magazine for July, 1919.]

"SOUTH AMERICANS HAVE TASTES AND PREFERENCES—THEY CARE FOR ART, AND THEIR MARKET WILL PAY FOR ATTRACTIVE WARES—QUALITY, AS WELL AS QUANTITY, MUST BE A FACTOR IN OUR FOREIGN-TRADE DEVELOPMENT—THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION OF INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND CRAFTS.

"With its innumerable natural resources and illimitable opportunities for productive achievements by human labor, developing these resources to meet the needs of people everywhere, the problem of transporting its products to available markets

forced itself into a position of first importance in the minds of people seeking the development of the Mississippi Valley, and their answer is the conversion of the valley into a tremendous artery of commerce.

"The outbursting pressure of millions of producers seeking markets became a great creative force, calling into being roads and railways and shipping until the valley States are bound together in a vast interlocking system of mutual support; producers ever asking improved transportation, and commerce requiring fuller and better production as a basis for expansion and service.

"With great achievements gained, we are looking farther south, beyond the valley, down what shall be an extension of this vast artery, and the pathway of future lines of commerce that are to bind together the Americas, industrially, as the States of the valley are bound to-day. What is to materialize these lanes of ships, these streams of cargoes? Simply the pressure of American industrial productions responding to the demands of the peoples, and seeking markets in the southern continent.

"But South Americans have tastes and preferences. They care for art. Their markets will pay for attractive wares, and they will turn from wares that are not attractive. Quality as well as quantity must needs be a great factor in this development.

"Two great industrial movements now dominate in the Mississippi Valley—the one a constant development of transportation to carry the products of the valley to a needy world; the other a constant improvement in productive power keeping the transportation facilities under pressure. Every forward step in either field, of course, affects the whole situation, and is of concern to all workers, in whatever branch of the infinite activities that make the valley States vital to the world.

"For these and many reasons it is peculiarly important that the big art industrial movement, now making itself felt in the country generally, should receive full attention here and have its full share of development along the Mississippi belt. These States so peculiarly linked up with the great continent to the south have a special interest in art as a feeder to industry and commerce, because the Latin peoples of the other Americas lay such stress upon attractiveness in the things they buy. More than our own people, they want and demand and insist upon good design in industrial products in form and color and lines. They insist that good judgment in these matters does not imply any deficiency in utility, but the contrary. Suitable color and finish and some refinement of form are regarded as evidencing the care and judgment necessary to guarantee good workmanship and satisfactory usefulness.

"As a matter of fact, the American public are becoming more and more of this same opinion, and home demand at last is greatly emphasizing the arguments of our prospective customers to the south. It is no secret that American manufacturers had a tendency to leave this side of their problem for future consideration while they concentrated upon quantitative production. It is equally certain that now the attention of the whole country is upon the importance of better quality, better design, and better workmanship in our industrial products.

"At the end of the war we find the United States with such a merchant marine as was undreamed of, and we talk of reaching all parts of the world, especially the southern continent, which peculiarly belongs to the Mississippi Valley, with the slogan 'Made in America.' 'We have the ships, we have the men, we have the money, too,' but not to the extent that we should have them—the commodities that our neighbors' ports are calling for!

"The St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts, to be held in the Southern Hotel Building, opening October 15 for four weeks, therefore, will have vital bearings for readers of the Mississippi Valley Magazine. This exposition, initiated by the St. Louis Art League to modernize conceptions of art as well as industry, and backed by the chamber of commerce and other industrial interests, and by Washington University and educational and civic institutions of the city, and by numerous leading citizens as individuals, now is reaching out for the participation of the valley. Every industry and section should be represented, so far as possible, in this movement to fix attention upon present achievements as well as opportunities, in a direction upon which much stress is laid by millions of probable customers.

"In the Industrial Arts and Crafts Exposition, it is understood, all available products that have in them the element of design for appearance and beauty as well as the more obvious utility will be eligible for exhibition. As has been pointed out, the fact of representation in this exposition will be a sort of blue ribbon of industrial progress.

"The show to be held this autumn is preparatory to a great all-American display next year, and serves as an advance survey and stock taking for the Mississippi Valley in all fields of industrial refinement, and as a rehearsal for our part in the greater national exposition, which also is to be a Mississippi Valley enterprise.

"With these wide aspects, the St. Louis Exposition of Industrial Arts and Crafts is a timely revival in the art field of the western spirit of large achievement. When people think of what other countries have done in this great movement to perfect the modern industrial age through the practical application of art, it may seem surprising that it was left to the Mississippi Valley, and until now, to show the part that belongs to America.

"Yet it is not so surprising, for the West has shown the Nation in more ways than one how, contrary to outworn and shortsighted teachings, art belongs essentially to democracy and to our own times. Our World's Fair, where the art department was most visited and most popular of all, and where was raised a new and modern world standard for true art by admitting within the sacrosanct portals what formerly had been regarded as the 'humbler arts'; or again the wonderful Mardi Gras with which New Orleans has held the country's and the world's attention and kept alive a spirit of poetry and community art; or the Pageant and Masque of St. Louis, which was an art tribute to the history and the romance of the whole Mississippi Valley—these may stand out as illustrations. In the Sophie Newcomb College at New Orleans, with its beautiful and famous Newcomb pottery; in the pioneer development of the St. Louis School and Museum of Fine Arts under Halsey C. Ives, and in the Cincinnati Academy, the Art Institute of Chicago, and others, the Middle West has provided the country with splendid modern art educational institutions.

"All these past achievements associated with art and industry have been preparatory for the present movement to join together these elementary human objectives. The fact that we are undertaking a big national enterprise is clear when we but consider two things: The one, in how large a degree industrial and commercial leadership always have followed art leadership through the centuries; and the other, how essential it is that the new industrial era, which we hail as the achievement of modern invention and science, must at the very least rise to the standards of cruder ages as to quality. The day indeed has come to recognize that American quality must not be second rate, American products inferior in their story of human aspiring. The day is coming, if we may put the matter in the practical language of dollars and cents, when American commerce must go out into all the parts of the world, to win the respect and the trade of other countries, carrying American products that are not less but more attractive than those of other lands, and when we ourselves may acclaim and enjoy in the manufactures of our own land these finer attributes for which to-day we must yield the palm.

"That day is foreseen and prepared for in the Mississippi Valley's pioneer American art in industry exposition, now being staged for the present year and to be followed by the more general national exposition a year later, and by the establishment of American schools of design, all creating a much-needed impetus for that democratic and universal culture in which shall be embodied the essence of American art spirit."

INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAPHIC CONFERENCE (S. DOC. NO. 88).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In view of the provision contained in the deficiency act approved March 4, 1913, that "hereafter the Executive shall not extend or accept any invitation to participate in any international congress, conference, or like event without first having specific authority of law to do so," I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress and for its determination whether it will authorize the extension of the invitation, and the appropriation necessary to defray the expenses incident thereto, a report from the Secretary of State with reference to the proposed international conference to be held in Washington during October next, or at such later date as may be convenient to the powers concerned, to consider all international aspects of communication by land telegraphs, cables, and wireless telegraphy, and to make recommendations to the powers concerned with a view to providing the entire world with adequate facilities of this nature on a fair and equitable basis.

WOODROW WILSON,

THE WHITE HOUSE,
10 September, 1919.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6810) to prohibit intoxicating beverages, and to regulate the manufacture, production, use, and sale of high-proof spirits for other than beverage purposes, and to insure an ample supply of alcohol and promote its use in scientific research and in the development of fuel, dye, and other lawful industries, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. STERLING. Waiving what the Record shows in regard to the previous action by the Senate, 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 Vice President appointed Mr. STERLING, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. OVERMAN conferees on the part of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 6863. An act to regulate the height, area, and use of buildings in the District of Columbia and to create a zoning commission, and for other purposes; was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

PEACE TREATY AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, if there is no member of the Committee on Foreign Relations who desires to discuss the treaty and the league of nations this morning, and I am informed that there is none, I think it is perhaps no discourtesy to the committee if some one else goes ahead with the discussion in a general way, and as I have taken no time whatever in the discussion of the treaty or the league of nations, feeling it better to wait until the matter was before the Senate, I am going to occupy a little while in its discussion.

Those who have blazed the way in this discussion are entitled to the thanks of the American people as well as the Senate, and little can now be said to add to the views on both sides of this question heretofore presented so ably by Senators of marked ability. It would seem that into this discussion should come no question of politics, pride of opinion, arrogance, pique, or dislike for others. This most momentous question since the Civil War should be decided on broad lines, with an eye single to the welfare of the American Nation, and with thought likewise to the world with which our future must be somewhat intertwined. Let us face the situation as it is in this body. It has been charged that the American people are not having a square deal in the Senate; that there is an attempt to play politics; that there is dislike of the President entering into the question; that there is blind allegiance to him on the part of a large proportion of this body, and that they will not exercise any independent judgment; that there is unnecessary delay in the consideration of the treaty. Of course it is the finest indoor as well as outdoor sport in this country to pound the Senate of the United States. It may be true, unfortunately so, that there is some modicum of truth in these various allegations, but we have a practical situation here now that demands the attention of practical men and a solution by them, putting aside partisanship and every other immaterial question.

When the first covenant was presented, faulty and defective as it was, speeches were made showing the absolute perfection of the same. Blind party followers proclaimed it to be a perfect instrument. Some of our Democratic friends, realizing that the Democratic cupboard of issues was pretty bare, seized it at once as a political issue. Many Democrats upon that side of the Chamber commenced to burn incense to that particular covenant, even before they had read it. Prominent gentlemen who had been connected with various kinds of leagues in this country started out with liberal expense accounts to instruct the people. Meetings were held, resolutions passed demanding that Congress adopt the covenant just as then presented, although I venture to say that at most of these meetings there were not five people who had ever read the covenant of the league of nations, to say nothing of giving it any thought.

We were told that now we had the opportunity to secure something that would keep us out of war—not only during campaigns for President but permanently. Men who questioned that covenant were denounced as traitors. Some ministers suggested that they ought to be boiled in oil. We seemed almost to have returned to the days of the intolerance and hysteria of Salem witchcraft. Those who always tell you the time of day when the President takes out his watch declared that the covenant as then presented simply must be adopted, because the President said so, and that the Senate had nothing

to do with it but to smile its approval; and yet in the face of all this the covenant was taken back to Paris and amended.

The eminent commissioners at Paris—the most eminent of whom had been appointed by himself in the face of the hostile mandate of the American people at the last election—proceeded to try and patch up this covenant and make it presentable. It was then brought to us and placed upon the Vice President's desk with but little information, and the Foreign Relations Committee seem to have been trying to secure information ever since and have fairly well succeeded.

The second coming of the covenant was but little better than the first. However, the Democratic national chairman went around the country assembling the faithful at the State capitals and made enthusiastic speeches for the league, trying to make it a test of real democracy, although the President in his western speeches now says it is no party question. Democrats immediately commenced to charge in the Senate and elsewhere that opposition to the league was merely playing politics. The wisest ones of that party have refused to make it a test of party fealty to their everlasting credit. The American people want no politics in the adjustment of this question. It is a greater question than partisanship; not, however, greater than the Government as the President is reported to have said in a recent speech. The people themselves have had no opportunity to vote on this question as they ought to have, but we have statistics presented every once in a while on the floor as to the straw vote of some institution organized for various and sundry objects, the purpose of which no one is ever able to decipher and whose existence consists largely of letterheads. I think in the State of Kentucky there was a vote on the question which swept a Republican into Congress in a strong Democratic district on the issue of a league of nations. I have not heard those figures given on the floor by any supporter of the league of nations in its present form.

But, passing from such considerations, what are we to do with this treaty and this league of nations? Must we accept the league covenant in its present form or have no treaty at all? The Senator from Missouri [Mr. SPENCER] yesterday referred to the fact that the President had raised that issue in his State—and he likewise raised it in mine—that the treaty must either be taken with the league of nations in its present form or be rejected. I join with the Senator from Missouri in his statement that that is an unfair and false issue. The American people can not be befogged by the intrusion of any such issue. It affords a certain advantage to the proponents of the treaty in this discussion, because the world is heart weary of war. It wants no more of it. It is attempting to solve almost unsolvable problems. It is burdened with debt, staggering under the load of taxation, and it can not start on the return road to stable conditions until we have peace. Men in the Senate who believe we must reach some conclusion speedily and help the world back on its feet, and yet do not believe that the league of nations in its present proposed form will make for peace, but rather for war, have a troublesome proposition to solve. They want peace just as much as anyone but they insist that the league covenant must be Americanized.

I am not influenced by the cry that we must ratify the peace treaty immediately in order to resume trade relations with Germany. I am not particularly concerned about trade relations with Germany. Articles made in Germany will find no place in my home if I am able to have anything to say about it. We can get along without goods made by the cruel Huns who have exceeded in cruelty any horrors of all time. They can take their goods to a much warmer country than this, so far as I am concerned. It is hard to awaken in our hearts any sympathy for Germany. We have given too many of the boys of America; we have seen too much of the heartless cruelty, not only of German warriors, but of the people of Germany, and no appeals to sympathy or to establish trade relations will move the American people to any deep shedding of tears. No treaty could be too severe for Germany.

We are presented also with the troublesome question as to Shantung. It is as infamous and unholly as anything in history. What a farce and what a sham; what a betrayal of liberty, of self-determination; what an exhibition of hypocrisy is the whole Shantung matter; and yet we know if Shantung is voted out of the treaty, it will perhaps make any treaty impossible for a long period of time. So men hesitate to keep the world in an unsettled condition until that problem can be worked out. They are rather persuaded to believe that Japan may keep its promise, and are not desirous of affronting Japan and possibly driving this Nation into a war. I would not be willing to see American boys killed for the whole of the Shantung peninsula; for everything involved in the proposition, infamous as it is. If the league of nations had not been intertwined in the peace treaty, the

Shantung proposition and the overpreponderance of the voting power of Britain would have been practically the only thing to have seriously delayed the ratifying of the treaty. The treaty could have been ratified ere this, and the responsibility for the delay is not on the Senate.

Now, we are hearing from the President's speeches in the West that the high cost of living is due to the delay of the Senate in ratifying the treaty; also that Bolshevism is beginning to raise its head as a result of Senate delay. Yesterday at St. Paul he added something as to the opposition being pro-German. I suppose if there is a drought in Texas, it will be due to this delay, and an early frost on the corn certainly could be attributable to it if it should fit the particular locality in which the President happens to be speaking. What a wonderful thing the league of nations is going to be. If the cost of living is too high, the league of nations will lower it; if it is too low, the league of nations will raise it; if the country is threatened with Bolshevism, take a dose of the league of nations; if pro-Germans are raising their heads, reach for the league of nations bottle; it will cure anything from rust in the oats to hookworm in the South. How did we ever get along without it so long as we have? The great delay has been in the peace conference, and the Senate is not responsible for that. Nonsense, even if uttered by a President, is still nonsense.

When the President, the sole representative, pulling strings that moved the four automatons at Paris who were labeled as commissioners but were nothing but stool pigeons sharing in extensive expense accounts, did as he said in his New York speech he would, intertwine the league of nations with this treaty, so that it could not be disconnected; so that it would all have to be ratified or rejected, he issued a threat which he came very nearly, if not entirely, putting into execution, but which threat reflects no credit upon him. He is the agent, it is true, to make treaties, but the Constitution has placed in the Senate the power to advise and consent, which is fully as great a power as to act as agent.

If I have an agent to make a contract, and it is subject to my advice and consent, to me is the chief power in the transaction. If that agent deliberately makes a contract and so intertwines things with it with which I may not desire to comply, but in the meantime having held himself out as my agent, people have relied upon him and rights have grown up, as a conscientious man I am put in the position of trying to carry it out if possible in order that injury may not result to others through the breach of my agent's agreement. But what could be said of the agent who did this? Out of a thing of this character can anyone secure a permanent place in the confidence of the American people? Was it a square deal? Could anyone imagine Lincoln, McKinley, or Theodore Roosevelt deliberately doing a thing of this kind?

However, by this unfair action we now find ourselves in a position where the league of nations can not be divorced from the treaty, and the world and our United States are in a mess and a muddle because of the action of the peace conference in intertwining these things; and now, having gotten the country into this mess, we are told by Democratic leaders upon the floor and by other self-constituted guardians of the Nation throughout the country, many of whom having been mentioned for President gather upon their face a presidential look and walk with a presidential strut, that the Senate must accept the treaty exactly as it is written. That is the issue now made in the West. Since when, I wonder, did any one man get the power in this country or in the Senate to tell the American people what they must do? That is the language of autocracy and not democracy. Since when has it become a wrong to question any action of the President? Since when has the right been taken from the Senate to consider a treaty at all merely because the President says it is a perfect document? Since when has the doctrine of his speeches been established of gibbeting men who do not agree with him? There will need to be a very large number of gibbets erected in the Nation. Have we really reached the one-man power in this country? Are the people really to be awed by such presence of greatness? Possibly some of them, but not many. To deliberately put the situation in the condition it now is and then tell the Senate what they must do, and go out to the country, with private trains at public expense, to start a back fire upon Senators does not sound like good Americanism. Nor do the speeches now being made by the President in the West indicate that calm deliberation that should characterize one in such exalted position. They indicate rather that wrath has taken the place of sound judgment on the throne of his mind.

The Senate is not going to be bulldozed. It has its duty to do and it proposes to do it. Its conscience will be its master, and it will endeavor to work out a plan to safeguard the interests of the Nation, for the Senate still believes in the Govern-

ment of the United States of America, still has faith in the flag of the United States of America, still has confidence in the power and destiny of the United States of America, and, regardless of popular impression, the Senate of the United States is not composed of cowards, but of men fully as patriotic as the President, though perhaps less arrogant and more willing to concede the right of other people to do some thinking for themselves.

When this treaty first came up I think 80 per cent of the people of my State were for the league of nations. Some of the most powerful papers of the Republican Party were strongly advocating it, and are now. I set forth largely the same objections to it in March when out home that I raise now. It drew upon my head considerable of a flood of denunciation, especially from those who had not read the constitution of the league. It has always seemed to me wise to wait for the sound, sober, second judgment of the people, and that second judgment is generally right. And while it may be to-day that a majority of the people of my State are in favor of this covenant of the league of nations exactly as it is, I know there are not as many in favor of it as there were two or three months ago. A great majority of them favor some league to carry out the terms of the Paris conference. However, I say deliberately and measuring my words that if every man, woman, and child in the State of Iowa was for this covenant as now proposed, without any reservations, that I would not support it. Possibly it would be my duty to resign, and if I felt that my State was practically unanimously for it I would not hesitate to resign. But I say very frankly here and now that no amount of threatening, no talk about votes or elections, no attempted coercion will sway my judgment in the matter.

I have waited long and thought long and meditated much and my mind has reached a fixed conclusion that I would be a traitor to my convictions and that I would be doing an injury to the people of my State and my Nation to support this treaty with the proposed covenant of the league of nations as it now is. If my representation in this matter is not satisfactory to the people of my State, I will retire without any reluctance. There would be much more pleasure, anyway, in having a brick pile of your own than in being a target. I propose to live with myself and conscience for the balance of my life and to keep faith with it, and in doing so I shall vote for what seems to me best for the people of the whole United States and for the generations that are to come, regardless of what the sentiment in my State may be at this time; and if that is State treason, make the most of it. I have confidence to believe that in the years to come the people of my State will realize that a vote for the league in its present form, with no reservations safeguarding our country, would have been close to treason to my country.

Let us reason together about this matter. Nearly all the Republicans and some Democrats are pretty thoroughly united on the proposition that there must be reservations. A large proportion of the Republicans, I believe, are not willing to have the treaty slaughtered by every kind of an amendment being put upon it, but they are willing and most of them anxious for strong reservations that must be embodied in the ratification resolution; reservations that must be clear and mean something and not some innocuous resolution that amounts to nothing if passed, merely suggesting that we do not like the dose we are taking, but that we are going to take it. Mild reservations are cowardly reservations.

Now, why can we not unite as to these reservations that a great majority of the Senate believe in and quickly ratify? The Senator from Missouri [Mr. SPENCER] on yesterday uttered, I think, the sentiment of a great many men on this side of the Chamber, and I have never seen the matter better expressed than in a letter written by the Senator from Utah a few weeks ago to one of his constituents, which I had the privilege of reading. I wish that letter might be printed in the Record. It is not only one of the best statements of the situation but it is one of the most manly and courageous letters I have ever seen. I commend his courage when he wrote his constituent that he would do his duty in this matter as he saw it, even if he did not receive a vote in his State at the next election. If there were more of such spirit in the Senate, there would be more respect for it in the country. What do votes amount to, anyway, compared with conscientious performance of duty?

What reason is there that the Senate should not amend the treaty or adopt ratifications? Is the Senate not part of the treaty-making branch, or is it a mere automaton? Why have foreign nations any right to complain? They are held in international law to know the powers of the American Senate in treaty making. When they deal with this country in treaties they do so with full knowledge of that fact. They can not find

fault with action upon the part of the Senate. Their hearts need not break if we exercise our constitutional rights. This doctrine was well expressed by Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, in instructions to Mr. McLane, minister to Great Britain, under date of February 26, 1846, when he said:

The Federal Constitution has made the Senate, to a certain extent, a coordinate branch of the treaty-making power. Without their advice and consent no treaty can be concluded. This power could not be intrusted to wiser or better hands. Besides, in their legislative character, they constitute a portion of the war-making, as in their executive capacity they compose a part of the treaty-making, power. A rejection of the British ultimatum might probably lead to war, and as a branch of the legislative power it would be incumbent upon them to authorize the necessary preparations to render this war successful. Under these considerations the President, in deference to the Senate and to the true theory of the constitutional responsibilities of the different branches of the Government, will forego his own opinions so far as to submit to that body any proposition which may be made by the British Government not in his judgment wholly inconsistent with the rights and honor of the country. Neither is the fact to be disguised that from the speeches and proceedings in the Senate it is probable that a proposition to adjust the Oregon question on the parallel of 49° would receive their favorable consideration.

I ask to insert in the Record without reading portions of a letter from Mr. Hamilton Fish, in 1869, to Mr. Motley.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

It is wholly unnecessary to say to statesmen of the intelligence which always marks those of the British Empire that the rejection of a treaty by the Senate of the United States implies no act of discourtesy to the Government with which the treaty may have been negotiated. The United States can enter into no treaty without the advice and consent of the Senate; and that advice and consent to be intelligent must be discriminating; and their refusal can be no subject of complaint and can give no occasion for dissatisfaction or criticism.

Mr. KENYON. We have amended and had reservations in other treaties. The Jay treaty was amended, or rather the ratification was advised and consented to on condition that an article be added to the treaty whereby it should be agreed to suspend the operation of so much of the twelfth article as related to the trade between the United States and the West Indies. This was agreed to by the British Government and ratifications exchanged. The treaty was not again submitted to the Senate. It is entirely probable here that all of the reservations insisted on could be agreed to by the other nations within a short space of time. If the larger nations agree to them, there is no question but that the smaller ones will immediately follow suit.

In the treaty with Tunis, signed in 1797, the Senate attached a condition that article 14 should be suspended, and advised the President to enter into further negotiations on the subject of the article. These changes were made. It is true that President Adams resubmitted these articles to the Senate.

In the ratification of the convention with France of September 30, 1800, the Senate struck out article 2, and other instances might be cited.

Suffice it to say that the Senate has the power to freely exercise its coordinate jurisdiction in treaty making by reservation or amendment, and has done so as late as 1900. It has the right to consent to ratification only if certain amendments be adopted, and if the consent of the other parties is obtained submission is not necessary. Of course, the act of ratification itself is for the President. The Senate merely advises and consents. If the amendment is such as to be not acceptable to the other party, then, of course, it is the end of the treaty. The President is under no compulsion to support the reservations and may pigeonhole the whole treaty if he desires.

I desire to discuss reservations in general and, to some extent, those of the committee.

The first essential reservation should be to make clear just how the United States can get out of the league whenever we desire upon proper notice. That is the most important of all the reservations. No one need fear that the United States would do an unjust act, and if fairly treated and it was doing a real work in the league, there need be no danger of or apprehension as to its policy in leaving. If this reservation were adopted, and also one limiting article 10—which I shall later discuss, and the one with reference to domestic questions—I would be willing to support the league, because I feel that these reservations are the real essence of the whole matter. If reservations of this kind are not adopted, I shall vote against the treaty, regardless of consequences. There seems to be misapprehension as to whether the language is clear on the point of leaving the league. The Senator from Virginia charged that we could leave whenever we pleased. The President, I think, takes the position that while there is no legal obligation to remain there might be some moral one, though I am not advised exactly as to his position.

The American people have had no opportunity to vote upon the subject of entering this league. We have no right to bind them to something where they can not get out without the con-

sent of other nations. Making the matter clear gives them an opportunity to express themselves at the ballot box when this shall become an issue. And as sure as the sun rises and sets and the tide ebbs and flows this question will become a question for the American people to determine. Do you think you can deprive them of that right? "We, the people of the United States," formed this Government, and they will have something to say about changes in the structure of the Government. In my judgment, it is bound to be an issue in the next campaign, and it is our clear duty, in so much as we can not now secure a vote of the people upon this subject, to give them a chance to say they will go out of it without the aid or consent of any nation on earth and an opportunity to make that an issue in a campaign.

I do not mean that we must not have some alliance or entente to carry out the terms of the Paris treaty. We are involved in it now. We are in entangling alliances. It is nonsense to talk about keeping out of entangling alliances. We can not leave the situation at once and say we will have nothing to do with it, and we will not shirk our duty, but there is no reason why we should be bound up from now until eternity, compelled to take part in every squabble that Europe engages in and carry the world upon our back, for our shoulders are already somewhat heavy with war burdens. Our supreme duty, as I view it, is not to bind this United States so as to prevent the exercise of its free will. That is the all-important thing. The adoption of this reservation I have mentioned, and which is presented by the committee, would enable the American people to settle this question, and it is the only way they can have that privilege and at the same time have this treaty ratified within a reasonable period.

I do not raise the question that we must not give up some sovereignty. That is essential in every treaty, but I do insist that we shall not give up the exercise of free will to determine the affairs of our Nation. There is naturally much inquiry as to why we have to enter any agreement to go to the help of civilization. Have we ever entered such a thing in the past? Can we not be trusted? America by its policy has put itself in position where it could help save civilization. If it had been bound up by every kind of an entangling alliance, it might not have been able to have saved the world. For, while we may not say that the United States won the war, we can well say that without the United States the war would probably have been lost. But could we have done any better by France if we had had a treaty? Did France ever dream that 2,000,000 American boys would be fighting on their soil and helping to save their nation? Did we enter into any contract to go to the relief of distressed Cuba? Would it have been any stronger situation if we had? If civilization is perishing, must America enter a contract to do her part to save it?

France when at one time asked to enter a contract to help the Poles declined, thinking that she could best befriend them by reserving to herself her own freedom of will.

Lamartine in an address to the Poles on this subject in 1848, he being minister of foreign affairs, said:

France owes you not only good wishes and tears, but moral and eventual assistance in return for the Polish blood with which you have bedewed every battle field in Europe during our great wars. France will pay her debt; rely on that; trust to the hearts of 36,000,000 Frenchmen. Only leave to France that which exclusively belongs to her—the season, the moment, and the form, of which Providence shall determine the choice and suitability to restore you without aggression or bloodshed to that place which is your due in the catalogue of nations.

The provisional government will not suffer its policy to be changed by a foreign nation, however great the sympathy that may be inspired. Poland is dear to us, Italy is dear to us, all oppressed peoples are dear to us, but France to us is dearer than all, and the responsibilities of her destinies and possibly those of Europe rest with us.

We as Frenchmen have not to consider the interests of Poland alone; we have to consider the universality of that European policy which corresponds to all the horizons of France.

On the day when it shall seem to us that the moment has arrived for the resurrection of a nation unjustly effaced from the map we shall hasten to its assistance. But we have reserved to ourselves that which pertains to France alone—the choice of time, justice, and the reasons which would make it our duty to interfere.

Why should we not reserve to ourselves the time, justice, and reason which would make it our duty to interfere in the affairs of the world? Would we be in better shape to help? That thought can not be brushed aside by a wave of the hand. It will be ever recurring in this debate. In the Cuban affair and in the present war there was no one else to determine the course of the United States but the United States itself. Did it make a mistake? Is there any power on earth better able to determine what is necessary for humanity than the people of the United States? Do we need a council and an assembly to tell us when it is necessary to do our part of the world's work and advise us how to do it? When did we become so supine and powerless that we could not act on our own initiative? When has the world ever appealed for help in a righteous cause

and America refused? It never will, but America must determine that question. No nation can do it as well, and league of nations or no league of nations, America will always determine it for herself. The greatest value that can come to any nation from the proposed league is that it would provide a method to talk things over before going to war. That is certainly helpful and desirable, and if it would result in delaying or avoiding war it would be worthy the object sought to be attained. We can not well pass up the opportunity for mutual discussion of wrongs and difficulties between nations.

Two other reservations are strongly advised—one to make the preservation of the Monroe doctrine certain and the other as to domestic matters.

The Monroe doctrine is a good deal of a fetish with the American people which they rather cherish. I have not been particularly alarmed about it with reference to this treaty because there is reference to it, and while it is called a regional understanding, yet there would be basis for the American people to claim that it is excluded. It seemed clear to me in the first covenant as presented that we absolutely surrendered the Monroe doctrine. It is not clear in this covenant, and true, like nearly everything else in the treaty, it is somewhat muddled, yet there is reference to it. I do not feel much alarm about that question.

Domestic questions should, of course, be protected and, I assume, will be. Nearly everyone agrees to that who is not an insane worshiper of forms.

The tariff, immigration, and other matters that might be suggested are purely within the domain of nations themselves, and I think there will be little difficulty in arranging that by satisfactory reservations.

ARTICLE 10.

I shall favor strong reservations to article 10. Its sponsors hardly seem to know what it means. Probably there is more controversy and feeling over it than any other provision of the treaty, except the Shantung infamy. If it is uncertain as to our obligations under article 10, why not make the language certain? Would it not be better to have some delay in the ratification of the treaty than to have misunderstandings provocative of future trouble? We hear from the proponents of this article that it is the keystone of the whole arch; that it gives confidence to smaller nations and prevents great nations from infringing on the rights of smaller ones. If that were all there was to article 10, there might be merit in it, but is that all? Does article 10 not preserve to the great powers, the monarchies of the world, everything that they have acquired? Does it not stifle the voice of oppressed people everywhere, and does it not blind their eyes in their struggle toward the light? Is it not more provocative of war than of peace?

Different constructions have been given to it by the various claimed authors. The highest authority, as I understand, on the subject suggests that it means a moral obligation and not a legal obligation. What is the use of pussyfooting around about article 10? What is the use of talking about moral obligations as distinguished from legal obligations with reference to international law? Of course, there is no way to force compliance with an international agreement by law. It is a moral obligation, enforceable only with battleships if the nations refuse to comply with it, but it is a high question of honor, and under article 10 we agree with other members of the league to undertake to respect and preserve as against territorial aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league.

The President, in his Indianapolis speech a few days ago and others that he has made, refers to this article 10 as going to the heart of this whole bad business; that the council of the league will advise what shall be done to enforce respect for that covenant; and that there is no compulsion upon us to take that advice, except the compulsion of good conscience and judgment; and that there can be no advice of the council on such subject without a unanimous vote. It seems to me this is not playing fair with the American people. We have had enough of the violation of agreements in the history of Germany of considering treaties mere scraps of paper. If the President's contention is correct, then under article 10 we simply do as we please, which is, of course, true in any event should we desire to utterly disregard the obligations of solemn, binding agreements.

Article 10 means just what it says. The very fact that there is so much attempt to explain it and brush aside its force shows that its proponents can not candidly face the issue. And if the time ever comes under article 10 that there is external aggression against a member of the league it would be our duty to assist in meeting that aggression, even to the point of arms. What is the use of trying to deny it? Face it squarely. Are we willing to do this? If we enter into that solemn binding obli-

gation we must carry it out at whatever cost or else sacrifice national honor. If we do not propose to carry out this obligation let us say so now, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has said so in the reservation that they have proposed.

The President said in his Columbus address a few days ago that he had done the job over there in the way he promised the American people, and paid great tribute to himself for the way he had done it. And he said, "when this treaty is accepted men in khaki will not have to cross the seas again." In another speech on this trip our peripatetic Executive said, "will not have to cross the seas very soon." Again, if the newspaper reports are correct, quoting, "this league is the only arrangement which will prevent our sending our men abroad again very soon." What about this language? Is this a threat to the American people that if the league is not adopted there will be a sending of "our men" abroad again? And from whence does the authority come to the President to make such statement? Will "our men" have anything to say about it? Whose men are these that he talks about sending abroad to fight other people's battles? We have managed to get along for over 100 years without sending men abroad and there has been no league of nations. It would seem that even without a league of nations there was little necessity of sending men abroad. How easy it is to talk sacrifice for others. How easy it is to talk about sending other people's boys across the seas to fight in affairs with which we have no concern. The expense accounts now filed with us of the Paris commissioners do not indicate any great sacrifice. What sacrifice in the expense account of one technical adviser of \$150,000? How hard it must have been to get along on that for six months. It is a sham to talk about sacrifice for others and not for ourselves.

Men stand here and argue that this treaty means perpetual peace, which everyone desires. And then when confronted with article 10, say, "Oh it is a mere moral obligation." Most men are stronger for carrying out moral obligations than legal obligations. As I view it, if the time ever comes when China tries to take back Shantung, assuming that Japan will not keep her word—which we all hope she will—we will find China and Japan arrayed against each other in war. China not only attempts to take back Shantung, but in the war invades Japan. Is there any question as to our obligation under article 10? Is there any doubt that it would be the duty of this country to assist Japan in fighting China? Of course, it may be answered that the matter must be submitted to arbitration or inquiry by the council. Suppose it does go to the council and the council is unanimous that Japan shall keep the rights she acquires in Shantung by this treaty. China refuses to comply with the report, and under article 12 she can go to war at the end of three months after the council makes its report. This seems to be the end of the road. China could, of course, be dropped from the league if she refused to obey the decree of the council, but is there anything left but war? Is there any question that it becomes external aggression against Japan? And there is only one way to preserve nations against external aggression, and that is by force of arms. And so under article 10 the situation may arise where the great Republic, dedicated to liberty, justice, and in these recent times to the doctrine of self-determination, finds itself in the position of trying to assist Japan in holding its stolen property. Where are the volunteers who will be pleased to go and fight in such a cause? We will need more alluring advertisements than those now posted for soldiers for Siberia. Will it be the men who sit in comfortable chairs, and especially those who have no boys to send? Will the boys in khaki go across the western sea this time? Will there be conscription to try and compel the boys of America to cross the sea and fight in the aid of other nations? Let us face it squarely and not dodge the question.

The President may ride through the country in his palatial de luxe train at the expense of the public and tell the people that section 10 does not mean attempting to send the boys of this country to fight for some boundary line in the Balkans or to repel an invasion of the kingdom of Hejaz, but the people are perfectly able to read section 10 and able to understand what territorial integrity and existing political independence and external aggression mean. They can not be permanently deceived. They believe in keeping a covenant once made. Talk to the mothers and fathers of America and see if they are willing that their boys shall be given for the cause of foreign nations? I had a letter a few days ago from a father in my State who had two boys in the war—one who had been blown to atoms in a shell hole. There was not enough left of him to pick up for burial, and the father stated in his letter he did not propose under article 10 to have his other boy sent to Turkey to police that country or to go anywhere else except he be sent in defense

of the United States of America. He had a right to speak. He was not a member of any league where poll votes are taken once in a while and used on the floor of the Senate to show us that the people are in favor of the league of nations.

What concern is it of ours that Italy tries to secure Fiume? If gentlemen want to go and fight and help Italy secure Fiume that is their privilege, but they have no right to try and compel others who may not be so excited about the proposition to go and give up their lives if external aggression is exerted with relation to Fiume. In my judgment we have no power to conscript men and send them across the sea to fight for any nation but the United States. When they went across in this war they were fighting for the United States. The right of conscription would not have existed to send them across to fight for the 14 points.

Section 10 is said to be the keystone of the arch of this covenant. It is a rotten keystone and if the arch must depend upon this keystone it will go down. Red-blooded Americans, much as they desire peace, know that they have been deceived in being told that section 10 would make for peace. They know it has the seeds of war in it; that it is a war breeder. The soldiers who are returning from abroad know it and they are now protesting against it. They have seen enough of the jealousies of races. They are not willing to give their lives except for the United States of America, and when a foreign war becomes a war which involves our country as this one did, they are willing to go and they are willing to die, but they are not willing to die for other nations, and no man in Congress or elsewhere has a right to send them and compel them to give up their lives in the interest of some other nation and to fight other people's battles. "Our men," as the President calls them, are not merely waiting around to be told to go hither and thither wherever some foreign ruler may think it desirable and can influence the league of nations to that extent, and if this treaty is defeated our men will not be sent over the sea except in America's battles, and the President can not induce thoughtful Americans to believe otherwise. And mark it, presidential word or no presidential word, secret agreement or no secret agreement, these men who have something to say about their own life will not be coerced into fighting other nations' battles, and there is no power in heaven or earth that can make them do it. If they want to do it voluntarily, that is their own business, but no President is going to send them to do it, and the arrogance of such assertion becomes more a despot than the ruler of a free and enlightened people. The President is carried away by handclapping; by the desire of the people to pay respect to the great office; he has been carried to the point of abusing those who venture any opinions contrary to his.

We are told that article 10 does not prevent nations struggling to the light through revolution because it only applies to external aggression. When did any people throw off oppression and tyranny without the help of outsiders? Would we have been a Nation to-day without the help of France? Could Washington have succeeded at Yorktown without Rochambeau? Would he have had the spirit to go on and on without the gallantry of Lafayette? Was there not impetus to our cause in the French fleet appearing in New York Harbor?

If there had been a league of nations like the proposed one in those days, France could not have helped us. It would have been an external aggression upon English territory. When Cuba was struggling toward the light and the most barbarous practices were in vogue, her revolution could not have been successful without external aggression, and if we had had a league of nations then Cuba never would have been free.

When I went through Porto Rico a short time ago—she had been in the same situation as Cuba—and saw the American schools and the little children hungry for knowledge and development and progress and the getting of something for which the human heart yearned but knew not what it was, I thanked God that there had been no article 10 in any league of nations to have prevented the great American Republic from doing for mankind what it is doing for Cuba and Porto Rico. Tell me a revolution in all history that has not had external aid to make it successful.

These three reservations that I have suggested, namely, a way out without the aid or consent of any nation on earth, a limitation of section 10, and a clear statement as to domestic problems, will make the document worthy of trial. I shall also vote for an amendment to equalize the voting power of Britain and the United States. It would have been better, in my judgment, to have reduced the voting power of the British Empire rather than to have increased the voting power of the United States by amendment. That in itself is enough to arouse suspicion as to this whole proposition, and certainly a short-sighted policy on

the part of Britain, for it will raise an antagonism in this country that will make certain, in my opinion, the defeat of the whole plan of the league of nations as soon as the people get a chance to vote on the question of getting out of it when that becomes an issue in this country. You can not go before the American people and successfully argue to them, no matter how large an expense account the orator may have in his pocket or how de luxe a special train may be, that it is right or fair for this Nation of 110,000,000 people to have one vote in the assembly and for Britain to have six. What will you say to your constituents on this question? What can any man say in trying to defend the giving of Britain six votes in the league of nations and the United States one? Has anybody defended it? I should enjoy sitting in an audience with hard-headed farmers of my State and listening to the defense. I have looked in vain for some defense of it by the President on this trip. It can not be defended unless we assume that Britain is a six times greater nation than ours. To what pusillanimous cowardice and sycophantism have we come? Mr. President, tell the people why you consented to this.

I do not share in the attempts in this country to create a feeling against Britain. These English-speaking nations must stand together for the peace of the world and for the preservation of civilization. We have had our troubles with Britain. We have felt that at all times she has not treated us fairly, and that is true. Probably she has had the same feeling about us, and had reason therefor; but it is time to cease the creation of friction between these nations. The enemies of civilization could well rejoice if these great nations, devoted to the highest ideals, should engage in a contest of extermination with each other.

How can anyone seek to belittle the British Empire and to raise animosity against it when he reflects upon what Britain did in this war? Had it not been for the British Navy the war would have been brought to our coast. Anyone who ever had the opportunity during that war to see the British Grand Fleet and those hundreds of fighting vessels knew that there was the first line of defense and there was the salvation of our country as well as the world. The spirit of Britain was manifest in that terrific drive in March—when the world waited and trembled, and where the gallant Scotchman, Haig, sent a thrill and note of determination to the world when he said, "Our backs are against the wall; Britain, stand and die." And Britain was ready to stand and would have given the life of every man, woman, and child, if necessary.

I was told of a great mound behind the lines in France, a thousand unknown British soldiers buried there, and a tablet above the mound on which was inscribed, "Tell Britain, ye who pass, that we who rest here died content." That was the spirit of Britain. She is not a perfect nation. She is looking out for herself; she is nationally selfish, but down beneath it all is a firm bedrock foundation of justice and righteousness.

If during the war that little island of England had sunk into the sea and fathoms above it had come the German hosts to our shores, if there were any peaks left you would find them covered with British Tommies fighting for the salvation of civilization. England has done us wrongs in the past. She is looking after herself now. We forgive her for her wrongs as long as she shows the right spirit, and we admire Britain for looking after herself. Would to God that the United States of America had some of the wisdom of Great Britain to look after its own affairs as well as the affairs of the world. Britain can not object to our demands for equal representation in the league. She must recognize the justice of our demand. It is nothing but the doctrine of the square deal.

Every now and then we are chided because we talk about isolation and about progress through isolation. Of course, isolation was our policy for practically 100 years. God gave this country geographical isolation. There is always an isolation of eminence, of success, of achievement. That was ours as a nation. When we took the Philippines that policy was changed, but surely there is a course between complete isolation on the one hand and complete entanglement in all the troubles and wars of Europe on the other. Should we not take a middle way? We are traveling necessarily along new and strange pathways. Let us make sure of our footing and not be carried away by the light of flattery, but follow the clearer light from the lamp of experience. Are we willing that all the world's guides who have followed the trail shall be cast aside for the new ones? Have we any faith left in the wisdom and patriotism of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, McKinley, and Roosevelt? Are we willing to give them all up, together with the traditions of the Republic, for some new, untried, romantic ideals that no one can explain, because no one, not even the authors, seems able to understand? We must go for-

ward, of course. Our heads may be in the clouds, but we had better keep our feet on the earth. We must accept certain world burdens and responsibilities. It is a new age. We must have agreements between nations.

The question is not whether we shall go in the league at all, but whether we shall change this league and protect American rights. In other words, how far shall we go? Because men insist there must be changes in the proposed covenant, that America must be protected, does not argue that men in favor of changes are against every kind of a league or alliance. The doctrine is pure demagogism that it must be this particularly worded covenant or nothing. The words "put up or shut up" as used in a recent speech of the President can hardly be termed the coining of a new phrase. It is not equal to the term "too proud to fight," nor to another one, reported to have been used a few days ago, "that whereas in the past we had attended to our own business, now we are going to attend to everybody's business." Mind your own business has been a pretty good American doctrine, and we should do enough only in the business of foreigners to make certain that our own business is properly cared for. Would it not be well to be careful in considering the question of a league that we include America as a part of the world; that in the great world view we are asked to take of this matter we forget not the United States of America? Would it not be well to be careful that the great giant of America is not so covered with burdens and weighed down with matters not of its concern that it can not carry the necessary burden of keeping its own country the greatest of the world? It can not pursue its policy of progress if it is blind to the claims of the world, nor can it if it is chained to the dead institutions and teachings of the past, as exemplified in the monarchies of the world. They have not been willing to walk our way. Hence we were compelled to walk alone. In insisting upon the reservations presented by the Foreign Relations Committee we are presenting a league of nations that the majority of this Senate, I believe, is willing to accept. The league is to some extent Americanized by the reservations. The President in one of his speeches in the West said that opponents should present something; "either put up or shut up," I believe, was the presidential language. Well, the Senate has now "put up" to it the kind of a league of nations that men believe will not be harmful and that may result in some good. Let the President answer as to these reservations. What fault does he find in them?

Some little time ago Lord Robert Cecil, in pleading with the American people to ratify the league of nations, said:

I see it suggested in some places that the United States should not accept membership in the league of nations because it might involve some sacrifices of national sovereignty. It would be foolish to deny that if nations are to make any organization for peace each of them must be content to modify in some degree, however slight, its liberty of action. That is the inevitable result of cooperation, and I do not wish to underrate the sacrifice involved.

The United States, as some people are never tired of reminding us, came into the war at a comparatively late period, and, though she threw her whole heart into the struggle and spared no effort to victory, it necessarily followed that her actual sacrifices, both in men and material, were less than fell to the lot of some of her associates. On the other hand, she declared at her entry that she sought no profit, either territorially or otherwise, and that declaration she has fulfilled. I doubt if there is any example in history of a nation which has taken part in a struggle of comparable magnitude which has at the end asked for no direct national reward. Yet America may feel that she has done this. That her national interests in the widest sense have been neglected is not true, for the greatest national interest of every civilized State is peace. America has striven for peace, but it has been peace without material reward. She has sought no territorial aggrandizement and no financial advantage.

That is the glorious record of which, if envy between our countries were possible, I should be envious. It would indeed be deplorable if, at the end of the conference, something happened to mar this record.

Of course, Sir Robert was interfering with our affairs a little before the proper time. He should at least have waited for the ratification of the league before trying to dictate the affairs of the United States. After such ratification, having six votes to our one, he might very properly have told us what to do and how to do it. Passing that, however, his closing words are worthy of consideration. "It would indeed be deplorable if, at the end of the conference, something happened to mar this record." Unworthy words! Is Britain now so shortsighted as not to see that while we have been her friend and will continue so, we do not desire to be her unequal partner? Does she not know that good friends might not so remain if compelled to be reluctant partners, especially unequal ones? Can we not remain friends without entering into partnership? Is it necessary to become partners with everyone in the world? The President seems to take the view that we must either be partners or antagonists. Well, if we must be partners, certainly we ought to be equal ones; but partnership is a relation to be entered into with care and with great consideration as to who the partners are to be. This

treaty is fraught with trouble for the future relationship of Britain and the United States, because if adopted with this unequal vote in the assembly it is done by an unwilling Senate merely to preserve the status of the world during these troublesome times, and with a deep feeling of resentment that the United States has been bunkoed in the transaction. "Mar our record"! When the call came for help; when France was near the end; when Britain's back was to the wall, who responded? The Republic of America. When it seemed to France that she could not hold another day; when at Cantigny and Chateau-Thierry the most tremendous issue of the world was involved, what was it brought new cheer and hope. The voice of America. When the troops pressed on through the Argonne Forest a new flag led—it was the Flag of the Republic of Freedom. When the assaults started all down the line; when new armies with new vigor pressed forward to the last undoing of Germany, what put new force and vigor into the offense? It was the power of America. When the peace treaty came and other nations were scrambling for spoils, what was it that attempted to infuse into the assembly the new thought of no indemnity, no spoils, nothing but justice? It was the soul and spirit of America. The record is made. It can not be marred. The boys who are sleeping in the cemeteries of France, the legless, armless, sightless heroes of America, have made the record to stand for all time and eternity, never to be marred unless by the base, pusillanimous, cowardly surrender of the ideals for which these men fought and died, and the giving up of Americanism and the will of America to the dominion of foreign powers.

I trust our friends on the other side of the Chamber may come out of the valley of stubbornness. There are the necessary votes here to ratify this treaty with substantial reservations. They are not here to ratify it without. The votes are here to defeat the whole treaty regardless of consequences if reservations are not adopted. Make no mistake about that. Why try to deceive yourselves about it any longer? Why do your leaders keep talking about enough votes to ratify without reservations, that it is a fight to the finish, and so forth? If that is your doctrine, the finish is here. It can not be ratified and will not be unless reservations are adopted substantially like those presented by the Foreign Relations Committee. Abuse and vilification, even from the highest sources of the land, will not change the minds of men who have given long, conscientious, deep thought to this subject and believe that ratification in the present form of the league of nations is a betrayal of this country. In standing for reservations they are not standing against any plan to carry out the terms of the Paris conference, they are not "contemptible quitters," nor are they mere time servers. They are trying to Americanize this league. They may reply to presidential billingsgate, to the charge of "contemptible quitters," that the most contemptible quitters in the history of the world were those who assembled with high ideals at the Paris conference and permitted Japan to take over Shantung in violation of some of the 14 points and in violation of the doctrine of self-determination and in violation of God's eternal justice. Come out of your stubbornness and join the men on this side of the Chamber who will vote for reservations, and then vote to ratify the treaty.

Suppose you could by any possibility adopt the treaty in its present form. Can you imagine what the situation would be in this Republic? The forces of America would turn and rend you when they realized that the Senate had ratified a league of nations where it was doubtful if we could get out of it without the consent of other nations. When the great bills for expense roll in—and we have had a sample in the scandalous outlay of the people's money in the Paris conference—when the host of deserving politicians secure soft jobs and sinecures; when the large part of the burden of carrying it is placed on the backs of our people; when the attempt is made to send American sons into Siberia and into the Balkans and into the uttermost parts of the earth, to police quarreling nations with whose affairs we have no concern, then woe to the body and woe to the men who are responsible for involving the American people in this thing. If you could adopt this covenant as it now is, you would hear from the American people in no unmistakable terms; adopt it as it is, and they will speak at the ballot box next year in a way that will make the Republican defeat in 1912 look like a triumphant victory to those who are running on a platform indorsing the league of nations exactly as it is. The result would be the inauguration of an administration at Washington that, while not blinded to world affairs, would, at least, be safe for the United States of America. [Applause in the galleries.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. The occupants of the galleries are constantly violating the rule of the Senate against applause.

They seem to pay not the slightest attention to the rules of the Senate or to the Presiding Officer. Applause is not only in violation of the rules of the Senate, but it is distinctly distasteful to the Chair. The Chair makes speeches where there are no rules against applause, yet nobody ever applauds him, and the Chair is not going to sit here and hear other men applauded where there is a rule against it. [Laughter and applause in the galleries.]

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, in the course of the very admirable address which has just been delivered by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] he referred to the statement recently made by the President in Indianapolis, or if not there in one of the speeches delivered on his present tour, to the effect that under the league of nations no American troops would be sent abroad.

I am well aware of the fact that the league of nations has not yet been adopted, but, Mr. President, while that is true it is at the same time true that we are at present cooperating with our recent allies upon the theory and along the lines on which the league of nations is to be conducted; and it is a further fact that at the moment the President made that statement the Fifth Infantry had been ordered to Camp Meade to be recruited for service abroad and is now there awaiting being brought up to the point of full military strength previous to being sent to Europe. It still needs 1,500 men. The Fiftieth Infantry also has been ordered to Camp Meade in order that it may be recruited up to full military strength, it requiring 1,000 men to bring it up to that point. As soon as those two regiments are brought to that state of military perfection they are to be sent abroad, according to the official statement of the War Department.

MR. FORD AND THE PRESIDENTIAL TOUR.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to occupy the time of the Senate for about 10 minutes on a phase of the question relating to the address of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON].

Mr. President, I greatly regret that I must descend from the sublime level occupied by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] in his very instructive address to the ridiculous of everyday procedure. In my State almost every newspaper outside of the metropolitan centers, meaning the down-State papers outside of Chicago, have received a notice or request which I desire to read. For instance, taking two samples of such newspapers, what is known as the Republican Leader of Marion, Ill., in the soft-coal belt in the southern part of the State, and the Evening Record, of Beardstown, Ill., in the Illinois River Valley, have received the same notice. It runs as follows:

TO THE EDITOR: The Mount Clemens (Mich.) News Bureau has arranged to send a correspondent with President Wilson on his special train when the speaking tour is made in behalf of the league of nations.

Daily reports of the reception accorded the President and his speeches will be furnished by the bureau in plate form of one or two columns free of charge, transportation paid, to such papers as desire them. A poll of the newspapers and a study of their interest in the President's efforts causes the belief that those papers which are advocating ratification of the covenant, but which do not receive wire reports, will find such a service of timely value to themselves and their readers.

There will be no connection with the work which the Mount Clemens News Bureau is doing on the Ford-Tribune libel case. The service will be confined exclusively to reporting the adoption by the country of the developments in the campaign for principles of a league of nations.

If you wish this service without cost to you, sign and mail the inclosed stamped order card at once so that you will be sure your name is on the list when the service starts.

Your, very truly,

WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION.

This was on the 1st of August. Along about the 23d of August another notice was sent out, in substance the same, making a renewal of the request and explaining some delay that had occurred in the President's speaking tour as originally contemplated. The second notice I desire to have printed in the RECORD without reading.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The notice referred to is as follows:

Because of the delay in the President starting his speaking tour on the league of nations, the Mount Clemens News Bureau has requested us to again offer you their service.

As stated in a previous letter, this bureau has arranged to send a correspondent on the train with the President.

Daily and weekly reports of the reception accorded the President and his speeches will be furnished by the bureau to such papers as desire the service in plate form of one or two columns free of charge, transportation paid.

The Mount Clemens News Bureau requests us to say that "there will be no connection with the work which the bureau has been doing on the Ford-Tribune libel case. The service now offered will be confined exclusively to reporting the developments in the campaign for the adoption by the country of the principles of the league of nations—that and nothing else."

If you wish this service without cost to you, sign and mail the inclosed stamped order card at once, as this will be the final order.

Yours, very truly,

WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION

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

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LODGE. I received one of those cards from the Mount Clemens News Service. I understand that is Mr. Ford's news service; that he owns the Mount Clemens Service, whatever it is. Is not that the case?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir; I understand that that is correct.

Mr. LODGE. He is proposing to furnish the President's speeches in plate form free of charge to all the smaller newspapers of the country.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir; and I think every newspaper outside of Chicago in my own State has received a similar signed, stamped postal card making the request that they use the matter.

Mr. LODGE. So that the President's publicity is being paid for in part by Mr. Ford.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir; and I wish to say, commenting very briefly on this—I shall not occupy more than 5 or 10 minutes—that I have desired to place in the Record an article entitled "The President's Angel."

The Western Newspaper Union is offering "boller-plate" matter concerning the President's second hegira from the seat of government at reduced rates. The first hegira was in December. Like a faithful Mohammedan, we begin to estimate time from the first or second hegira from the prophet and the flight of the faithful with him at that time. A casual reading of the offer, in fact, discloses that the only cost to the receiver is to sign and mail a stamped order card sent out by the news agency. The daily papers, outside of the metropolitan centers, are all besieged with offers to donate this gratuitous information. Almost anybody now can have the latest on what the President thinks on the peace treaty and the league of nations. This is no small boon, because what the President thinks to-day is no indication of what he will think to-morrow. The advantage of having daily bulletins on his mental processes and conclusions on or before sunrise is worth to the publisher of any country newspaper the trouble of signing the stamped card and depositing it in the United States mail.

An examination of the Western Newspaper Union, which I have taken the trouble to make, satisfies us that it is not an eleemosynary institution. Like other active news-gathering instrumentalities, it desires an income. While it recognizes that money is the root of all evil, it must pay rent and meet the customary demands of its employees. How it can do so by donating its news arouses curiosity. An investigation I have made. "We are pleased to announce," as the theatrical advertiser is wont to say, that Henry Ford is the financial angel that makes it possible for every household in the land to know what the Executive impresario is doing every day. Mr. Ford is commonly reputed to enjoy an annual income of \$35,000,000. None of the performers in these acts need fear, therefore, any danger of being obliged to pawn their baggage or walk home. Henry's income is so ample that even the humblest member of the political chorus need have no fear. Mr. Ford is determined that the President shall have publicity. Stars often have difficulty in obtaining space in the newspapers. The very best of them at times have been compelled to resort to divers stratagems to put something over on the wary advertising manager. They have been compelled to be robbed of their jewels, fall off the boat, wear bizarre raiment, and pose in sensational attitudes for the public press. None of these would be becoming to the Chief Magistrate of a free people, nor, I am pleased to say, will it be necessary, even, as long as Henry's income keeps up, for he it is known that Mr. Ford and the President are two souls with but a single thought, two minds that blink as one. [Laughter.] The President is fortunate in such a promoter. Henry is intensely practical, possesses the aforesaid income, and cares not a whit for history, phrase making, or book learning of any kind. Indeed, he has frequently expressed his contempt for them. It has been intimated that Mr. Ford is short in supplies of this character. But no matter; the President is long on every kind of intellectual forage. Henry has the money, and our beloved President has the ideas. When the two combine, the public education can not suffer.

Henry himself had a most illuminating course of free advertising not long ago. The Chicago Tribune called him an anarchist and an ignoramus. There were some ornamental frills in addition to the foregoing undesirable epithets, but the backbone of the Tribune's misbehavior was the two named. Mr. Ford, on mature reflection, thought he could not stand the gaff. He had been very liberal in denouncing everybody else in paid advertisements, especially if they believed in preparing the country to defend itself; but, like most liberal distributors of invectives, he squeals louder than anybody else when he is

given a stalwart dose of his own medicine. The more the Detroit jitney builder meditated the higher the damage to his character mounted. While nobody cared anything about whether he was an ignoramus, an anarchist, or just a plain pale-blue ass, yet when Henry sued the Tribune for a million dollars damages the public prepared to attend the exercises. No libel suit ever gave both plaintiff and defendant more publicity. Mr. Ford ought to be satisfied. I have no doubt the Tribune is. It could well afford to be generous in the matter of damages. What it proved about Henry ought to be enough to satisfy almost anybody. The jury reduced the damages considerably, discounting for cash, as it was admitted on the trial that the Tribune was solvent and would pay whatever was finally adjudged against it. The verdict of 6 cents allowed by a jury of the Tribune's peers—it would be difficult to find 12 men in the United States Ford's peers—will not go far on furnishing plate matter of the President's tour against the "contemptible quitters" on whom he lavishes his ornate vocabulary; but Henry's income from outside sources makes the venture reasonably safe. Any newspaper may confidently promise its readers a full set of the boiler plate of the President's latest trip, referred to in the insertions in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND TREATY OF PEACE.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I wish to take advantage of the courtesy of the Senate to give notice that to-morrow, at the close of the morning hour, when I may be suitably recognized, I shall make some remarks on the question of the league of nations and the pending treaty.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I wish to give notice that on Tuesday of next week, if I can at that time obtain the floor, I shall submit some remarks on the league of nations and the peace treaty.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, everybody understands with what difficulty the United States Senate and the people of the United States have obtained information relative to the league of nations. We had hoped that what the President had not seen fit to divulge to the Senate he would, as he stated in his first speech on this present tour, give to the people. I have felt, in reading the newspaper reports, that we have received very little information from the President's speeches on the treaty. He stated frankly that he owed no duty of explanation except to the people. He wanted his hearers to understand that he owed no duty to the Senate. I this day received a copy of the Grand Rapids Herald, which contains an editorial written by a man who is in favor of the league, who has been very earnestly active in promoting a league as far as he could consonant with the safety and welfare of our country. I ask unanimous consent to insert this editorial in the Record in order that my colleagues at least may understand how wise, patriotic men look upon the disclosures which are being made by the President.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"AT ST. LOUIS."

[By A. H. Vandenberg, the editor, the Herald.]

(The Herald is undertaking, from day to day, to analyze President Wilson's speeches from the standpoint of that American majority which believes the treaty of peace should be ratified but only with effective American reservations which shall make "the league of nations" safe for the United States.—No. 3.)

"Bundling all who do not wholly agree with him into one condemned sect, President Wilson celebrated his third day out from Washington by branding this sect as 'contemptible quitters' if they do not unquestionably follow him into unlimited acceptance of his new world vision and his sled-length 'league of nations' experiment.

"The Herald is disinclined to compete with Mr. Wilson in a campaign of anathema. Mud is not argument. Indeed, resort to the former is frequently confession to lack of the latter. Furthermore, 'contemptible quitters' is a dangerous phrase to come from an Executive who is responsible for an American foreign policy toward Mexico (involving a problem infinitely nearer to us at present than this 'league') which invites the application of this humiliating phrase to the whole people of the whole United States.

"Be that as it may, let us see just what it is that the President's 'contemptible quitters' are 'quitting.' What is the new standard to which the President would hold us? In this essence it is bound up in the following sentences from his St. Louis speech:

"The greatest nationalist is the man who wants his nation to be the greatest nation; and the greatest nation is the nation which penetrates to the heart of its duty and mission among the nations of the world. I want to point out to you that only those who are ignorant of the world can believe that any nation,

even so great a Nation as the United States, can stand alone and play a single part in the history of mankind.

"In other words, we are 'contemptible quitters' who will not put America's duty to the world ahead of America's duty to America.

"Only a comparatively few short months ago this same earnest advocate—this same flaming crusader who scorns those whose eyes persist in lingering upon home concerns—this same President Wilson spoke as follows:

"America ought to devote itself only to the things that America believes in, and, believing that America stands apart in its ideals, it ought not to allow itself to be drawn, so far as its heart is concerned, into anybody's quarrel."

"A distinguished United States Senator, recently arguing for the 'league,' appealed 'from Philip drunk to Philip sober.' May we not borrow his metaphor? May we not appeal from Wilson to-day to Wilson yesterday? Any American citizen who seeks to follow Mr. Wilson's expedient philosophies must be a 'quitter'—'contemptible' or otherwise—at some point in his quiet journey. If he accepts Mr. Wilson's foreign philosophy to-day (molded to fit the needs of an argument defending sled-length acceptance of unlimited 'league' obligations) he must 'quit' Mr. Wilson's foreign philosophy of yesterday (molded to fit the traditions of the Republic and the then posture of our notable Executive). One should scarcely be deemed entitled to epithet because he still believes as Mr. Wilson preached—and preached after this last great war was under way; and because he has not been agile enough to keep pace with swift-changing presidential front.

"We agree with Mr. Wilson that the old-fashioned western isolation is to be henceforth impossible for the United States, as a general proposition. We agree with Mr. Wilson that the United States must share in New World responsibilities, as a general proposition. We agree with Mr. Wilson that we owe it to humanity to participate in any adventure—like this 'league' adventure—which holds the slightest promise of lessening world wars. So far, so good. But we also agree with Mr. Wilson—with Mr. Wilson, mind you—that 'America stands apart in its ideals' and therefore that 'America ought not to allow itself to be drawn (automatically) into anybody's (and everybody's) quarrel.' Therefore we believe in ratifying this treaty without textual amendment and in joining this 'league'; and we also believe in the proclamation of American reservations which will not invalidate the treaty or hamper the 'league,' yet which will guarantee protection for those separate 'American ideals' (which were once close to Mr. Wilson's heart) and which will guarantee that America shall not become an automatic partner in all the quarrels of all the earth. If that means that we are among the 'contemptible quitters,' make the most of it. If in that attitude we are 'quitters,' then the President himself should be a 'quitter,' too, if he has the slightest interest in being consistent in his own program.

"So far as those Americans who believe with the Herald in effective American reservations are concerned, what is it that they would 'contemptibly quit'?"

"These 'contemptible quitters' insist that 'the Monroe doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority' and that 'it always has been and always will be maintained upon her own responsibility.' (These quoted phrases, strange as it may seem, were uttered by Mr. Wilson on January 6, 1916.) Therefore these 'quitters' insist upon an American reservation which will officially say exactly that very thing. They refuse silent consent to language in the 'league' covenant which invites an alien-controlled 'league' Parliament to 'settle disputes which arise regarding the Monroe doctrine.' (This being England's announced interpretation.) Whatever else they are 'contemptibly quitting,' they are not 'quitting' the rock and the foundation of America's foreign policy for 100 years.

"Again, these 'contemptible quitters' insist that the 'league' covenant shall never be construed (as it otherwise might be) as giving an alien-controlled Parliament any jurisdiction over America's immigration and tariff laws. This goes to the heart not 'of the world' but of Columbia; and these 'quitters' insist that the United States owes no greater debt to Europe and Asia than it owes to its own posterity. So they 'quit' at the point where Europe and Asia might claim even a shadow of jurisdiction over our acceptance of Europeans and Asiatics into American citizenship.

"Again, these 'contemptible quitters' insist that the United States can not recognize a legal obligation (thanks to our Constitution) to enter foreign wars except as the American Congress, by free and untrammelled contemporary decision, shall declare war; and, therefore, that the United States must not, by silence, consent to 'an absolutely compelling moral obligation' (the President's own words) to join in the world's wars, willy-

nilly, at the behest of any 'league' or any other authority which is not exclusively responsive to the will and the wish of the people of the United States. These 'contemptible quitters' refuse assent to an implied obligation which links our sons of to-morrow to military service, regardless of whether American concerns are involved or not, in behalf of Great Britain, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hejaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serb-Croate-Slovakia, Siam, Czechoslovakia (all preliminary 'league' signatories), Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela (all invited to become signatories). These reservationists 'quit' at the point of an automatic moral obligation to contribute American manhood to police the whole, round earth.

"Finally, these 'contemptible quitters'—remembering in our own history that a Civil War was precipitated over the question of whether a member of a union of States had a right to withdraw from that union—insist that the 'league' covenant is not explicit in its authority to a nation to withdraw on two years' notice because that authority is diluted by a conditioning phrase as follows: 'Provided, That all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.' The President says our right of withdrawal will be absolute and unhampered. That—and that alone—is what reservationists would officially proclaim in a reservation. If our right of withdrawal is absolute, what does that qualifying 'provided' mean? Why is it there—unless as a deliberate but subtle veto lodged in the 'league'? When the President was asked that very question when he entertained the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at the White House, he said the 'proviso' was only 'an argument to the conscience of the nations.' Honestly, is that a fair answer? Is the 'conscience of the nations' suddenly become so perfectly reliable that it is permanently dependable? Of course not, else there would be none of this tremendous, pressing need (which the President magnificently emphasizes) for all of this 'league' machinery to harness the nations when their 'consciences' go wrong. Yet the President says at St. Louis that 'there isn't a phrase of doubtful meaning in the whole document!' Speaking of 'quitting,' in Heaven's name let us not 'quit' the verities in our debates!

"Mr. Wilson has yet to utter a single effective argument against a program of effective American reservations to make the 'league' safe for the United States. He complains that critics persist in attacking a 'few' weak spots in the covenant, ignoring the strong and appealing points. Counterclaim is justified in saying that he persists in lauding the strong points (over which there is little real controversy) and ignoring the weak and the dangerous ones. Is it not logical that the debate should center upon questions in controversy?"

"The Herald believes that a majority of the American people are ready for this adventure. From it we could not escape if we would. The Herald believes that a majority of the American people object—as they should—to the Senate committee's futile attempt to amend the text of the treaty. But the Herald also believes that a majority of the American people favor effective American reservations. They are vitally essential to that candid international understanding which must precede any hopeful peace experiment. More, they are vitally essential to complete protection of American self-determination while the experiment proceeds. More, their virtue can not be successfully denied by the President or any of his sled-length followers. More, their acceptance by the President would end this whole debate in 20 minutes, because the little minority which would defeat the whole undertaking could not stand for one second against the mobilized public opinion which would then command American ratification. More, there can never be ratification without reservations, as an unprejudiced analyst of the Senate must consent. Under all these circumstances is not the course of wisdom plain?"

CONTROL OF FOOD PRODUCTS.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, has the unfinished business, the food-control bill, been brought up yet?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It comes down at 2 o'clock.

Mr. GRONNA. As there are only a few minutes remaining until the hour of 2 o'clock arrives, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business may now be laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8624) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, con-

servicing the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August 10, 1917.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

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

Ashurst	Hale	McNary	Spencer
Ball	Harding	New	Sterling
Beckham	Harris	Newberry	Thomas
Brandegee	Harrison	Norris	Townsend
Capper	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nugent	Trammell
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Underwood
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Page	Walsh, Mass.
Dial	Kellogg	Phelan	Walsh, Mont.
Elkins	Kirby	Sheppard	Watson
France	La Follette	Smith, Md.	Wolcott
Gronna	Lodge	Smoot	

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WATSON in the chair). But 43 Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is not present. The Secretary will call the names of absentees.

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. McCUMBER and Mr. WADSWORTH answered to their names when called.

Mr. HENDERSON, Mr. CUMMINS, Mr. NELSON, Mr. SWANSON, Mr. LENROOT, Mr. POMERENE, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. HITCHCOCK, and Mr. KENYON entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

Mr. KIRBY. The junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GAY] is detained on business of the Senate. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], and the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANDELL] are detained from the Senate on public business. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] is detained from the Senate on official business.

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

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the bill now before the Senate comes in response, as I take it, to the message of the President of the United States delivered to the two Houses on the 8th day of August, in which the President spoke of the high cost of living and asked that some amendments be made to the food-control act, and particularly an amendment fixing penalties.

Mr. President, I think the President of the United States was misinformed in several respects as to what the food-control act contained. This seems almost remarkable, because, as everyone knows, the food-control act was passed in accordance with the demands of the Executive and in the way that the Executive wanted it passed, containing what he wanted in the law.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will not the Senator state further that it was prepared by the attorneys of the Department of Justice?

Mr. NORRIS. Oh, yes; it was agreed upon long before it was even introduced in either branch of Congress. But in this message that the President delivered to us on the high cost of living on the 8th of August he said, on page 9:

Let me urge, in the first place, that the present food-control act should be extended both as to the period of time during which it shall remain in operation and as to the commodities to which it shall apply. Its provisions against hoarding should be made to apply not only to food, but also to feed stuffs, to fuel, to clothing, and to many other commodities which are indisputably necessities of life.

You can draw no other conclusion from the President's message than that the President was laboring under the impression that the food-control act applies only to food. He says:

Its provisions against hoarding should be made to apply not only to food but to feed stuffs, to fuel, to clothing.

And so forth.

As a matter of fact, the food-control act applied to every article that the President mentioned in the message, with the exception of clothing.

The food-control act was approved August 10, 1917, so that it has been in force practically during the entire time that we have been engaged in war. In the first section of that act it is provided—

That by reason of the existence of a state of war, it is essential to the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, and for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, to assure an adequate supply and equitable distribution and to facilitate the movement of foods; feeds; fuel, including fuel oil and natural gas; and fertilizer and fertilizer ingredients; tools; utensils; implements; machinery; and equipment required for the actual production of foods, feeds, and fuel, hereafter in this act called necessities.

So when we read from this act—and I expect to quote from it—and find the word "necessaries," we must remember that under the very definition in section 1 of the act itself all the articles that I have enumerated are included in the term "necessaries." The President evidently thought there was nothing in it except "food." Later on in the same message, and on the same page of the message, the President uses this language:

May I not call attention to the fact also that, although the present act—

That is, the food-control act—

Prohibits profiteering, the prohibition is accompanied by no penalty. It is clearly in the public interest that a penalty should be provided which will be persuasive.

Of course, if there is not a penalty in the act, the President and his immediate advisers who drew the act are certainly responsible for the omission. But again the President shows in the official message that he is not familiar with what is contained in the act, because it contains, as I shall show, various penalties for all kinds of imaginable profiteering and hoarding.

While I have no particular objection to this bill, there are some amendments to it, proposed by the Committee on Agriculture, which I shall oppose. In my judgment there never was any necessity for it. The President has had since the enactment of the food-control act on August 10, 1917, all the necessary statutory definitions and punishments provided by law for the proper punishment of profiteering and hoarding, the thing that he now wants done in order to reduce the high cost of living.

I want to say just a word before I go further into that act about the high cost of living. I think it will be conceded, Mr. President, that the cost of living would be and is necessarily high for reasons that are beyond the control either of Congress or any other legislative or executive authority. There is no doubt, and I think everybody admits it, that we will have to be burdened as we are burdened, to some extent at least, with the high cost of living.

We must endure these burdens, and I think we are willing to endure them if they are not enhanced by any unnatural thing that takes place. We ought to relieve the situation just as much as we can, and one of the ways in which the situation can be relieved, that will help to reduce the high cost of living, is that as individuals and as representatives of the people and officials of the Government, in all capacities, both public and private, we should economize in every way. There ought to be an example of economy shown by the President himself. As the head of the Nation he ought to practice before the people of the country and before the people of the world all the economy that is possible, both as an individual and as a public official, and thus do his part toward the reduction of the high cost of living.

I think recent events have shown that the President has "spent money like a drunken sailor"; that he has absolutely disregarded every economy in the expenditure of money. He went over to the peace conference in a way and in a manner never before equalled, as far as expenditure and extravagance are concerned, in the history of the world. He cavorted around with the representatives of monarchies and used more money in his travels about the world than had ever before been expended by anybody in any country, by any prince, potentate, or monarch, since the beginning of civilization.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. TOWNSEND. As I noticed not a great while ago, it amounted to more than all the expenses put together of all the representatives of this Government at similar conferences since we became a Nation.

Mr. NORRIS. I am glad to have that contribution from the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I simply state it as a newspaper item that I saw.

Mr. NORRIS. I had not seen the expenses compiled. I have seen some of it that has been officially reported, of which one item of \$150,000 to Barney Baruch, who was one of the experts that went over with the President, is subject at least to momentary consideration.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator has criticized expenditures of this character as extravagant. Will the Senator point out wherein he would have had the President act differently and where he could have saved?

Mr. NORRIS. I would not have given Barney Baruch \$150,000. I would not have built a glass roof on the *George Washington* when I went to Europe. I would not have gone to New York and taken the musicians out of the great Biltmore Hotel to play while I was eating on my way or the chefs to prepare the food. I would not have had an extra ship go in advance with automobiles so that they could be there to receive me when I landed, and so on.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I would not have taken 1,500 or 1,600 people with me to advise me unless I expected to consider their advice when it was given. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator. Many of his comments and criticisms may be very applicable. I do not know whether the President followed the advice of his

retinue or not. I imagine, however, that he did, and I know that he did in the case of Mr. Baruch. My purpose—

Mr. NORRIS. That is perhaps the reason why he paid him so much money, because he followed his advice.

Mr. THOMAS. My purpose in interrupting the Senator was to speak of that item of expense which, in my judgment, is remarkably reasonable, and if the Senator will permit me, I will tell him why.

The inference which one would naturally draw from the Senator's statement would be that this sum was paid to Mr. Baruch personally as compensation for his services. I know that Mr. Baruch has never received one dollar, directly or indirectly, for any services that he has rendered or tried to render the Government since the outbreak of the war. Mr. Baruch was requested to go to Paris to represent this Government upon the so-called reparations commission, a commission charged with the duty of ascertaining the extent to which injury had been inflicted upon Belgium and the devastated regions of France by the destruction of property, its transportation to Germany, the expense of its reconstruction, the extent to which the mines in the northeastern part of France had been injured, and also the financial resources and material capacity of Germany to make reparation. That, of course, involved the necessity of employing quite a large number of very competent people to inquire into and to determine those questions. Mr. Baruch did his work and did it well, he did it effectually, as he does all work to which he turns his hand.

While I sympathize, until I am better informed, with many of the criticisms which are aimed at different parts of this expense account, I am sure when the Senator makes inquiry he will discover that as to this item it is a very small amount, relatively speaking, and was money well expended.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. It is a very easy matter to criticize, and particularly where we are not familiar with the facts. I am going to give only one illustration.

Mr. Barney Baruch was one of the able, patriotic citizens who came to Washington and was known as a dollar-a-year man. When the armistice was signed and his bureau was dissolved, because of the delays of Congress there was not enough money to pay off the girls who had been employed in his bureau. Hundreds of them did not have money enough to pay their way home. Barney Baruch wrote his own check and paid the traveling expenses out of his own pocket for those girls.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. Does the Senator from Colorado wish to say something further?

Mr. THOMAS. I merely wish to add, since I have interrupted upon the subject, that when Mr. Baruch consented to act as the chairman of the War Industries Board, he divested himself of every possible interest which would conflict with his proper discharge of the duties of that very responsible position. He discovered, however, some time afterwards that an interest which he had in a large tungsten property had been overlooked, and was notified of a very generous dividend awaiting his disposition. It was somewhat embarrassing, but he divided that sum among the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and one of the other associations which were formed to and which did minister to the comfort of soldiers. In addition to that, he paid to the Government of the United States the income tax out of that portion of his income separate and apart from the sum of which I speak.

I think a man who has given that illustration of his patriotism and disinterested service should, in any question of doubt as to his handling of public money, at least, have that doubt resolved in his favor. I have known Mr. Baruch for a great many years, and I have always found him, and particularly for a man in his business, one of the most capable, upright, and public-spirited men I have ever met.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, both the Senators who have interrupted me have set up a straw man. They are defending the patriotism of Mr. Baruch, which has not yet been attacked. They are showing his philanthropy, which has not yet been questioned. They are probably anticipating. I had no intention to question Mr. Baruch's patriotism or his philanthropy. The only thing that makes me suspicious of it is that Senators are coming to his defense in those lines before there has been any attack made.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STERLING in the chair). Does the Senator from Nebraska yield further to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. NORRIS. Certainly.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator mentioned the receipt by Mr. Baruch of \$150,000, and mentioned it in connection with other expenses, justifying the implication, to me at least, that the Senator believed or suspected that this money had been received by Mr. Baruch as compensation for services rendered to the Government. Of course if that was not the implication, I apologize to the Senator for having interrupted him.

Mr. NORRIS. I have an idea that if the Senator had permitted me to proceed—

Mr. THOMAS. I will not interrupt the Senator again.

Mr. NORRIS. He would have found it unnecessary to interrupt me. I did not want to refuse to be interrupted and I shall not decline interruptions, but I have a conviction that if Senators would not on the spur of the moment come to the defense of their favorites until some definite charge is made we would probably get along faster and I would get through more quickly.

As I said before, I had no intention of making any charge against Barney Baruch. I did not make any. I am willing to admit that all that is said about him is true. I do not know those things about him. I accept the Senator's word. I remember Barney Baruch more particularly as the most successful man in the country in collecting Democratic campaign funds during the last presidential campaign, a Wall Street man who was able to bring the money into the committee that helped to elect Woodrow Wilson President of the United States. It is probably natural that the President should feel kindly toward him. I remember him also as the man who, on Wall Street, made, I think, \$470,000, as disclosed in the leak investigation—

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. So he can afford to be good to the girls in his office and work for a dollar a year and pay an income tax, without any danger of going to the poorhouse. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator's charge touching Barney Baruch making \$470,000 on the leak as a Wall Street speculator is, I imagine, about like his charges of extravagance made against the President. Does not the Senator know that during the last Congress, I think, in the House a Republican Member of Congress made a similar charge against Mr. Baruch and the Committee on Rules made an investigation.

The resolution was passed; the Speaker of the House appointed a special committee to go into all those facts; they spent weeks on the investigation; and they came out and made a unanimous report exonerating Mr. Baruch from those charges in toto. One of the Senator's colleagues, now on this floor, was a member of that committee; I happened to have been a member of that committee, and I know those to be the facts. There was no leak about it.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I am speaking from the testimony given by Mr. Barney Baruch himself before that committee. I read his testimony where he said he made, I think it was, four hundred and seventy-some thousand dollars. He most emphatically denied that he got any information from any one connected with the administration as to what was going to be done, and there was no proof that he had obtained such information; but that he made the money there was not any doubt. He himself admitted it on the stand.

Mr. HARRISON. But the Senator from Nebraska said—

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

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I yield.

Mr. HARRISON. But the Senator said that Mr. Baruch made \$485,000 on a leak, and evidently—

Mr. NORRIS. This investigation is designated and ordinarily understood as the leak investigation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will suggest that Senators address the Chair.

Mr. NORRIS. There was a leak. Mr. Baruch, as he stated, guessed and guessed right and made the money. The committee did not find that he did anything dishonorable in doing so. He was a speculator on Wall Street, he bought and sold on his judgment; he made money on the transaction; and he himself told about it.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President—

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

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator from Nebraska made the charge that Barney Baruch made \$485,000 on that leak.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator evidently did not read the report of the special committee which was signed by the Republican members as well as by the Democratic members. It

was never denied by Mr. Baruch that he had made money on Wall Street, but the facts show that on that particular leak he had lost money, proving that he knew nothing at all about the leak.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I read Mr. Baruch's testimony and I made the statement on my recollection of his testimony taken before that committee that he made, I think it was \$476,000—anyway, four hundred and some thousand dollars. He admitted it. I have not said that he stole it. I said I remembered Barney Baruch in two ways. I did not know him as did other Senators, but I remembered him as a very successful collector of campaign contributions for the Democratic national committee and also as figuring in the leak investigation, where he testified that he had made money on Wall Street. That is where I remember him more than anywhere else. I was identifying Barney Baruch in my recollection.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. If the Senator will yield, I think the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] is slightly inaccurate in saying that Mr. Baruch lost money on the leak. The fact is that during the period covered by the investigation Mr. Baruch stated that he had made, I think, \$475,000. There was no evidence whatever before the committee that Mr. Baruch had any kind of information of the leak; but he also testified, as the Senator from Mississippi will remember, that while he had made \$475,000 during that period, if he had had advance knowledge of the leak, he would have made a great deal more than he did.

Mr. HARRISON. And, Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me just one minute—

Mr. NORRIS. Well, I do not believe that I will take up a side issue, for I do not think it is very material. Senators protest too quickly, it seems to me. I have not made any charge of dishonorable conduct against Mr. Barney Baruch.

Mr. LENROOT. I asked the Senator from Nebraska to yield because the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] made what I think was an inaccurate statement, that Mr. Baruch had lost money in a leak, while the fact was that during that period he had made \$475,000.

Mr. NORRIS. That is the way I read his testimony.

Mr. HARRISON. Will the Senator from Nebraska yield one moment?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator from Mississippi understood the Senator from Nebraska to charge that Mr. Barney Baruch made \$485,000 on the leak.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I stated it in that way, and I think that is a fair charge. I think that might be ordinarily understood from his own testimony as it was disclosed before the leak investigation committee.

Mr. President, if I may pass on without any further defense and without making any accusation against Mr. Barney Baruch, when I was first interrupted by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] I gave as one of the items of extravagance the payment of \$150,000 to Barney Baruch. The Senator from Colorado stated that it was very cheap for the work he was to do; that he was on the reparation committee and was trying to ascertain how much Germany ought to pay. Senators will remember I said that some of these things might be excused if when the President had appointed advisers he had shown any disposition to follow their advice. Nobody now knows how much Germany is going to pay or to be required to pay; it is an unknown quantity. To-day Barney Baruch does not know, or if he does he has not disclosed that fact. So the great investigation that he has made, costing \$150,000 at least, has not brought any results, for the treaty does not fix the amount that Germany shall pay.

Mr. President, some of the supernumeraries the President took over there were probably necessary; he ought to have taken experts and other wise men to assist him and to advise him. If he had shown some disposition to advise with his advisers, to heed their words of wisdom, and to give some consideration to their investigations, there would have been some excuse for the expenditure of this money; but I know, Mr. President, and you know, the Senate knows, the country knows, the world knows, and God knows, that he did not pay any attention to any of them. So what was the use of the expenditure of all this money?

That is one place where we might reduce the cost of living. If the head of our great country would give an example of economy it would probably be followed by millions with a great deal of gratitude and satisfaction.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I did not hear the Senator commence his discussion. I take it he is now discussing the item of \$150,000 for the expenses of technical advisers.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I mention that incidentally.

Mr. KENYON. How was that \$150,000 used?

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator from Colorado says it was used, as I judged from what he said, to investigate and find out what Germany ought to pay, which nobody as yet has determined.

Now let me go back where I would have been long ago if Senators would not be so jealous of this collector of Democratic campaign revenue—to the food-control act. The President says there is no penalty. Let us see. Section 5 of that act provides—

That from time to time, whenever the President shall find it essential to license the importation, manufacture, storage, mining, or distribution of any necessities—

And remember I read a while ago what necessities were. The President did not know what they were, but I read what the law said they were—

in order to carry into effect any of the purposes of this act, and shall publicly so announce, no person shall, after a date fixed in the announcement, engage in or carry on any such business specified in the announcement of importation, manufacture, storage, mining, or distribution of any necessities as set forth in such announcement unless he shall secure and hold a license issued pursuant to this section. The President is authorized to issue such licenses and to prescribe regulations for the issuance of licenses and requirements for systems of accounts and auditing of accounts to be kept by licensees, submission of reports by them, with or without oath or affirmation, and the entry and inspection by the President's duly authorized agents of the places of business of licensees. Whenever the President shall find that any storage charge, commission, profit, or practice of any licensee is unjust, or unreasonable, or discriminatory and unfair, or wasteful, and shall order such licensee, within a reasonable time fixed in the order, to discontinue the same, unless such order, which shall recite the facts found, is revoked or suspended, such licensee shall, within the time prescribed in the order, discontinue such unjust, unreasonable, discriminatory and unfair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice. The President may, in lieu of any such unjust, unreasonable, discriminatory, and unfair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice, find what is a just, reasonable, nondiscriminatory and fair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice, and in any proceeding brought in any court such order of the President shall be prima facie evidence. Any person who, without a license issued pursuant to this section, or whose license shall have been revoked, knowingly engages in or carries on any business for which a license is required under this section, or willfully fails or refuses to discontinue any unjust, unreasonable, discriminatory, and unfair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice, in accordance with the requirement of an order issued under this section, or any regulation prescribed under this section, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

That looks like a penalty.

Mr. President, it would be interesting to know how many prosecutions have been commenced under this section; how many men have been arrested, and how often has the President tried to enforce this section, which gives to him greater power than was ever before given to any living man over the particular things covered by it.

Here is another provision in the same act:

Sec. 6. That any person who willfully hoards any necessities—

And that includes food, fuel, and all the other things I have named—

shall upon conviction thereof be fined not exceeding \$5,000 or be imprisoned for not more than two years, or both.

Then the act describes what hoarding means. I do not care to read it all in the RECORD, but I think probably I had better read some of the provisions defining the meaning of hoarding according to the act:

Necessaries shall be deemed to be hoarded within the meaning of this act when either (a) held, contracted for, or arranged for by any person in a quantity in excess of his reasonable requirements for use or consumption by himself and dependents for a reasonable time.

That is pretty broad. Has he prosecuted anybody under that law, which has been in force almost since the time we went into the war? And there is a penalty, a \$5,000 fine, or two years' imprisonment, or both.

Let us see what the next definition of hoarding is:

(b) Held, contracted for, or arranged for by any manufacturer, wholesaler, retailer, or other dealer in a quantity in excess of the reasonable requirements of his business for use or sale by him for a reasonable time, or reasonably required to furnish necessities produced in surplus quantities seasonally throughout the period of scant or no production; or (c) withheld, whether by possession or under any contract or arrangement, from the market by any person for the purpose of unreasonably increasing or diminishing the price.

There is a \$5,000 fine and two years' imprisonment, or both. Has there been any prosecution under it? Do we need a penalty? Was the President properly informed as to what the law was when he gave that official message? Why, great heavens, Mr. President, Congress is not to blame because the administrative officers of the Government are not enforcing the law. We can not legislate wisdom into the appointees of the President and we can not make the appointments.

There are a great many others. I am not going to read all of them; but in section 8 it is provided:

That any person who willfully destroys any necessities for the purpose of enhancing the price or restricting the supply thereof shall, upon conviction thereof be fined not exceeding \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than two years, or both.

Another penalty. That has been on the statute books since 1917. Evidently the President did not know it was there when he delivered this message. He did not know of the penalty?

Let me read section 9 of the same act:

That any person who conspires, combines, agrees, or arranges with any other person (a) to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any necessities; (b) to restrict the supply of any necessities; (c) to restrict the distribution of any necessities; (d) to prevent, limit, or lessen the manufacture or production of any necessities in order to enhance the price thereof shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not exceeding \$10,000 or be imprisoned for not more than two years, or both.

That is quite a penalty for profiteering. The President, I suppose, did not know it existed.

Section 13 of the same act gives the President a great deal of power, and it winds up in this way:

Any person who willfully violates any regulation made pursuant to this section, or who knowingly engages in any operation, practice, or transaction prohibited pursuant to this section, or who willfully aids or abets any such violation or any such prohibited operation, practice, or transaction, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding \$10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than four years, or both.

In order to protect the officers and the agents whom the President appoints to carry out this act, section 17 says:

That every person who willfully assaults, resists, impedes, or interferes with any officer, employee, or agent of the United States in the execution of any duty authorized to be performed by or pursuant to this act shall upon conviction thereof be fined not exceeding \$1,000 or be imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

And so on, through the entire act, it is bristling with penalties for all imaginary possibilities of hoarding and profiteering. Has there been any prosecution under it? Have they tried the law, and has it failed in any way?

Let me read one more section—a sort of a basket clause. For fear something had been left out, this was put in:

SEC. 26. That any person carrying on or employed in commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, or with or in the Territories or other possessions of the United States in any article suitable for human food, fuel, or other necessities of life, who, either in his individual capacity or as an officer, agent, or employee of a corporation or member of a partnership carrying on or employed in such trade, shall store, acquire, or hold, or who shall destroy or make away with any such article for the purpose of limiting the supply thereof to the public or affecting the market price thereof in such commerce, whether temporarily or otherwise, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

Another penalty, and rather broad. I can not imagine, Mr. President, if this law were enforced, of a possibility of hoarding or profiteering taking place within the limits of the United States or any of its possessions.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President—

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

Mr. NORRIS. I do.

Mr. KENYON. I dislike to interrupt the Senator, because it interferes with the continuity of his remarks; but when the Attorney General was before the committee section 4 was taken up more especially. I think there are six acts prohibited under section 4. As I have analyzed the section, three of them carry penalties and three do not. For instance, take the proposition of charging an unreasonable price. There is no penalty as to that in section 4.

Mr. NORRIS. Not as it is defined in section 4; but I have read a penalty for unreasonably enhancing the price several times here which would cover that.

Mr. KENYON. Does not that come under the license system?

Mr. NORRIS. Some of it does; these last sections that I have read. I have read only one section that requires any license. For instance, the last one that I have read, I think, would cover that.

Any person * * * who * * * shall store, acquire, or hold, or who shall destroy or make away with any such article—

Mr. KENYON. That is section 8?

Mr. NORRIS. Section 26—

for the purpose of limiting the supply thereof to the public or affecting the market price thereof in such commerce, whether temporarily or otherwise—

Shall be guilty of this crime.

Mr. KENYON. But that section, the Senator will note, applies only to articles in commerce.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; in commerce among the several States.

Mr. KENYON. While section 4, whether we have the constitutional power to do it or not, covers articles that are not in commerce.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; that covers local articles.

Mr. KENYON. Local articles; so that the main thing is, under section 4, the fixing of an unreasonable price. While it is prohibited, there is no penalty attached to it; and the inquiry

naturally arises, I think, to any lawyer, whether we can fix a penalty for an unreasonable price for something that is in no way connected with interstate commerce.

Mr. NORRIS. That may be a constitutional objection, that I do not care to go into now—whether we had authority to pass the law or not—but I do not think the Senator has heard me read all of the sections I have read that have a penalty attached. I can not conceive of an act of profiteering or of hoarding that is not covered, or, in one of the sections that I read, of making an undue profit. The President even had the right to fix the profit that any man could make in the selling of any necessities, and that included food, fuel, fuel oil, natural gas, and all of the instruments that are used in the manufacture of such things; fertilizer, fertilizer ingredients, and so forth.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska further yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield; yes.

Mr. KENYON. Is not that because he could do it under the licensing system? Now, as I understand, the force by which the licensing system was enforced is dissolved, and there is no way of getting it together again.

Mr. NORRIS. Why was it dissolved? Did the Senator ask the Attorney General?

Mr. KENYON. No; I did not.

Mr. NORRIS. Let me ask the Senator a question. Did the Attorney General give to the Senator's committee any information as to how many prosecutions they had had? Had they tried to enforce any of these criminal statutes that I have read?

Mr. KENYON. I can not say as to that. I do not think he gave us any information in regard to that. I do not remember about that. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] can answer that question better than I can.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator. I will state that I asked the Senator from Iowa whether the Attorney General, when he appeared before the committee, told the committee whether the Department of Justice had commenced any prosecutions under these various sections, and, if so, how many, and under what section.

Mr. HARRISON. I think the Attorney General said at that time that under the food-control act there had been no suits instituted, but that they desired to proceed immediately; and I was advised two or three days ago that they had instituted quite a number of suits, and that they were pending, and that some convictions had been obtained under the hoarding features of the food-control act.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, in my humble judgment the Government of the United States, as now administered, is responsible more than any other one agency at least for not making an honest attempt to reduce the high cost of living. The armistice was declared on the 11th day of November last. At that time we had several millions of men under arms, and I understand that we had in France enough food to last 5,000,000 of men six months. Immediately after that day we commenced to demobilize and send those boys home, until within a few months there were comparatively few left on foreign soil; and those in the cantonments here, amounting to nearly 2,000,000, were rapidly sent home. We had that food on hand, enough to last 5,000,000 men for six months, consisting of all kinds of food. A great portion of it was in France. It would have been wise administration, it seems to me, especially when the people of the country were paying enormous costs for the very necessities of life, to sell that food at reasonable prices to the consumers of the country.

I wish every citizen of the United States would read the testimony that was taken by a subcommittee of one of the House committees investigating this question, a committee of which Congressman REAVIS, of Nebraska, was chairman. I am going to read some of the testimony.

Although, Mr. President, it is conceded and admitted that the War Department had complete authority to dispose of this food, they made no effort to do it until the House of Representatives had passed a resolution demanding, in substance, that it be done, and until bills pending here in the Senate had been given some consideration. They not only did not take any steps to dispose of this food to the people of America, who had paid for it by their own money and by their own sacrifices, but I think the testimony before that subcommittee discloses the fact that the officials of our Government had made an agreement with the persons from whom they had purchased the goods that they would not put it on the market and bring it in competition with the products of the same persons and packers who had sold the food originally to the Government.

But when the House passed that resolution, and this investigation had been going on, and the evidence was disclosed, then

the President came before Congress and said, "We are going to sell this food right away." They could not even claim that they needed legislative authority to do it, because the witnesses before that subcommittee admitted under oath that no legislation was necessary.

But it seems, Mr. President, that the War Department, during all those months, with the soldiers going home, with no possible use for the food, were hoarding this food, when the American people were starving for it, food that the American people had once paid for, and which belonged of right to them.

It developed in this hearing, and probably some other hearing also, that Italy had purchased a large amount of food in the United States and had not taken it out of the United States at the time the armistice was declared. Of course Italy was demobilizing her army, and would have no use for it, and would have sold it on the open market in the United States. About that time the President wired from Europe his command to the Congress to appropriate \$100,000,000 to send over there to buy food for the starving people of Europe. Some of that money, several millions of it—enough to take up the slack, at least—was used to buy of the Italian Government the food which they had purchased and which they had here, the effect of which was to keep it off the market of the United States and to send it to Europe.

During that time a good deal of the food perished or spoiled. Let me read a little from the testimony:

Mr. REAVIS. This meat is deteriorating?
Mr. HARE. I call it all perishable, and it should be sold within three months.
Mr. REAVIS. That does not answer my question. It is deteriorating?
Mr. HARE. Yes, sir.
Mr. REAVIS. In some localities to a marked degree.
Mr. HARE. It depends on the storage.
Mr. REAVIS. But in some localities it is deteriorating to a marked degree?
Mr. HARE. Yes, sir.
Mr. REAVIS. You have had some experience with deteriorated meats?
Mr. HARE. Yes, sir; I have taken meat into the woods on fishing trips and had it spoil.
Mr. REAVIS. I mean in your present capacity?
Mr. HARE. Yes, sir.
Mr. REAVIS. Haven't you had meat on your hands that spoiled?
Mr. HARE. Yes, sir.
Mr. REAVIS. Where?
Mr. HARE. In Baltimore; bacon.
Mr. REAVIS. Wasn't there some more than that in Baltimore?
Mr. HARE. I heard of ham also; and also I know of my own knowledge that subject to the temperature in wooden buildings the hams "smell" and "sweat" and deteriorate. That is the reason we can not give any guaranty back of the goods.
Mr. REAVIS. Isn't that true of the hams as well as the bacon?
Mr. HARE. Yes, sir.
Mr. REAVIS. Haven't you been compelled to sell ham, more than 2,000,000 pounds?
Mr. HARE. I do know there was a large amount of ham that was moldy and was sold at a sacrifice.
Mr. REAVIS. A large amount at Atlanta, Ga.?
Mr. HARE. At Norfolk.
Mr. REAVIS. And a large amount at Atlanta, Ga.?
Mr. HARE. Yes; but whether that has been sold or not I do not know.

At another place in the testimony the following occurred:

Mr. REAVIS. Therefore we will not have an opportunity to go into the matter as fully now as eventually we will have to go into it. I wish you would state in a general way who has charge of determining what will be the surplus of food products, who in the War Department?

Mr. HARE. The Chief of Staff. That does not come under my control in any way. Mr. Crowell and I have often tried to have the surplus determined more promptly and accurately. But first the Army was fixed at 1,000,000 men, and then brought down to 500,000 men, and Congress has said it should be 325,000 men. On these bases various surpluses have been declared. This meat surplus, I believe, was declared the 1st of May, but I think it was there and the Army—

Mr. REAVIS (interposing). Was there no meat surplus declared at all until the 1st of May?

You must remember, Mr. President, that the armistice had been declared November 11, and this vast supply had been held without declaring a surplus, and under the law, and the rules of the War Department, it was necessary that a surplus be declared before the Director of Sales could make a sale. I will repeat that question:

Was there no meat surplus declared at all until the 1st of May?

Mr. HARE. None; and I have no power over that. The director of sales only begins to function when a surplus is declared by the Army and its sale is directed, and then it is put into the hands of our department to make sales.

Mr. REAVIS. That is, the War Department, notwithstanding the armistice was signed in November, waited until the 1st of May before it declared that there was any meat surplus at all?

Mr. HARE. Yes, sir; I think that is correct. They started out making a surplus in March, and withdrew it because they thought they were inaccurate.

Mr. REAVIS. Notwithstanding the rapid demobilization of troops, the fact that the Army was being demobilized, no activity on the part of the War Department was manifest with reference to declaring a surplus of meats from November until the 1st of March?

Mr. HARE. None to my knowledge.

Mr. REAVIS. And then the surplus that was declared in March was subsequently withdrawn?

Mr. HARE. As being inaccurate, and the whole list gone over again—

Mr. REAVIS (interposing). So in fact there was no surplus declared for the purpose of sale until May?

Mr. HARE. Exactly so.

Mr. President, I want to read just a little evidence to throw some light upon the fact as to why there was not a surplus declared, why this product that the American people bought had not been put on the market and sold.

On page 21, of volume 1, you will find the minutes of a meeting called to decide on what should be done, to which I am now going to refer.

Before any of these sales, however, can take place an important question must be decided as to what price we are to market this vast store of foodstuffs for. It is obvious that if the price is made low enough and the articles sacrificed that all of it can be disposed of in this country. It must not be forgotten, however, that a very much better price can be secured through export.

I will give a little later the names of the advisory committee who were taking part in this meeting, and that will throw an important light upon it. Continuing:

It seems advisable, therefore, that we continue our present efforts to market as much of this surplus as possible in this country at the best prices obtainable and sell the remainder for export. It must be borne in mind, however, that if a low price is established here for domestic sales it will make it more difficult to secure a higher price for the same class of canned meats from exporters.

In view of these various statements and, further in view of the fact that it had come to the attention of the director of sales that Mr. Hoover had very recently purchased in this country for shipment overseas bacon held by the Italian and French Governments in this country it was decided advisable it get in touch with Mr. Hoover and ascertain whether he would not purchase a certain amount of the canned surplus meats held by the Army.

Immediately after this meeting a cable was sent to Mr. Hoover, through the United States Liquidation Commission, asking him whether or not he was in the market to purchase a proportion of the canned meats held by the Government.

And, as I understand it, he afterwards did purchase some of them. So they kept it off the American market until just recently, some of it was taken off permanently and shipped to Europe. When they were shipping this product to Europe, they had in France millions of tons of the same product that they could not use, and had no men there to eat, it seems to me it reduces itself to the proposition that they were determined that the American people, who were paying the enormously high prices for things, were not to be allowed to get any reduction in any way.

It will be interesting to know who composed the committee the minutes of which I have been reading. I know the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] will be interested in this, because it has some bearing upon the bill that bears his honored name, which is now pending before the Committee on Agriculture.

Besides the representatives of the War Department, there were several dollar-a-year men at that meeting, and I want to say to you, Mr. President, that every one of the five great firms of packers were represented by at least one man, and some of them by several. Let me read their names:

Mr. J. A. Hawkinson, represented Wilson & Co.
Mr. M. C. Plainer, represented Wilson & Co.
Mr. D. B. Russell, represented Morris & Co.
Mr. J. J. Deady, represented Armour & Co.
Mr. A. F. Peffer, represented Armour & Co.
Mr. W. F. Wardwell, represented Armour & Co.
Mr. F. E. Wilbur, represented Cudahy & Co.
Mr. E. D. Baldwin, represented Libby, McNeill & Libby.

I do not need to tell the Senator from Iowa that Libby, McNeill & Libby are a subsidiary corporation to Swift & Co.

Mr. Burroughs represented Swift & Co., packers, of Chicago. It seems to me, therefore, Mr. President, that it comes with poor grace, almost, with this law upon the statute book all these years, for the Government of the United States itself to hold off from the market the food products that the people, by their sacrifices, had paid for, especially at a time when they are almost all overburdened with the enormously high cost of living.

But, Mr. President, that is not all. I said a great deal of it spoiled. I have no doubt but what a good deal of it spoiled anyway. We will have to suffer those losses, and I do not know to what extent the particular incident that I am going to relate might not be explained in that way. But it is certainly an interesting proposition, and I wish to read what the Baltimore Sun reported about it. This is the article in the Baltimore Sun:

PILES OF FOOD BURNED—VAST STORES OF ARMY SUPPLIES MUST BE DESTROYED—SPOILED BY HASTY PACKING—SMOKE FROM GREAT DUMP NEAR RIVER VIEW BEARS TESTIMONY TO WASTAGE OF WAR.

Thousands of dollars' worth of foodstuffs of every kind are being burned as refuse at the Colgate warehouses of the United States Quartermaster Corps near River View, and the pity of it is, say the Government officials, that they are powerless to prevent the waste.

A visit to the warehouses yesterday disclosed the truth of persistent rumors that wholesale destruction of canned goods has been in progress for months. Just outside the wire palisade about the reservation, in

plain view from the River View car line, the smoke from the refuse was ascending. The ground to the extent of about an acre was strewn with empty tin cans, burst open, and their contents poured out in many places more than knee deep.

Three negro dump keepers were on the job, and the wheelbarrows in which the cans were trundled from the four big warehouses, were close by.

SWAMP FILLED WITH THE CANS.

"That pile is nothing," one of them said in answer to a question. "All this ground we are standing on is filled with layers of tin cans several feet thick. You see, after we burn the stuff for a while and the pile gets big we cover it over with a layer of dirt and start a new pile. That swamp over there is several feet deep, and it is filled with cans, too."

The negro explained that he is one of the 16 men whose task it is to sweep up around the warehouses and wheel the condemned cans to the fire.

"Each warehouse has several inspectors, who go around every day and inspect tomatoes, peas, milk, and other goods, and as soon as they find bad ones they mark them, and we wheel them away," he said.

As to how long the destruction has been going on the negro was dubious.

"You see, I have only been here since February," he said. "I don't know how long it was going on before that, but I know that some of us have wheeled cans to the dump almost every day since I came here to work."

There was a great deal of evidence taken before that committee about canned goods; and, by the way, the packers are interested in canned fruit and vegetables as well as in canned beef. Here is an extract from the letter of the general who had charge of it, written to one of the canners:

No canned vegetables will be put on the domestic market during this season.

Listen to this testimony. Col. Davis was on the stand, and he said:

Col. DAVIS. As I stated before, Gen. Rogers, on his return from France, knowing that there was a large surplus of canned vegetables on hand, shortly after his arrival took up that question with a view to disposing of this surplus. This information at once reached the canners of the country, and Mr. Gerber, president of the National Canners' Association, together with several canners and the secretary of the association, whose office is here in Washington, called on Gen. Rogers and showed him a letter received from Gen. R. E. Wood—

That is the letter I quoted from just a moment ago—

Acting Quartermaster General, agreeing not to place on the market—

Mr. REAVIS (interposing). When was that?

Col. DAVIS. This was in the latter part of February or early in March that this meeting occurred.

Mr. REAVIS. You may continue your statement.

Col. DAVIS. Agreeing not to place on the market this large surplus until after the 1919 pack was made.

Mr. DONOVAN. And when would that be?

Col. DAVIS. That would be completed along in September or along about September.

Mr. DONOVAN. Of this year?

Col. DAVIS. Of this year; yes, sir.

Here is some more questioning along the same line:

Mr. REAVIS. I tried to get that from Mr. Hare yesterday and he passed the buck to you, and now you pass it to somebody else, and we will get him and get to the bottom of it.

Now, you say here, quoting your letter, "This will entirely dispose of our stock and eliminate surplus." Now, if that had been true, Colonel, you would have deprived the Government of the money that it would make from the sale of these canned vegetables?

Col. DAVIS. Mr. REAVIS, this was written this way, largely with a view of quieting the mind of the canner and the farmer as to the likelihood of this surplus being dumped on the market here, and they knew, and Mr. Gerber knew, that it did not in any way prevent or intend to prevent the sale which we expected to make of a portion of our canned goods on the other side of the water.

In other words, they were not going to sell them here, but they would sell them abroad.

Mr. REAVIS. Well, how would that permit you to make a sale of a portion of your goods when you say in your letter that this will consume all the surplus?

Col. DAVIS. That is what I say; that was done for the purpose of quieting the minds of the canner and of the farmer—

Mr. REAVIS (interposing). You did not mean it?

Col. DAVIS (continuing). As to the fact of any surplus being dumped in this country; it did not mean that we were not going to continue our efforts to sell some of our goods abroad. It would take us—with the strength of the Army that we had at that time it would take a long while to use the entire amount, and it was intended to show these people that there would be no surplus so far as they were concerned to harass the conditions in the United States.

Mr. REAVIS. That is, you mean that the American people would have no opportunity of buying this surplus?

Col. DAVIS. That is the point exactly.

Mr. REAVIS. And notwithstanding the distress occasioned by the high cost of living here the only people to get the benefit was the people abroad and not our own?

Col. DAVIS. That is it exactly.

Mr. REAVIS. And that was done to protect the canners and the farmers?

Col. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Here is a little evidence to show that when Gen. Wood wrote that letter he was acting on authority higher up, and that the Secretary of War, in fact, was the man who was responsible for this policy:

Mr. REAVIS. Was there any definite conclusion arrived at at the first conference with reference to the disposition of canned vegetables?

Gen. ROGERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. REAVIS. What was the conclusion?

Gen. ROGERS. The conclusion was—after Mr. Thorne came into the office, I asked him if he knew anything about this letter of Gen. Wood, and he said that he did, and that the letter was not only written by Gen. Wood but had the approval of the War Department.

Mr. REAVIS. The approval of the War Department?

Gen. ROGERS. I think he made the statement "At the approval of the Secretary of War." I would like to change my statement and say, instead of the War Department, that it had the approval of the Secretary of War.

Mr. President, I might go on at any length with this evidence. I only wanted to call attention to the proposition that the solicitude that seemed to come all at once when Congress was officially asked to fix a penalty in the food-control act was more of a camouflage than anything else, that the administration has held back from the American people millions and millions of pounds of food, canned vegetables, and canned meats, when the people were suffering for them and anxious to get them. Food and meat that they had to pay for and were entitled to have were kept back from them simply because it was the policy of the War Department not to interfere with trade, and therefore they preferred that the people should continue to suffer from the high cost of living rather than that the market should be broken.

I think, Mr. President, if we made an investigation we would find the truth of some of the cruel rumors that seem to be well founded; that these agreements in regard to food were true in regard to everything else that we have bought; and we would find that there was an agreement by which our Government would not put automobiles upon sale because it would interfere with the millionaire manufacturers who had once made a profit on the automobiles which they sold to the Government. We had hundreds of thousands of them for which we had no use, and have now, spoiling and decaying and going to ruin. I think it would apply to practically everything, that to protect the packers we would not sell products upon the market in case the war ended, but would keep them out of the market; and everything that is done has indicated that that was the course pursued until the House of Representatives passed the resolution and brought about some action on the part of the War Department and this message on the part of the President.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I observe that this bill, H. R. 8624, proposing to amend an act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food, forage, and fuel," approved August 10, 1917, has no provision in it for extending the provisions of the act, but that the act will, under the terms of the original act, cease to exist on the proclamation of peace. Section 24 provides that—

The provisions of this act shall cease to be in effect when the existing state of war between the United States and Germany shall have terminated, and the fact and date of such termination shall be ascertained and proclaimed by the President.

So this remedy which is being offered is proposed to be destroyed by its own terms certainly within 20 or 30 days. I am amazed that such an act should be brought into the Senate without extending it so as to make it effective for the purposes for which it purports to be offered. It evidently was overlooked, because surely the Attorney General of the United States would not recommend this as a means of protecting the people against an abuse and then have it expire by its own terms when the treaty is ratified and peace declared.

Mr. DIAL. Mr. President—

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

Mr. OWEN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. DIAL. I should like to suggest the absence of a quorum, if the Senator will yield for that purpose.

Mr. OWEN. I yield for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

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

Ball	Jones, Wash.	Myers	Smoot
Beckham	Kellogg	Nelson	Spencer
Capper	Kendrick	Norris	Sterling
Chamberlain	Kenyon	Nugent	Swanson
Curtis	Kirby	Overman	Thomas
Dial	La Follette	Owen	Trammell
Gerry	Lenroot	Page	Underwood
Harris	Lodge	Sheppard	Watson
Harrison	McCumber	Simmons	
Johnson, S. Dak.	McNary	Smith, Ariz.	

Mr. SPENCER. I desire to announce that the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW] are engaged on a committee hearing in the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. KIRBY. I wish to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] on official business.

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the absence of the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] on official business.

Mr. GERRY. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON], the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSELL], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] are absent from the Senate on public business. I wish also to announce that the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GAY] is detained on business of the Senate.

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

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. CULBERSON, Mr. FLETCHER, and Mr. POMERENE answered to their names when called.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Forty-two Senators have answered to their names. There is not a quorum present.

Mr. THOMAS. I move that the Sergeant at Arms be directed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will carry out the order of the Senate.

Mr. FRANCE, Mr. McLEAN, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. PHELAN, Mr. GRONNA, Mr. WADSWORTH, and Mr. NEW entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Forty-nine Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I wish to propose an amendment to this bill, to the effect that on page 4, after line 22, there shall be inserted:

That this section, with the interpretation of the term "necessaries," as set forth in the act approved August 10, 1917, shall not cease to be in effect upon the cessation of the existing state of war between the United States and Germany.

The principle which is set forth in that section 4, section 2 of the present proposed act, is this:

That it is hereby made unlawful for any person wilfully to destroy any necessities for the purpose of enhancing the price or restricting the supply thereof.

I call the attention of Senators to the fact that this ought not to be repealed. It ought to remain the law of the land. It forbids men—

knowingly to commit waste, or wilfully to permit preventable deterioration of any necessities in or in connection with their production, manufacture, or distribution.

That ought to remain the law of the land. It makes it unlawful—

to hoard, as defined in section 6 of this act, any necessities; to monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, either locally or generally, any necessities.

That ought to remain the law of the land. It ought not to be repealed, and it is repealed by the original act in these words in section 24:

That the provisions of this act shall cease to be in effect when the existing state of war between the United States and Germany shall have terminated, and the fact and date of such termination shall be ascertained and proclaimed by the President.

Mr. President, the people of this country are seriously distressed by the high cost of living, and here is a declaration of principle that will help to abate the high cost of living. I ask Senators if they are willing to be responsible for repealing these principles, or having them repealed, when they have in their hands the power to prevent their being repealed?

The responsibility is on you. I propose the amendment.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Oklahoma a question?

Mr. OWEN. I yield.

Mr. KENYON. Does the Senator's amendment extend this act indefinitely?

Mr. OWEN. It extends only the principles of section 2, which are set forth on page 3 of the pending bill and make unlawful the destroying of necessities of life for the purpose of enhancing the price or restricting the supply. That ought to remain unlawful.

Mr. KENYON. Of course this measure is enacted, as the Senator remembers, as a war measure.

Mr. OWEN. Oh, I remember that very well, but these fundamental principles are so just and so sound that they ought not to be set aside, and since it is very easy to make them effective with the amendment I have proposed I think it ought to go in the bill.

Mr. KENYON. I am afraid the Senator's amendment will possibly interfere with the passage of the bill.

Mr. OWEN. That may be.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, it is a very easy matter to criticize, to find fault, especially at this time. Everything now is in a state of unrest, and criticism of the Government but adds to that unrest. It breeds discontent; aye, Bolshevism. I have listened with much interest to the speech of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], a speech in which he criticized not only what we are about to do in this legislation, but he criticized the food-control bill, the President's trip to Paris, the management of the Quartermaster Department, and numerous things.

I shall not attempt to answer all of those charges, many of which misrepresented the facts; but the Senator stated, in speaking of Barney Baruch, that Baruch had made \$485,000 on a certain "leak" on the New York Stock Exchange.

I hold in my hand the report made by the Committee on Rules in the Sixty-fourth Congress, acting under a resolution passed by the House of Representatives directing it to investigate certain charges made by a very—must I say—distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Thomas W. Lawson. What he stated in the newspapers was taken as correct by a certain member of the opposing party in the House of Representatives, and on those charges this investigation was made.

Among other charges that Representative Wood at that time made, based upon the charges made by Mr. Thomas W. Lawson, was:

That a member of the Cabinet, a United States Senator, and a banker were together interested in a speculative stock-market account, the profits of which they divided equally, the success of their speculation being promoted by advance information that a note either had been or was to be sent to belligerent nations of a character likely to promote the prospects of peace in Europe.

Meaning that that particular speculator was Barney Baruch. Here is what the committee in their report say touching that, and it was unanimously adopted. Every Republican as well as every Democrat signed this report. It was unanimously agreed to by the House of Representatives, so there can be no question as to the findings of that committee. It says:

The committee has examined under oath and by aid of counsel every person named or suggested by Mr. Lawson. Not one of them supported or corroborated these charges. On the contrary, every one of them contradicted him. Furthermore, as a result of a careful examination of the customers' accounts of New York brokers, no such account as was described by the witness was disclosed or even indicated.

Further on in the report appears the third charge made by Representative Wood upon the suggestion of Thomas W. Lawson:

Third. That Bernard M. Baruch, a member of the New York Stock Exchange, and speculator, with offices in New York, had information regarding the President's note as early as Saturday, December 3, and on two or three different occasions had been seen in consultation with Joseph P. Tumulty, the President's private secretary, at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City—the obvious inference of the charge being that such advance information had been received by Mr. Baruch from Mr. Tumulty on some one or all of those occasions.

The committee unanimously reports:

As to the third proposition—

That is, the proposition touching Mr. Baruch—

Mr. Wood laid before the committee a letter signed "A. Curtis," which contained the statement above referred to regarding Mr. Baruch and Mr. Tumulty.

The committee, however, were unable to find the author of the letter. The signature was evidently fictitious and the statements which it contained were unfounded. Both Mr. Baruch and Mr. Tumulty denied that they had ever met at the Biltmore Hotel or that they had been in conference regarding the President's note on any occasion before its publication. A careful inquiry by the committee failed to produce the slightest evidence to substantiate the charge.

While it appeared in evidence that Mr. Baruch was speculating during the week of December 18, he denied that he either had or was influenced by information in relation to the President's note, and no evidence was adduced or could be found indicating that he had any such information.

And the facts disclosed that on the day of the leak Mr. Baruch was selling stocks instead of buying them, and on that particular day lost money instead of making money. So much for the unwarranted charge against Mr. Baruch.

Now, as to the proposition advanced by the Senator from Nebraska, that the Army made a great mistake in retaining the surplus supplies of canned goods. I thought some time ago that the Army should have disposed of those goods before they did, but when I read the evidence before the committees of the Senate and of the House; when Mr. Hare, who was placed at the head of the sales department, stated that they had circularized this country by sending out 20,000 circulars trying to obtain purchasers for those goods; that they had consulted with the Red Cross representatives, the Young Men's Christian Association representatives, and the representatives of other organizations on the best method to dispose of them and tried to

obtain for the Government a just and reasonable price, I was convinced that those men were doing about all they could in this matter.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, of course the Senator remembers from Mr. Hare's testimony and the circulars that those offers were only in very, very large lots, where the average man would have no opportunity whatever.

Mr. HARRISON. I think that is quite true, but I do not think that criticism should be hurled at the administration, especially the President. The advisory members of the Industrial Board, with but one exception, I am advised, were Republicans. That at least should be taken into consideration when these criticisms are hurled at the President by Members of the Senate as well as of the other body.

The Senator from Nebraska says that the President did not know what the food-control act contained when he delivered his message to Congress; that he recommended certain things in his message that were already in the law; and that the Department of Justice under the law as it was then on the statute books could have proceeded against the profiteers.

Here is what the President said in his message:

Fortunately under the terms of the food-control act the hoarding of foodstuffs can be checked and prevented, and they will be with the greatest energy.

And yet one listening to the speech of the Senator from Nebraska would believe that the President would have the Congress believe that there was no penalty attached in the food-control act for hoarding, and that therefore the Department of Justice could not proceed against them. On the contrary, the President expressly stated in his message that they could not proceed against hoarders under the food-control act, but that they could not proceed against individual profiteers in this country; and what he suggested was a penalty by which we might get at the individual profiteer, and that is what we have done in this legislation.

Under the food-control act there are several penalties provided for certain offenses if the parties are caught. There is a penalty against hoarding. That is embodied in section 6. There is a penalty in section 8 against any person who willfully destroys any necessities, and so forth. There is a penalty against anyone who permits preventable deterioration of any necessities, and so forth. But there is no penalty in the food-control act for an individual who goes out and charges unreasonable and exorbitant prices for necessities, and there is no penalty in the present food-control act against those who would make unreasonable and exorbitant profits on wearing apparel. In other words, while under the food-control act you can get at a combination, you can prosecute a set of men who agree among themselves to charge an exorbitant and unreasonable profit, you can not under the present law get at an individual who makes an exorbitant or unreasonable profit.

All of us know the condition in this country respecting shoes. The prices have soared from \$3.50 a pair to \$10 and \$12 a pair; they have soared from \$6 a pair to \$16 and \$17 a pair; and these pirates who have been robbing the people throughout the country by exacting exorbitant and unreasonable profits should be brought to the bar of justice and punished. And if the Congress of the United States fails to assume the responsibilities in passing appropriate legislation that will ferret out these profiteers and give the Department of Justice the weapons whereby they can be punished, then we must make an accounting and must answer to the American people. These unconscionable gougers have already too long fleeced the people. They have grown fat at the expense of the many.

The Department of Justice, acting under its head to-day, is doing everything in its power, using every weapon at its command, in order to punish those fellows who are violating the law. In the various cities throughout the country men who are hoarding necessities are being indicted and are being punished. Hundreds of cases have already been placed upon the dockets awaiting trial. Many of these men have already been tried and punished. But they were tried and they were punished under those provisions of the food-control act that made it unlawful to hoard necessities in this country. The other House have already done their duty in the matter, although of course I can not say that they would have done it had it not been for the President, whom the Senator from Nebraska seems to criticize, because that body was on the eve of adjourning—it had passed its resolution on the 5th day of July to adjourn, the leaders in this body had agreed to it, and were going to allow them to go home, when the President, desirous that these profiteers should be brought to the bar and punished, respectfully suggested to them to remain in session that appropriate legislation might be passed. They did remain in session; they did pass this legislation. That has been some four or five weeks ago.

And here we are just now about to pass the legislation that the President weeks ago requested us to pass immediately, the legislation that the Attorney General advocated before the Committee on Agriculture some three weeks ago and urged us to give immediate favorable consideration to. Although we have been slow in doing it, we have embodied in this legislation everything requested by the Department of Justice.

Mr. DIAL. What is the life of this bill?

Mr. HARRISON. The bill will die when peace is proclaimed; when the treaties are ratified.

Mr. DIAL. The only theory on which you ask for this legislation is on the ground that it is a war measure?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Mr. DIAL. And the war is practically over.

Mr. HARRISON. I do not know about that. We have not asked for it to be extended. The Department of Justice did not ask for it to be extended, but the Attorney General came to us and said, "Gentlemen, I can not get at the profiteers unless you write into this law 'wearing apparel,' and at the same time fix a penalty, so that I can get at the profiteer in this country." He requested simple amendments, and we—or, I might say, some of us—gladly gave them to him. I am not in favor of extending this bill beyond the proclamation of peace. I think we are getting on dangerous ground when we do it. I do not know that we have the constitutional authority to do it. I do not think we have the constitutional authority to do it, because this does not deal wholly with interstate commerce. This deals with the individual in a State who is doing business intrastate, as well as interstate, and so I am opposed to that particular amendment—the amendment suggested by the Senator from Oklahoma—

Mr. CURTIS. May I ask a question of the Senator?

Mr. HARRISON. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. To what amendment did the Senator say he is opposed? Is it a committee amendment?

Mr. HARRISON. I said I was opposed to the amendment suggested by the Senator from Oklahoma, that this should be extended beyond war times. It is not a committee amendment. There was another amendment that was embodied in this legislation that was not incorporated in the bill as passed by the House of Representatives, and that is found on page 3 of the bill.

The amendment reads:

Or to exact unreasonable and excessive prices for a lease or sublease, rent or subrent of any dwelling house, dwelling room, or apartment, either furnished or unfurnished, in the District of Columbia.

No one would doubt the jurisdiction of Congress to pass such legislation as that. No one who has lived in Washington can doubt the necessity for some legislation that will restrain the hand of these piratical landlords in the District of Columbia. Those who have kept up with the hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia of the Senate are bound to be convinced that men have been robbing the people in the District of Columbia in too high and too excessive rents.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BECKHAM in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. HARRISON. I yield.

Mr. POMERENE. In this connection I may suggest that not more than a week or 10 days ago a woman who is a renter called at my office and stated, among other things, that she sought to rent an apartment in a building which is under the control of one of the leading landlords of this city, who very graciously promised to show her through the apartments. The conversation was by telephone. But after he had arranged to show her through the apartments he asked the question, "Did you take advantage of the Saulsbury Act?" And she replied, in substance, "Indeed, I did." Then he said he did not care to have her come to the apartment house. Another one said, in substance, "Just wait until the Saulsbury resolution expires by limitation and then the apartment house owners will make money." That is the present situation.

Mr. HARRISON. It is an awful condition, and cases on cases could be enumerated that would show that appropriate legislation should be passed to remedy that situation. I heard of one case where a woman had paid \$30 a month for an apartment and had leased it out, or subleased it, for \$150.

These people should be prevented from doing that. Whenever we make it possible to reduce the high rents in the District of Columbia we will reduce the high cost of living immeasurably to the people who live here. It is a duty we owe them, and we should grant them immediate relief.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I am cooperating with the Committee on the District of Columbia on the very matter to which the Senator refers. I notice that the bill contains a pro-

vision forbidding unreasonable and excessive prices for subleasing, and so forth. That is for the determination of the court as to what is unreasonable?

Mr. HARRISON. It is.

Mr. PHELAN. And the court might possibly be moved by considerations of the law of supply and demand, so it would be no remedy at all.

Mr. HARRISON. I do not know by what the court might be moved. Of course in order to convict one under it they would go into court. The jury would finally pass upon that proposition.

Mr. PHELAN. Does the Senator think that in the case of landlords offering their apartments for rent at public auction that would be a wise determination of the public value of the property, and hence determine whether it was reasonable or unreasonable?

Mr. HARRISON. A lot of things might enter into the proposition of whether it was reasonable or unreasonable, but may I ask the distinguished Senator a question? Is he in favor of any legislation affecting rents in the District of Columbia?

Mr. PHELAN. I have been acting with the Committee on the District of Columbia—

Mr. HARRISON. That is why I am anxious to know how the Senator feels.

Mr. PHELAN. For the very purpose of in some way regulating profiteering, more particularly in the matter of subletting, because the owner of the property does not get the advantage of the increased value of the property by reason of the excessive demand, but some middleman does.

Mr. HARRISON. Unquestionably that is true in some cases.

Mr. PHELAN. But what is in your mind is that the person investing his savings, if you please—let me say, to make it more sympathetic, a poor man investing his savings in a house instead of in a farm, for the purpose of having a little income in his old age, finds the arm of the Government restraining him in the collection of the natural revenue from the property, whereas the man who invests in a farm is given unlimited opportunity to profiteer because he is a farmer.

Mr. HARRISON. I think the Senator has greatly exaggerated that situation. I have had a great deal of experience in the courts, not only on the side of the prosecution, because it was my pleasure once to serve for five and one-half years as prosecuting attorney, but on the side of defense also, and while sometimes there is a miscarriage of justice, it is very, very seldom, and the juries do not generally convict an innocent man.

In the first place, the question of the man who is charged with making an unreasonable and exorbitant profit in the leasing of his house is passed on by the grand jury. They pass on it first, and then he is tried before a jury of his peers, and they must agree before conviction on all the facts presented that the charge is unreasonable. It seems to me it is almost impossible for an innocent man to be convicted under the proposition. Does not the Senator from California think so?

Mr. PHELAN. I am thinking of the proposition of relieving the tense situation in the District by encouraging the construction of more buildings. I saw a prospectus the other day of an apartment house to cost a million dollars, and they had to borrow something like \$750,000 in order to construct it. They held out the expectation of returns to investors in the stock and in the bonds. Knowing the situation here, I would be very loath to make an investment in the stock or bonds, and if they are not sold the apartment house will not be constructed. I will be loath because Congress is trying to invest apartment houses and even dwellings with the character of a public use, and hence it would be impossible for those projectors of apartment houses to dispose of their securities. If you will leave them alone they will put up apartment houses and naturally their zeal to collect the very high rents which exist now will cause an abatement of the high-rent situation and it will pass away.

Mr. HARRISON. If you let them alone they will continue to bleed the people just as leeches bleed human beings.

Mr. PHELAN. If there are more apartment houses it will have a tendency to lower rents.

Mr. HARRISON. But apartment houses have been going up quite rapidly during the last few years in Washington, much more rapidly than in any other city in the United States, and rents have been going up even much more rapidly.

Mr. PHELAN. It is because people come to Washington more numerous on account of war conditions, and, of course, it was possible during war conditions to take this extraordinary step. But the war is over. We are undertaking to make it possible for investors to construct buildings in Washington, and this is not an adequate and permanent way to cure the cost of living.

Mr. HARRISON. This is not permanent legislation.

Mr. PHELAN. No; it is only war-time legislation.

Mr. HARRISON. It only applies to this bill—

Mr. PHELAN. But the Senator has an amendment before the Senate by which he really endeavors to make it permanent. It seems to me to be wrong economically.

Mr. HARRISON. I am very much in hopes that the Senate and the House will adopt this provision, thereby giving some immediate relief to the people of the District, and that the committee of which the distinguished Senator is a member will bring out some permanent legislation that will not only remedy some unfortunate cases under the Saulsbury law, but will extend this provision and make it permanent law, so that the strong arm of the Department of Justice can punish those who deal unjustly with the people in this city and whose whole ambition is to add unreasonable and exorbitant rent charges on the already heavy-burdened shoulders of thousands of wage earners in Washington.

Mr. PHELAN. I think the most logical method of relief would be found in the Government paying its employees, who necessarily have to live in Washington, a sufficient salary. There are a lot of sightseers and cave dwellers who need not live here. The Government should compensate its employees sufficiently to meet this new demand, and reduce the compensation when the rents fall to meet those conditions. But why should the individual property owner be made to bear the additional burden of tax? He pays on his excess receipts 80 per cent in most cases to the Government as an excess war tax, and why should he be singled out to pay this added burden? Why should not the Government itself, representing all the people, compensate its employees adequately to meet not only the high cost of living but the high cost of sleeping?

Mr. HARRISON. I am seeking to put this burden on him because he has been putting the burden on the people of the District too long.

Mr. PHELAN. You wish to punish him?

Mr. HARRISON. I wish to do justice by him but compel him to do justice toward the public.

Mr. PHELAN. But this is not a penal statute.

Mr. HARRISON. I am quite sure that no jury will convict any man unless he is charging an unreasonable and exorbitant price for his dwelling or apartment or his rooms.

Mr. PHELAN. I want to cure the bill, but I want to do it in a permanent and logical way.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator has not suggested a cure, and he will certainly aid the unfortunate people in the District if he will assist to write this much into the law at the present time.

Mr. DIAL. Mr. President—

Mr. HARRISON. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. DIAL. Does not the Senator think his purpose could be accomplished in a separate bill governing the rents in the District of Columbia?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; I really think so.

Mr. DIAL. The Committee on the District of Columbia is preparing such a bill, which will be placed before the Senate in a day or two. It is a very comprehensive bill along that line, and it seems to me it would be better to let the matter be covered in a separate bill.

Mr. HARRISON. I think it would be better to have the whole thing embodied in a separate bill, but since I have come to Washington as a Member of the House and as a Member of the Senate, I have heard it suggested time after time to put this off and put that off, defer and procrastinate touching legislation, and finally we get nothing. Let us meet the conditions as they arise—meet them promptly and effectively.

Here is an opportunity to give relief to these people by incorporating it in this bill, and the question that should guide us is whether or not we are in favor of it. If we are in favor of it it will become the law, and we can give immediate relief. If we wait we may give them no relief.

There is one further proposition to which I desire to address myself briefly. There is an amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], or in which, I believe, he is interested. It was not incorporated in the bill as it passed the House. It is known as the Smith amendment, and was placed in the bill by the Senate committee. It was intended to be placed there as a measure or as a standard whereby juries in arriving at their verdict could have something on which to base their verdict. It reads as follows:

And provided further, That to make unjust or unreasonable a rate or charge in handling or dealing in or with any necessities, except where there has been a conspiracy, combination, or arrangement with reference to prices, such rate or charge must be in excess of the rate or charge fixed by a fair-price committee, and the Department of Justice is authorized to provide for the appointment of fair-price committees.

That is the Senate committee amendment. I expect at the proper time to ask the Senate to disagree to that amendment. I believe it weakens the legislation. I believe it will make it al-

most impossible to prosecute some of these fellows whom we are trying to get under the provisions of the law.

It is quite true that the Attorney General, when he appeared before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate, stated that these committees in the various sections of the country that have fixed prices under the licensing system had been requested to reorganize, and that they expected to organize these fair-price committees all over the country, having thereon a representative of the consumers, a representative of labor, a representative of the retail dealers, and probably two other additional disinterested persons. In my opinion, whenever you indict a party for profiteering, charging an unreasonable and exorbitant price under this bill, the astute lawyer that will be employed to defend under this amendment would probably in every case interpose the objection that the fair-price committee was not legally appointed, that it had no authority to fix prices, and innumerable propositions would be advanced to becloud the issue before the jury and prevent justice being done.

For my part, rather than leave it to a fair-price committee over the country to fix the price of the necessities and publish that price list in the paper and have it as a measure for the jury to go by in arriving at its verdict, I would prefer to leave it to the jury to ascertain all the facts and pass on the proposition of whether or not it was an unreasonable and exorbitant charge. In other words, I would rather leave it to the 18 men who form the grand jury and the 12 men who make up the petit jury to say what is an unreasonable and exorbitant profit than the fair-price committees over the country.

So I shall at the proper time make a motion to disagree to that particular amendment. I sincerely hope that the provision or the amendment touching rents in the District of Columbia will prevail, and that the other amendments brought in by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate, with the exception I have stated, will prevail.

Mr. DIAL obtained the floor.

Mr. LENROOT. May I ask the Senator from Mississippi just one question before the Senator proceeds?

Mr. DIAL. Certainly. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. LENROOT. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] stated, as I understood him, that in the original law there was no penalty whatever for profiteering. The Senator did not mean that?

Mr. HARRISON. No; I did not state that. I said there was no provision in the food-control act for a penalty against the individual who made an unreasonable or exorbitant charge.

Mr. LENROOT. That is just the point.

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Mr. LENROOT. The Senator from Mississippi certainly recognizes that there is such a provision in the original law. The very section which this bill seeks to amend—and I am not opposing the bill, I will say to the Senator—applies to all dealers in food and fuel, and a penalty is provided for an unreasonable profit if the President exercising the power under the act requires licenses, and there is a penalty of not more than \$5,000 nor more than two years imprisonment for violation of the order of the President.

Mr. HARRISON. I think the Senator from Wisconsin is absolutely mistaken about that. If he is not, the committee is mistaken and the Attorney General is mistaken. There is a penalty in that act against certain things, but not against the individual who makes an exorbitant and unreasonable charge.

Mr. LENROOT. Let me say—and I am sorry to take the time—

Mr. DIAL. I yield.

Mr. LENROOT. But I want the record to be straight. A portion of section 5 of the original act reads:

Any person who, without a license issued pursuant to this section, or whose license shall have been revoked, knowingly engages in or carries on any business for which a license is required under this section, or willfully fails or refuses to discontinue any unjust, unreasonable, discriminatory, and unfair storage charge, commission, profit, or practice, in accordance with the requirement of an order issued under this section, or any regulation prescribed under this section, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

The only difference being that the license system must be put into operation to make it apply.

Mr. HARRISON. That is very true. We do not differ about that in its relation to the license system. However, they have demobilized their forces in that department; they have ceased to operate under the license system; and they have stated that it would take some 60 days if they had to reorganize and start over.

Mr. LENROOT. I wished to correct the statement that there was no penalty.

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; to that extent there is.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Mississippi a question?

Mr. DIAL. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KELLOGG. Do I understand that the jury in each case, if this amendment were stricken out, would decide what an unreasonable price was?

Mr. HARRISON. That is the idea.

Mr. KELLOGG. Suppose there were two retail dealers in the same town charging the same prices who were both arrested and had separate trials, and that in one case the jury held the price was excessive and in the other case the jury held that it was not excessive; how is a man to know whether or not he is charging an excessive price?

Mr. HARRISON. The fellow who is convicted in that case would be very unfortunate, but I might say to the Senator that that is true in a great many instances. I have seen a man convicted by one jury and another man under the same state of facts turned loose.

Mr. KELLOGG. Is it not a fact that the law must point out a way, so that the individual may know whether or not he is violating it?

Mr. HARRISON. I would say to the Senator, in connection with that, that that is why the amendment known as the Smith amendment gave the Attorney General the power to appoint a fair-price committee, so that prices might be fixed which could be taken as a standard. That is why that provision was included.

Mr. KELLOGG. I understood the Senator was going to move to strike that out.

Mr. HARRISON. I was going to move to strike it out, but I may say that the majority of the committee was against my view on that proposition.

Mr. DIAL. Mr. President, during war times it made no difference whether or not an act was constitutional or legal, whatever the Government wanted the people were willing to let it have. Now the war is practically over—not legally over, but to all intents and purposes it is ended—and it occurs to me it is time to stop extending any war measures. I know of no ground upon which this proposed law can be based except as a war measure, and we hope that the present condition even of legal war will not continue longer than a very few days or a very short time at most.

Mr. President, I am opposed to hoarding; I am opposed to profiteering; I am opposed to robbery in any shape; but this bill goes further than the war measure, for it includes articles that were not included in the original food-control act. To that extent, I certainly think this bill ought not to be passed. The country has become accustomed to the former law, but now here it is proposed to include wearing apparel. The enactment of the bill will disorganize business; legitimate affairs of the people would be tampered with and all thrown out of gear for some considerable time.

Under this bill the people would be liable to be haled into court, prosecuted, and tried upon an indefinite charge and under indefinite definitions of what profiteering is. I do not know what it is. What would mean profiteering to one person would not appear to be profiteering to another person. So I am utterly opposed to disturbing the business conditions of this country and allowing our people to be harassed with this unnecessary law, as I take it to be. Certainly it ought not to be extended under any circumstances to include articles not enumerated in the existing law. It would result in having men haled before a court, their reputations besmirched for some act that even the courts would not know the definition of, and would never be told until after the jury passed upon it. I repeat, what would be profiteering to one man would not be profiteering, perhaps, to another.

To have a fair-price commission go around over the country—a commission composed of inexperienced men—would greatly disturb business, and I hope that will not be done. I have offered an amendment to strike out the words "wearing apparel," on page 2, line 4.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIAL. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator realizes, I presume, that if wearing apparel should be stricken from this bill we would not be able to get at the profiteers who are making big profits on shoes.

Mr. DIAL. The trouble, Mr. President, and the chief cause of the high cost of living is that people have quit the farms and have gone to town. They want to get into houses, instead of working outdoors. I left here the other night on a train. A gentleman happened to be sitting by me in the smoker who, as it turned out, was a former client of mine. He was a manufacturer of shoes; he owned a shoe factory; and he told me the other day his wife bought a pair of shoes which cost her \$6,

and that was the highest price she had ever paid for a pair of shoes. In a day or two his stenographer came in wearing a new pair of shoes and he asked her what her shoes cost, and she said they cost her \$16. He told her she was not able to pay that much for shoes, but she answered that she made the money and she was going to buy such shoes as she desired to buy. That is one reason why the cost of living is high; it is high living. People are spending money unnecessarily.

The other day I heard of a colored man stepping into a store in my adjoining county and asking to see some shirts. They showed him a \$2 shirt and he said that was not fine enough. Then they showed him a \$6 shirt and he said that was not good enough. He was next shown a \$10 shirt, and he said he would take three of those; and he pulled out three \$10 bills and paid for them. That is one reason for the high cost of living.

I heard a man say the other day he stepped into a store where they had a pile of shirts as high as his head. A youth entered the store and asked the merchant the price of the shirts. The merchant told him they were \$6, and if he wanted any of those shirts he had better pick his out pretty soon to get the pattern he wanted. My informant inquired who bought such shirts, and was told the boys in the mills.

I dined with a friend the other day, a very rich man, whose salary, I think, is \$25,000 a year, who said that he stepped into a store the other day with the idea of purchasing a silk shirt. He said that he had never owned one before. He asked the clerk the price of the shirt, and was told \$12. He said, "I would consider it a reflection on my intelligence to pay \$12 for a shirt." He asked the clerk "who buys that kind of shirts?" and was told the barbers and the hack drivers and the boys who want to blow in. That is the trouble with this country; the people have quit work and are going to the towns, and yet we expect prices to go down. What we need is to have our people get some tools and go back on the farm and produce something to eat.

I am not going to take up much time in the discussion now, but we all know of the inflated condition of the currency; we know of the war destruction and everything of that sort, and we know that prices are bound to be high for a considerable time. I am not a merchant, and the provisions of the bill will not interfere with me at all except in a general way, but I think that the way to bring about natural and normal conditions is to quit being abnormal and to quit passing unnecessary laws and to adjourn the Senate as soon as we can get the treaty ratified and some much-needed reconstructive laws enacted. That would do as much to quiet this country and satisfy our people as anything else that could be done. I would not appear critical of my colleagues, but it is my honest opinion that every legitimate interest would be served if the sessions of Congress were shorter, say not longer than four months in the year. I think then there would not be so much unrest in this country.

I hope this proposed law will not be extended any further than to articles originally embraced in the food-control act. Let us get back to normal and not enact so much legislation in Washington. We have set a good many bad examples here. The way to do is to let the people go back to the country, pay their debts, pay for the expenses of the war, and forget about it.

CITY POLICE AND LABOR UNIONS.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I had intended to discuss some of the features of this bill to-day, but I am informed that some Senators desire a short executive session, and I shall therefore postpone that duty until to-morrow. I shall, however, before the executive session is held refer briefly to dispatches reaching the city this afternoon, informing the public of conditions in Boston, where a strike of policemen, called day before yesterday and fixed for 5.30 yesterday afternoon, is now in full operation. I had occasion yesterday to express some anxiety about that situation, and I fear that my apprehensions, as the facts now disclose, are fully justified.

At 5.30 to 6 o'clock yesterday afternoon 85 per cent of the metropolitan police force of the city of Boston and belonging to the police union of that city, previously affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, surrendered their weapons, laid down their clubs, and suspended their activities, the grievance being the discharge of some of the force by the State police commissioner for retaining their federation membership contrary to the order of that official. The papers this morning outlined a somewhat grave situation but carried the encouraging news that the citizens of Boston had taken up the work of their recalcitrant officials and were engaged in policing the city as best they could.

The Evening Star, of Washington, in its last edition devotes the first column of its front page to the subject, and, with the

permission of the Senate, I will read the Associated Press dispatches as they there appear.

The first dispatch is very short, announcing that Mayor Peters had taken over the control from Commissioner Curtis, a State appointee—and who, by the way, has not been removed, although the governor has been petitioned by the American Federation of Labor to remove him for disciplining disobedient members of the force—and had called upon the State guard organizations to assist in maintaining order.

Then follows the Associated Press dispatch:

BOSTON, September 10.

Gov. Coolidge early this afternoon called out the Fourth Brigade of the State guard, made up of the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Fifteenth Regiments, and the machine-gun company of the Fourteenth Regiment. The troops were ordered to report to Mayor Peters forthwith.

That is a very serious order, Mr. President. It indicates that a very grave condition existed or it would not have been made. The remainder of the dispatch informs the public of that situation:

BOSTON, September 10.

Lawlessness was rampant in Boston to-day. Without adequate police protection, private citizens were left to their own resources to protect their lives and property.

Since the police struck at 5.45 o'clock yesterday afternoon there has been no organized police power able to cope with the situation that last night approached anarchy and to-day appeared to grow more serious as the inadequacy of the makeshift arrangements intended to preserve public order became obvious to the criminally inclined.

At 11.15 a. m. to-day the State guard had not been called out, and, so far as could be learned, only a handful of higher officers in the police department and an indefinite number of "volunteers" were making an effort to prevent disorder.

Virtually nothing of what was proposed at the city hall or state-house could be learned this morning. Mayor Peters was said to be "in conference with prominent citizens." Gov. Coolidge was said to be still standing back of Police Commissioner Curtis. At the commissioner's office it was said he had turned the recruiting of an emergency force over to former superintendent of police, William H. Pierce, who was busy swearing in volunteers.

CITY ABANDONED TO HOODLUMS.

Last night the city was virtually abandoned to the hoodlum and criminal. For some reason not publicly explained the volunteer force which it had been expected would go on duty when the police quit was not called out until this morning.

The banks and larger mercantile institutions were protected by their own guards, but the small retailer was at the mercy of mobs, which included in their number all elements, from the purely mischievous to the downright criminal. Store windows to a number estimated at 300 were smashed in and goods by the armful carried away. Police Superintendent Crowley placed the damage done during the night at \$300,000.

Supt. Crowley said this morning that his emergency force, made up of a few faithful policemen and volunteers, totaled between 600 and 700. This was less than one-half the number of the regular police force.

DESTRUCTION IN DOWN-TOWN BOSTON.

Down-town Boston presented a sad picture this morning. The systematic looting had ceased apparently with the coming of daylight, but evidences of last night's lawlessness were plentiful. On Washington Street near School Street the whole glass front of a haberdashery had been smashed. Around the corner, on School Street, Walton's cafe looked as if it had been struck by a cyclone. All 10 of the Walton cafes in the city, where there is a strike on, were looted.

Crowds gathered early, as on a holiday, and surged through lower Washington Street and the other narrow thoroughfares of the congested business district. They generally had the spirit of merry-makers, but there was something ominous in the steady augmentation of the idle and the freedom from restraint.

The cross streets, with few exceptions, were unguarded. The reckless motor-car driver was in his glory and pedestrians made dangerous crossings at their peril.

A walk from Boylston Street through Tremont to Bromfield and north through Washington to Court Street revealed only one person who was making any show of authority.

Now listen, Senators:

ATTACKS ON WOMEN FREQUENT.

Attacks of women throughout the night were frequent and atrocious. In numerous parts of the city there were villainous assaults. The vicious element suffered the most, but according to reports no woman was safe in the little-frequented districts or where the streets were not brilliantly illuminated.

Two women were pursued by a mob and found refuge in the city hospital. With a boldness almost unbelievable the mob attempted to force its way into the institution and was only stopped by a handful of officers who had arrived a moment before with a man who had been shot.

WALKOUT SIGNAL FOR ROWDYISM.

Rowdiness started almost with the walkout of the patrolmen last night. Thousands of persons gathered about the police stations before 6 p. m., and when the officers emerged in civilian clothes or without insignia or equipment they were greeted with cheers and jeers, and at some stations youths with grudges against certain officers threw mud, sticks, and stones. These crowds were dispersed by superior officers and loyal patrolmen.

In south Boston rowdiness and looting started early and continued through the night. Windows in whole blocks of stores were broken and their contents scattered. Those who could not get near the windows were able to buy rare bargains in wearing apparel and cheap jewelry from others who were overstocked.

A sailor in an Avoyn Street crowd carried a fully dressed store dummy. Without leaving the street he took off his uniform and donned the "civies," even to the collar and tie.

Some one sold him an expensive velvet hat for 35 cents, and he departed with his uniform under his arm. Reports that sailors were prominent in the disturbances brought armed guards from the navy yard.

The police strike began shortly before 6 o'clock. The patrolmen reported at the evening roll call and turned in their revolvers, clubs, and patrol-box keys.

Mr. President, I shall not occupy the time of the Senate with reading the remainder of this article. It recites the shooting of three men and the stabbing of one, and gives the immediate cause of the strike as the refusal of Commissioner Curtis to sanction the policemen's union because of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the union voting 1,134 to 2 to call the strike.

To me, Mr. President, this is the logical consequence of the affiliation of the officers of the law with private organizations of whatever character. It is an inescapable fact that when the officials of government assume obligations or enter into covenants which may contingently interfere or conflict with the discharge of their duty they at once become subject to a double allegiance, the fruit of which is inevitable in this imperfect world. Since the Master said, centuries ago, that no man could serve two masters, no man ever has or ever will successfully do so. The conflict of interests and of obligations is absolutely irreconcilable. Mr. President, this is a step which if accomplished will not end with the so-called unionizing of the police forces of America. Already efforts are being made to unionize the Army; and if it is legitimate to unionize the police, it is equally legitimate to unionize the soldiers of the Republic.

The second column of the paper from which I have read contains a most enthusiastic account of the reception given to the immortal Pershing and the equally immortal First Division by the people of the great city of New York. Within 200 miles of each other, there is the contrast—a contrast representing much that is good and all that is sinister in the relations of men to their National and State Governments. I can well imagine how, if this tendency goes unchecked, the splendid record of achievement of the expeditionary force which has written its name in letters of gold upon the imperishable pages of American history may, through its influences, be tarnished by the assumption of obligations inimical to duty and to allegiance.

I have no reason for assuming that Boston will be the only victim of these disturbances. This is but the beginning; and just as surely as the movement is permitted to develop, just so surely will there be repetitions of them in every city in the country.

In the editorial pages of the Star there is expressed the timid hope that these disorders may not visit the Capital City. Why, Mr. President, it is the duty of the press of this city, it is the duty of the press of the United States—a duty which it owes to the people of America—to become the leaders in the effort to suppress official lawlessness, to sound the alarm, and to see that this spirit, now so rampant, shall not be converted into an agency for the destruction of the social fabric.

The Washington Post this morning saw fit to criticize, and criticize somewhat severely, my comments upon the action of Mr. Justice Gould in issuing an injunction against the Commissioners of this District. I am taken to task for using my high position upon this floor, for exercising my privilege as a United States Senator, in expressing some disapprobation of the judicial conduct of a great judge. I have done here what I have done elsewhere under analogous conditions, and what I shall continue to do when occasion demands it so long as I live.

Mr. President, I have always respected the bench; I always shall, as long as it maintains its present lofty standards; but I have had occasion more than once during the long course of practice at the bar and in the discharge in my humble way of some of the functions of a citizen, to criticize and to condemn the attitude of some of the courts of my country. To illustrate, I once felt bound to do so, when the supreme court of my own State imposed a fine upon my former partner some time ago for a criticism, the notorious truth of which he offered to prove. The facts were that the court, with one solitary and honorable exception, had deliberately surrendered to the interests of the public utilities of my home city.

I have had occasion upon this floor to express dissent from certain decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and particularly one which read a word into a statute which had been deliberately excluded therefrom by the Congress, and I shall not now hesitate to continue the same course when confronted by another judge wrongfully assuming jurisdiction of a mighty proposition and tying the hands of the only body invested with authority to solve it. It will be a sorry day for the people of America when our courts become immune to criticism. Public opinion is the one great corrective of their assumptions of power or their misapplication of the law.

I want to say to the people of the Capital City of the United States that if the Boston condition is to be duplicated here, and that is what this decision contemplates, sooner or later they will be confronted with the same consequences. The time will inevitably come when, as in Boston, the women of this city will be unsafe upon the streets of the American Capital, when its stores will be looted, when its citizens will be shot down, and when the middle-class citizen will have to shoulder his gun, take up the baton of the policeman, and patrol the streets for the protection of his property and his family and for the vindication of the law.

We must meet this situation, and if it be true that it is the logical development of conditions which we can not suppress or prevent, then, Mr. President, we and our children can at least have the consolation of knowing that when the crisis confronted us we did not flinch, but sought to meet it, and to meet it like men.

Mr. President, I do not know what this court will do to-morrow. It may make the injunction perpetual. If it does, it ties the commissioners hand and foot and delivers them to the police union. The District Commissioners may see fit, in their judgment, or through the advice of counsel, to submit to that iniquity. I hope they will exercise their prerogative whatever the consequence. But if they shall bow to the court decree and leave the judges responsible for results, then the duty of the Congress becomes the more insistent. I affirm that an awakening courage and a reviving Americanism in the Senate and House of Representatives, too long repressed, is now quickening into life. May it now assert itself, prove equal to the crisis, and reestablish the conviction that this Republic, equal to every danger which may confront it, is yet capable of accomplishing its destiny through the devotion, the heroism, the sacrifice of its people.

NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to take just a moment to call the attention of the office of information of the United States Department of Agriculture to what I consider a useless waste of money and a useless waste of time. The other day the Senate confirmed Mr. James R. Riggs, who was nominated for Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and the office of information sent out this advertisement and publicity:

NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The new Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, James R. Riggs, whose nomination has just been confirmed by the Senate, is a farmer—not merely by way of interest in the subject, but by life-long, practical application. Farming has been his primary occupation all his life. More than that, he is a farmer by heredity. So far as the available record shows, the Riggs line from which he is descended has been made up of farmers all the way. His grandfather, Hezekiah Riggs, was born on a farm in Loudon County, Va., in 1791. When he was 22 years old he moved to Sullivan County, Ind., and engaged in farming and live-stock growing. There Commodore Perry Riggs, father of the Assistant Secretary, was born, and there he spent his life as a farmer and stock grower. All of his sons and all of his sons' sons have been farmers.

Among the several sons of Commodore Perry Riggs was James R. Riggs. He was born at Shelburn, Sullivan County, Ind., February 17, 1865. For two years after graduation from the Sullivan County High School, in 1882, he was deputy county treasurer and bookkeeper for hardware and lumber firms. In 1885, when he was 20 years old, he began his career as a farmer. He made his first purchase of land in 1888. From that time until the present he has continued in the active management of his farms.

While devoting his energies primarily to farming operations, Mr. Riggs has found time both for other business enterprises and for public affairs. He was elected county auditor in 1894. For a number of years he was active in the development of the coal, oil, and gas industries of his section. For 12 years he was president of a trust company. He has been connected with the construction of more than 200 miles of improved highway. Since 1912 he has been engaged in the manufacture of drain tile.

Mr. Riggs was married in September, 1895, to Miss Bessie Lewman, of Clark County, Ind. They have three daughters.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, that sounds very much to me like a biographic extract from the Congressional Directory.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; only a little longer; and this is issued, Mr. President, with the hope that it is to be published in all the papers in the United States. I want simply to say to the office of information of the United States Department of Agriculture that it seems to me this is an absolute waste of paper, a waste of time, is costly to the Government, and their labors ought to be directed in a far better channel.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

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

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, September 11, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 10, 1919.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

MEDICAL CORPS.

First Lieut. Farrar B. Parker, Medical Corps, to be captain from November 24, 1918.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 10, 1919.

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

William E. Gonzales to be ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Peru.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Herbert C. Comings to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 2, with headquarters at St. Albans, Vt.

ASSISTANT APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Thomas J. Burns to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in customs collection district No. 10, with headquarters at New York, N. Y.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders, for temporary service:

Louis J. Roth,
Clarke Withers,
Tunis A. M. Craven,
Samuel S. Thurston,
Philip C. Ransom,
Jerome A. Lec,
Alfred H. Donahue,
John D. Jones,
William Masek,
Edmund S. McCawley,
Langdon D. Pickering,
Andrew L. Haas,
Franklin B. Conger, jr.,
Lloyd H. Lewis,
Samuel N. Moore,
William G. B. Hatch,
Valentine Wood,
Leo H. Thebaud,
James R. Webb,
Horace W. Pillsbury,
Walker Cochran,
Julian B. Timberlake, jr.,
Laurence W. Clarke,
Michael Hudson,
Gordon Hutchins,
Henry F. Floyd, and
Joseph H. Hoffman.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants, for temporary service:

William J. Russell,
Arthur C. Leonard,
Emil F. Linstrom,
Edwin V. Wilder,
Ola F. Heslar,
Louis M. Palmer,
Henry Plander,
Henry E. Cressman,
Benjamin F. Blume,
Robert Anderson,
Roscoe C. Bright,
Simeon L. Owen,
Edo S. Carfolite,
George H. Wheeler,
Daniel Campbell,
J. Walter Eaton,
Albert L. King,
Ray P. Helm,
William P. Turner,
Laurie C. Parfitt,
Leo Mead,
Ray H. Watkins,
Alfred R. Boileau,
Herbert Wycherley,
Manuel J. Cayton,

Warren A. Northrup,
Grover A. Miller,
George Stone,
James E. Drever,
William I. Denny,
Frank Dobie,
William J. Poland,
Thomas Fertner,
Ellis H. Roach,
Olaf J. Dahl,
Warren W. Wesley,
August Skolasky,
Werner E. Follin,
Frederick Bense,
Carter E. Parker,
Walter H. Thomas,
Lester M. Harvey,
Adolph J. Hofman,
Edward Eger,
William Johnson,
Harlie H. Brown,
Emmett M. Wanner,
Alfred L. Johnson,
James F. Cooper,
Frank J. McManamon,
Walter F. Marriner,
Oliver P. Kilmer,
August A. Bressman,
Walter J. Fanger,
Richard L. Reuling,
Eldred J. Richards,
Jacob M. Gibson,
Martin J. Werner,
Arthur G. Somers,
George A. Gast,
Marion C. Erwin,
Arthur P. Spencer,
Robert T. Bamford,
Lewis A. Yancey,
Haden H. Phares,
James Moran,
Emil H. Petri,
Ralph F. Streitz,
Stephen J. Drellishak,
Edwin F. Bilson,
James J. Morgan,
Carl E. Nelson,
Charles M. May,
Frederick G. Lemke,
Edmond F. Sale,
Edward L. Moyer,
Thomas C. Ryan,
John Erikson, jr.,
Garrison Payne,
Walter H. Stuart,
Leo E. Orvis,
Harold E. Fosdick,
Archie O. Mundale,
John C. Hicks,
Charles W. Henckler,
Henry Quinton,
Harvey C. Brown,
Joe S. Wierzbowski,
George W. Allen,
Edmont T. Coon,
George H. Turner,
Frederick A. Ruf,
Thomas M. Arrowsmith,
William R. Giddens,
Ernest C. Marheineke,
John D. Cornell,
Carl I. Ostrom,
James Williams,
William H. Newman,
George Enos,
Fred P. Brown,
Thomas E. Orr,
Harry L. Thompson,
John D. Lennon,
Edward V. Brown,
William A. Reynolds,
Leslie K. Orr,
Frank Mogridge,
Chub J. Smith,
John A. Rayhart,

Ira A. White,
 Elmer B. Robinson,
 Albert L. Bishop,
 Harold Hye,
 Nels E. Smith,
 Mauritz M. Nelson,
 Orle H. Small,
 William B. Anderson,
 William P. Crowley,
 Louis M. Blier,
 Robin Southern,
 Elmer A. Posey,
 John F. McConalogue,
 Joseph K. Konieczny,
 Christian V. Pedersen,
 Henry Eismann,
 Walter E. Sharon,
 Herman G. Mecklenberg,
 Earle S. Nason,
 Robert De Bellefeuille,
 John H. Burke,
 George E. Comstock,
 Ralph M. Jeffries,
 Frank L. McClellan,
 Frederick L. Rose,
 William A. Blazo,
 Herbert G. Haynes,
 Harry L. Ritchie,
 Roy E. Hall,
 Leon W. Thomas,
 George W. Haynes,
 Charles Braun, jr.,
 Clyde Morrison,
 Joseph A. Curzon,
 Emil Roeller, and
 Edward D. Berry.

The following named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade),
 for temporary service:

Edwin W. Hartzell,
 Richard G. Berger,
 Fred C. Shoebriidge,
 Walter S. Hayes,
 James H. Mitchell,
 Malcolm J. Otis,
 William H. Parker, jr.,
 Emmett J. Driscoll,
 William P. Thomas,
 Earle Walton,
 Samuel B. Ogden,
 Benjamin Allen,
 Arthur F. Polz,
 Warren M. Robertson,
 Julian F. Greeley,
 Robert V. Anderson, jr.,
 William O. Tait,
 Harry H. Fisher, jr.,
 Alfred Pedrick,
 Lowell McCutcheon,
 Arthur F. Morrill,
 James D. Griffin,
 Samuel Temple,
 William R. Squire,
 Luther S. Phillips,
 Lloyd S. Kinnear,
 Francis D. H. Eaton,
 Donald B. Caldwell,
 Matthew K. Coleman,
 Norman F. Thompson,
 Ernest A. Scholze,
 Hallett W. Thorne,
 Palmer M. Gunnell,
 Andrew J. McElhinney,
 Robert F. McNally,
 Edward DeM. Payne,
 George M. Stevens,
 Joseph C. Newman,
 Clarence E. Knapp,
 Paul F. Hittinger,
 Alvin E. Loucks,
 Robert L. Atwell,
 Roland N. Calkins,
 Fred A. Hardesty,
 Everett W. Edwards,
 Charles W. Hickernell,
 Edward W. Duggan,

John H. Duncan,
 Jeremiah F. Sullivan,
 Edgar F. Wilson,
 Donald G. Beachler,
 Everett L. Cole,
 Arthur J. Grant,
 Bernard C. Decker,
 Daniel S. Brierley,
 Edgar W. Upton, jr.,
 Stewart R. Whitehurst,
 Henry F. Massnick,
 John A. Cronin,
 William H. Bloeser,
 Phillip M. Woodwell,
 Charles S. Seely,
 Samuel M. Hunt,
 Leo B. Tyson,
 Ira W. Truitt,
 Milton F. Smith,
 George Paille,
 Louis B. Raper,
 John M. Schmissrauter,
 Dougald E. Martin,
 Truman E. Ayers,
 Lewis E. Shaw,
 John J. Dem,
 James L. Freese,
 Charles F. Adams,
 Edgar J. Hayden,
 Christopher Bell,
 Thomas B. Jones,
 Edward A. O'Neill,
 William W. Brougham,
 William T. Van Voris,
 Allen P. Judson,
 Maitland Bakewell,
 William E. Phillips,
 Thomas Ryan, jr.,
 Clovis N. Fontaine,
 John Q. Chapman,
 Ryder H. Gay,
 Frank E. Vensel, jr.,
 James H. Woodward,
 Clayton R. Jones,
 Walter H. Stanton,
 Arthur F. Anderson,
 Theodore C. Junkins,
 Earle H. Strickland,
 Elliot F. Landon,
 Joseph L. Cassidy,
 Arthur C. Torrey,
 Abram L. Hopkins,
 Frank H. Wright,
 John P. Hildman,
 William H. Mann, jr.,
 Franklin E. Cook,
 Froebel A. Lawrence,
 George W. Travis,
 Meares B. Cartmell,
 Francis F. Martin,
 Myron T. Grubham,
 Richard L. Jones,
 Werdebaugh Ramsay,
 Hafford C. Southall,
 James P. Steedley,
 Joseph M. Jensen,
 Theodore D. Case,
 Fred Ford,
 William F. Roessler,
 Russell D. Richardson,
 Roy Jackson,
 Raymond G. Deewall,
 Oscar Henrichsen,
 Manning W. Hodgdon,
 Joseph A. Kelly,
 Jesse G. Hughes,
 John De Rue,
 Stanley Limont,
 Frank W. Rasch,
 Louis P. Ledoux,
 Harry F. Newton,
 Harry C. Rohlfis,
 Lyle Turner,
 Charles M. Johnson,
 Clarence E. Wardell,

Joseph L. Marshall,
 Franklin P. Early,
 Peter Talbot,
 Henry L. Pitts,
 Charles F. Waters,
 Sylvester T. Moriarity,
 Charles W. Van Horn,
 Glenn F. Degraives,
 Clarence A. Suber,
 Emory F. Hosmer,
 Edward J. Lysaught,
 Henry F. Mulloy,
 Frederick Keil,
 Frank L. Lanham,
 Donald B. McClary,
 Chickering Nelson,
 Charles R. Dunne,
 Alva Henderson,
 Levi C. Houston,
 Albert A. Elliot,
 Peter P. Zeller,
 Grover F. Coulson,
 Jesse E. Jocoy,
 Earl B. Brix,
 Elmer E. Watkins,
 Perle M. Lund,
 Van Buren Jarvis,
 James G. Finton,
 Bernard C. Parker,
 Leonard S. Moore,
 John E. Vollmer,
 Miles Brazil,
 George Harris,
 Adolphus M. Dryden,
 John O. Crom,
 Ernest N. Joly,
 Glen R. Ringquist,
 William L. Wagner,
 Algy R. McCartney,
 Percy C. Reed,
 Julius A. Egenhoff,
 Gurney E. Patton,
 Anthony F. Threm,
 Percy A. Decker,
 John E. Landers,
 Claude M. Rice,
 Lewis B. Hubbel,
 Harvey A. Harrison,
 Clyde Knight,
 Clyde B. Dahlman,
 Carl Axelson,
 William S. Johnson,
 John R. J. Le Roy,
 Cornelius J. O'Connor,
 William G. Sullivan,
 Ernest C. Fiedler,
 Frank E. Powers,
 John F. Welch,
 Thomas J. Costello,
 Charles R. Jeffs,
 Frank P. Moore,
 Glenn C. Provost,
 Charley F. Martin,
 Merion E. Hair,
 Clinton W. Gray,
 George L. Morin,
 Luttie E. Tappen,
 Harold M. Jones,
 Warren R. Hastings,
 John H. Conroy,
 Lester Carpenter,
 Burt Ketcherside,
 Montie Wood,
 Oliver C. Morse, jr.,
 Oscar R. Doerr,
 John H. Lopez,
 De Forest L. Trautman,
 John P. Campbell,
 William B. Kerr,
 Neville Levy,
 Robert F. A. Benson,
 Rae C. Nichols,
 Earle B. Earhart,
 Walter E. Andrews,
 Julian T. Lett,

Carl F. Lindstol,
 Robert P. Dodds,
 Frederick A. Olsen,
 John J. Dallier,
 John F. Shea,
 Clyde W. Jordan,
 Charles E. Carlson,
 Edward B. Peterson,
 Thomas J. Quinn,
 Albert J. Wheaton,
 Arthur Brown,
 Arthur S. Fenton,
 Julius J. Lorzing,
 Edward L. Gench,
 William R. Simpson, jr.,
 Philip L. Emerson,
 Howard A. McKee,
 Daniel F. Kelly,
 Alfred C. Headley,
 Thomas J. Coffee,
 Howell O. Jones,
 Kenneth Cartwright,
 Lewis R. Madison,
 Albert Lorch,
 Andrew Carnegie,
 John W. Lane,
 John L. Taylor,
 Joseph G. Enzensperger, jr.,
 Halsey E. Crosby,
 Joseph H. Davis,
 Caleb R. Crandall,
 David LeF. Dodd,
 William C. Landis,
 Wellington S. Morse,
 Frank E. Kennedy,
 James E. Arnold,
 Palmer S. Mock,
 Walter B. Holder,
 Clifton M. McAfee,
 Arthur H. Adams,
 Loring P. Jones,
 Raymond E. Farnsworth,
 Frank A. Mullen,
 Reginal C. Ramsay,
 Clarence D. Williams,
 Robert I. Mayorga,
 William J. Shackelford,
 Paul D. Clyde,
 Roger P. Adair,
 Ralph J. Crosby,
 Harvey T. Collins,
 Harry F. Parks,
 John F. Grimm,
 Donald E. Robertson,
 Gurth Williams,
 Joseph B. Carr,
 John T. Roach,
 Lewis F. Leventhal,
 Wallace S. Wharton,
 Rowland McK. Stover,
 Alfred M. Geis,
 Clarence F. Eddy,
 Robert B. Ryder,
 John E. Dingwell,
 Albert B. Bennett,
 Eli B. Parsons,
 John G. Coffin,
 Frank Eggert,
 Leslie E. Gehres,
 Edwin W. Holden,
 Fletcher H. Dutton,
 Arthur C. Dunn,
 Lester T. Forbes,
 John W. Buttrick,
 Roland S. Bailey,
 Bernard A. Sullivan,
 Lewis B. Beatty,
 Harold W. Scott,
 Paul A. Thompson,
 John B. McGovern,
 John W. Loman,
 Robert K. Jefferies,
 Frank E. White,
 Lester W. Preston,
 Leroy M. McCluskey,

William P. Downing,
 Robert E. Crowley,
 Edwin F. Thrall,
 Samuel L. Oliver,
 Charles S. Allen,
 Eldred W. Christie,
 Ralph T. Brengle,
 John D. Kennedy,
 Arthur G. Crafts,
 Rea C. Newman,
 Hibbert W. Moss,
 William T. McCargo,
 Wilbur C. Dyer,
 Frederick R. Avery,
 Czar J. Dyer,
 Norman E. Millar,
 Ralph L. Chisholm,
 Louis S. Walsh,
 John L. Flynn,
 Louis L. Burden,
 Clarence E. Dimmitt,
 Kenneth J. Van House,
 Earle G. Brooks,
 Coe A. Boardman,
 William C. Fubank,
 Lloyd C. Eddy, jr.,
 Charles W. Proctor,
 Harold B. Summers,
 Harold E. Richardson,
 Elmer J. Tiernan,
 Hugh M. Kitchen,
 Whitney W. Miller,
 Edward M. Hope, jr.,
 William F. Whitlow,
 Howard G. Wheaton,
 Howard W. Neely,
 Julius C. Kinsky,
 Benjamin S. Brown,
 Solomon T. Sutton,
 Earle C. Peterson,
 Milton P. Hall,
 Francis E. Matthews,
 Mortimer B. Carraher,
 Harold D. Scott,
 Lewis P. Harris,
 William F. Burton,
 Leo B. McNulty,
 Paul L. Hughes,
 Louis F. Edelman,
 Willis C. Doane,
 Charles J. Naumilket,
 Ralph A. Light,
 Charles W. Scribner,
 Albert W. Liddle,
 Aaron Mandel,
 Llewellyn K. Winans,
 Gordon McSwain Lupo,
 Albert K. Rumsey,
 Selden H. Oviatt,
 Harold J. Dunne,
 Richard F. Richardson,
 John J. Cooney,
 Thomas A. O'Connor,
 Cecil G. Simpson,
 Walter W. Miller,
 Lester J. Calender,
 Albert P. Short,
 David W. Jones,
 Ralph S. Maugham,
 Carl C. Chandler,
 Edward R. Powell,
 Lawrence K. Beaver,
 Lewis H. C. Johnson,
 John O. Jenkins,
 Franklin R. Uhlig,
 Benjamin H. Corning,
 Joseph W. McColl,
 Carlton M. Hammond,
 Donald G. Davis,
 Christopher P. Schlacter,
 Daniel H. Kane,
 Charles C. Beck,
 Luther C. H. Beighey,
 William J. O'Hara,
 Raymond E. Daniels,

George L. Hart,
 George C. Wrentmore,
 Leonard P. Kane,
 Elie A. F. Lavallette,
 Asher A. Howell,
 Fred A. Luenser,
 Charles E. Chamberlain,
 Guy R. Bostain,
 Roy A. Jones,
 Walter A. Irwin,
 Wilfred G. Lebeque,
 George R. Milbourne,
 Charles C. Gillis,
 Phillip H. Taft,
 Joseph R. Tobin,
 Carleton H. Crawford,
 Arthur F. Peterson,
 George O. Augustine,
 Edward L. Garnett,
 Arthur E. Maginiss,
 Denis J. Kiely,
 John H. Kevers,
 Wade Lash,
 Lewis F. Kepple,
 William R. Schimmeyer,
 Mortimer Laurence,
 Herman A. Berch,
 William Pfeffer,
 Edward G. Nolan,
 Walter F. A. Dixon,
 Edward A. Stein,
 William R. Ross,
 George E. Hummer,
 Arnold Hanchett,
 Charles F. Grisham,
 Reginald G. Seger,
 Raymond F. Tillman,
 Cleophas G. Harris,
 Lawrence C. McEnerney,
 Clyde W. Haskins,
 Calvin A. Cole,
 Leo L. Waite,
 Lawrence S. Tichenor,
 Christian W. Manegold,
 Frank L. Burgess,
 Elmer D. Lundberg,
 Carl B. Fields,
 Ford K. Lucas,
 Abraham S. Lewis,
 Hermann P. Knickerbocker,
 John A. Manfrin,
 Samuel M. Thompson,
 Phillip L. Reid,
 Otto Gmelich,
 Charles E. Reynolds,
 James N. McTiggan,
 Frederick W. Ickes,
 Joseph Mather,
 Marshall Anderson,
 Elmer T. Marr,
 Ira D. Spoonemore,
 Walter G. Neal,
 Lester E. Auger,
 Charles R. Hoffecker,
 Samuel A. Katz,
 Angus V. Chisholm,
 Ralph E. Thomas,
 Richard W. Thompson,
 John H. Thomas,
 William Hartenstein,
 Jesse F. Cordes,
 Joe R. Robson,
 John S. Hawkins,
 Erastus E. McClaine,
 Reuben F. Davis,
 Charles H. Trask,
 Alfred J. Butler,
 Walter E. Stephen,
 Leonard Sicer,
 Henry L. Burmann,
 Edward J. Tyrell,
 Virgil D. Duke,
 Charlie S. East,
 William C. Betzer,
 Byron Williams,

Thomas Downs, and
George J. Tansey.
The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns, for temporary service:

Cecil E. Godkin,
Charles H. Ahrens,
Charles A. Brown,
Earl E. Reber,
Walter D. Bonner,
William Wilkinson,
Arthur S. Billings, and
Albert E. Baker.

The following-named officers of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be ensigns, for temporary service:

Frederick S. Beach,
Roland E. Krause,
Herbert C. Behner,
George E. Weigel, and
Raymond F. Taylor.

Ensign John W. Dupaquier, United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an ensign in the Navy, for temporary service.

Medical Inspector Herbert O. Shiffert to be a medical director with the rank of captain, for temporary service.

Medical Inspector John H. Iden to be a medical director with the rank of captain, for temporary service.

Surg. Howson W. Cole, jr., to be a medical inspector with the rank of commander, for temporary service.

Surg. Abraham H. Allen to be a medical inspector with the rank of commander, for temporary service.

Surg. Earle P. Huff to be a medical inspector with the rank of commander, for temporary service.

The following-named officers of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be assistant surgeons with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service:

Joseph A. Meledy,
John R. Marshall,
Joseph MacDonald,
Paul R. Heber,
Thomas M. MacLachlan, and
Thomas O. Cole.

Lieut. Edward Frothingham, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an assistant surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service.

The following-named officers of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be assistant dental surgeons with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service:

Carl E. Reynolds,
Charles S. Weigester,
Lester B. Lang,
Clarence L. Gorcia, and
Theodore P. Donahoe.

Lieut. Ary E. D'Armona, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an assistant dental surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service.

Lieut. Charles L. Tompkins, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an assistant dental surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service.

Passed Asst. Paymaster Thomas DeF. Harris to be a pay inspector with the rank of commander, for temporary service.

Passed Asst. Paymaster Frank T. Watrous to be a pay inspector with the rank of commander, for temporary service.

Acting Pay Clerk Carl R. Fatzer to be an assistant paymaster with the rank of ensign, for temporary service.

The following-named officers of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be assistant paymasters with the rank of ensign:

Chester T. Pohling and
Harvey E. Wathen.

The following-named boatswains to be chief boatswains, for temporary service:

William McClain,
Samuel Watson,
Coenraad Lichtendall,
Hubert George, and
George L. Kennedy.

Chief Boatswain Albert R. Mulkins, United States Naval Reserve Force, to be a chief boatswain, for temporary service.

The following-named gunners to be chief gunners, for temporary service:

Chester C. Culp,
Russell K. Young,
Charles H. Ripley,
Charles Edlund,
Grover Williams,
Ottie B. Taylor,

James J. Lowe,
Orbla O. Peterson,
Warren S. MacKay,
Everett T. Proctor,
John Gordon, and
Thomas M. Flattley.

The following-named machinists to be chief machinists, for temporary service:

Harry W. Bailey,
Albert A. Golay,
Alfred Ward,
Michael Connors,
Einar Boydler,
Horace L. Taylor,
Howard J. Randall, and
Bayard K. Brown.

The following-named carpenters to be chief carpenters, for temporary service:

William G. McIntyre,
Dion W. Taylor,
Hugh McAlmond, and
William E. Redfern.

The following-named pharmacists to be chief pharmacists, for temporary service:

Charles A. Adelman,
George R. Hensen,
Ernest W. Herrmann, and
James J. Farrell, jr.

Pay Clerk (temporary) Russell H. Sullivan to be a chief pay clerk, for temporary service.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be chief pay clerks, for temporary service:

Edward H. Kallinich and
John A. Zinsitz.

Lieut. Commander George F. Neal to be a commander.

Lieut. Garret L. Schuyler to be a lieutenant commander.

Lieut. Weyman P. Beehler to be a lieutenant commander.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:

Elroy L. Vanderkloot and
Earl H. Quinlan.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):

Leighton Wood,
Russell S. Berkey,
Clinton E. Braine,
William F. Boyer,
Byron S. Dague,
Thorwald A. Solberg,
John A. Vincent,
Charles J. Wheeler,
Robert J. Walker,
John D. Price,
Thomas J. Keliher,
William F. Loventhal,
Carroll W. Hamill,
Woodbury E. MacKay,
Augustus J. Selman,
John M. Bloom,
Theodore T. Patterson,
Charles T. Gilliam, and
Isaiah Parker.

The following-named assistant surgeons to be passed assistant surgeons with the rank of lieutenant:

John Harper,
Paul Richmond, jr.,
Grover C. Wilson,
Richard H. Miller,
George W. Taylor, and
Virgil H. Carson.

Asst. Surg. Eugene W. Torrey, United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an assistant surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

Passed Assistant Paymaster William R. Van Buren to be a paymaster with the rank of lieutenant commander.

Lieut. (temporary) Lewis N. Moeller to be an assistant civil engineer with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

Boatswain Jerry C. Holmes to be a chief boatswain.

Gunner Stephen A. Farrell to be a chief gunner.

Boatswain Charles C. Beach (retired) to be a chief boatswain on the retired list.

Gunner Edgar A. Robie (retired) to be a chief gunner on the retired list.

Major Oliver C. Hine, Marine Corps Reserve, to be a captain in the Marine Corps, for temporary service.

The following-named captains to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps, for temporary service:

Harold D. Shannon,
Robert M. Johnson,
Louis R. Jones,
Ramond J. Bartholomew,
Bruce B. MacArthur,
Claude A. Larkin,
Erwin Mehlinger,
William B. Croka,
Lothar R. Long,
Amos R. Shinkle,
Bruce Gootee, jr.,
George H. Morse, jr.,
Marc M. Ducote,
Wesley W. Walker,
Lewis B. Freeman,
William H. Taylor, jr.,
Lucian W. Burnham,
William K. Snyder,
Shaler Ladd,
Robert M. Montague,
John A. Willis, jr.,
Charles Z. Leshner,
John C. Wood,
Thomas R. Jewett,
William T. Evans,
George D. Hamilton,
Charles I. Emery,
Clyde P. Matteson,
Rolla R. Hinkle,
Nathaniel H. Massie,
Richard H. Jeschke,
Francis P. Mulcaby,
Frederic C. Wheeler,
Thomas E. Kendrick,
Albert A. Le Boeuf,
Alfred W. Ogle,
William Van D. Jewett,
Robert S. Lytle,
Paul E. McDermott,
Donald J. Kendall,
Harold St. C. Wright,
Leonard Stone,
Alton A. Gladden,
Lewis B. Reagan,
Dudley S. Brown,
Robert H. Pepper,
Robert L. Nelson,
John B. Wilson,
James McB. Sellers,
James D. Colomy,
Galen M. Sturgis,
Carl W. Meigs,
Joseph W. Knighton,
Charles I. Murray,
George L. Maxwell, jr.,
Joseph C. Bennet,
James A. Mixson,
Cecil B. Raleigh,
William H. Hollingsworth,
Oakley K. Brown,
Charles D. Roberts,
Gus L. Gloeckner,
Graves B. Erskine,
Leo F. S. Horan,
Felix Beauchamp,
Philip A. Murray, jr.,
John H. Craige,
Reginald C. MacK. Peirce,
Claude M. Bain,
Thomas A. Tighe,
David Bellamy,
Richard O. Sanderson,
Louis S. Davis,
Howard B. Freeman,
Edward D. Kalbfleisch,
Chaplain G. Hicks,
Leo D. Hermle,
Lee H. Brown,
Robert E. Mills,
Earle F. Swett,
Paul S. Hanway,
Allan C. Perkinson,
Robert D. Evans,

Herman R. Anderson,
Clarence M. Ruffner,
Chester L. Fordney,
Hu H. Phipps,
Walter E. Lawson,
James H. Williamson,
Carroll F. Byrd,
Clifton B. Cates,
William W. Ashurst,
Richard F. Boyd,
Ralph McN. Wilcox,
Clement A. Berghoff,
Walter S. Hallenberg,
Charles A. Etheridge,
Wallace A. Bell,
Willis Brodhead, and
Harold Moore.

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps Reserve to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps, for temporary service:

William J. Crosson,
Thomas R. Shearer,
Louis J. Hughes,
Donald M. Taft,
James Maguire,
Harold C. Major,
George A. Plambeck,
John H. Weaver,
William S. Hilles,
Edward W. Franklin,
Samuel F. Birthright,
Horace W. Mitchell,
Frank H. Fleer, jr.,
James H. Legendre,
William M. Radcliffe,
Basil G. Bradley,
Ivan P. Wheaton,
Richard Livingston,
Charles J. Lohmiller,
Henry F. Adams,
Howard M. Peter,
Charles W. Henkle,
Solon B. Kemon, and
Gwendell B. Newman.

The following-named captains to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps, for temporary service:

Sidney R. Vandenberg,
Louis W. Bartol,
George L. Maynard, jr.,
David C. Levy, and
Samuel F. Milliken.
Martin Canavan,
Charles G. Haas,
Archie W. French,
Sparling B. Anderson,
James Diskin,
Lee Carter,
Charles D. Baylis,
Alfred Dickerson,
Forest J. Ashwood,
Eugene E. Brong,
Harry H. Shepherd,
Albert B. Sage,
Gustaf A. Brodstrom,
Fred B. Hoyt,
John F. Cassidy,
Sydney J. Handsley,
Thomas J. Kilcourse,
Thomas M. Cummings,
Charles W. Lavlett,
Charles B. Loring,
David R. Nimmer,
David L. Ford,
Emil M. Northenscold,
Silas M. Bankert,
Henry S. Hausmann,
Joseph I. Nettekoven,
Sherman L. Zea,
Harold W. Whitney,
Herbert G. Joerger,
John H. Parker,
Nicholas F. Clauson,
Stewart P. Corning,
James P. Schwerin,
Daniel L. Clifford,

William J. Mosher,
Vernon Bourdette,
Robert I. Avery,
Edward T. Bayman,
Paul A. Lesser,
Arnold C. Larson,
Joseph N. Shaw,
Edward F. O'Day,
Tom E. Wicks,
Jacob J. Kesel,
Charles F. Morrison,
Murl Corbett,
William P. Grow,
Harry P. Crouch,
Amor L. Sims,
Oscar DeV. Keown,
Richard H. Schubert,
Ogbourne A. Hill,
George W. Hopke, and
Frederick Israel.

The following-named temporary and reserve officers to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps, for temporary service:

Robert D. Foote, jr.,
John W. Mueller,
John F. McVey,
Charles C. St. Clair,
John Waller,
Otto Salzman,
Harry V. Shurtleff,
Harry W. Gamble,
Robert F. Slingluff,
Thomas Quigley,
Patrick W. Guilfoyle,
Frank Z. Becker,
Nathan E. Landon,
Eugene L. Mullaly,
John J. Mahoney,
Albert J. Phillips,
William O. Corbin,
John P. McCann,
Harry A. Ellsworth,
Warren C. Barnaby,
Maurice C. Gregory,
Gustav F. Bloedel,
John Strong,
Thomas Dwight,
John J. Haley,
Frank D. Creamer,
Harry E. Horner,
Robert W. Maxwell,
William F. Thalheimer,
Benjamin F. Fogg,
Howell Cobb,
Thomas F. Joyce,
William Frederick Brown,
James W. Lattin,
Henry A. Riekers,
Edward McEvoy,
Charles D. Meginness,
Eugene B. Mimms,
Henry Baptist,
Robert W. Williams,
Wilbur G. Gunn,
Carl E. Clark,
Michael Kearney,
Edward H. W. Holt,
Bror G. Brodstrom,
Joseph Watson,
John P. Harvis,
Harry H. Couvrette,
John Angus McDonald,
Clate C. Snyder, and
Frank F. Zissa.

The following-named first lieutenants to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps, for temporary service:

Joseph B. Carhart,
Laurens H. Reyburn,
Oscar E. Kelly,
Moses J. Gould,
Harvey J. Rice,
Corlies Adams,
Basil H. Pollitt,
John Groff,
Prentice S. Geer,
George W. Walker,

Arthur L. Whiteside,
George Draine,
George R. Rowan,
Theodore H. Cartwright,
Lucas I. Bruns,
Walter S. Farley, and
Grover C. Moore.

The following-named reserve officers to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps, for temporary service:

Harmon J. Norton,
Stanley Klos,
Frank L. Lamb,
Manson C. Carpenter,
Amos P. Booty,
William R. Affleck,
Harry W. Miller,
Bert Van Moss,
James Gallivan,
Goodyear W. Kirkman,
Walter V. Brown,
Lawson H. M. Sanderson,
Edward C. Smith,
Jacob F. Plachta,
Jacob Makohin,
Ocia K. Manahan,
Harold E. Rosecrans,
Joseph L. Moody, jr.,
Fred T. Molthen,
Glen W. Chamberlain,
Samuel P. MacNeill,
Richard L. McAdams,
Harold H. Titus,
Charles R. Ford,
Robert F. David,
Christian F. Schilt,
George L. Murray,
Carl J. Norstrand,
Cecil J. Widdifield,
John T. Foster,
William J. Whaling,
Curtis T. Beecher,
Walter Sweet,
Willard R. Enk,
Minter L. Lowther,
Gerald C. Thomas,
Erwin F. Schaefer,
Wilbur Summerlin,
Carl F. Merz,
Harry C. Moore,
Charles P. Hill,
Frank D'Ippolo,
Lester M. Folger,
Maurice R. Gustavus,
Walter B. Casey,
Edgar G. Kirkpatrick,
Joseph R. Caldwell,
Austin W. Boden,
John D. O'Leary,
Grover C. Darnall,
Lloyd R. Pugh,
Harry D. Barger,
Duncan W. Lewis,
Roy Wiedemer,
Arthur L. Caperton,
Hans O. Martin,
Charles McL. Lott,
Albert E. Benson,
William G. Kilgore,
John D. Brady,
James G. Bowen,
Leo Sullivan,
Horace D. Palmer,
Hayne D. Boyden,
Eugene Rovegno,
Harold J. Adams,
Raymond W. Conroy,
Russell E. Stephens, and
Franklin G. Cowie.

POSTMASTERS.
CONNECTICUT.

Charles F. Greene, Bridgeport.
Hugh Hearn, Naugatuck.
John P. Murphy, Norwich.
Ella B. Binney, Sound Beach.
Adele P. Brush, West Cornwall.

NEW JERSEY.

Ellen E. Showell, Absecon.
 Hunn Livingston, Allentown.
 Maude V. Richer, Audubon.
 Alfred Christie, Bergenfield.
 James D. Magee, Bordentown.
 Miles W. Hargrove, Browns Mills.
 Joseph L. Hammell, Burlington.
 Theodore A. Bishop, Carteret.
 Walter S. Terrell, Chatham.
 Alonzo P. Green, Chester.
 Charles E. Crane, Clayton.
 Edward W. Walker, Cranbury.
 Abraham C. Hulsizer, Flemington.
 Carl L. Richter, Fort Lee.
 Fred P. Crater, Gladstone.
 Bayard C. Stavely, Haddonfield.
 Louis J. Langham, Hammonton.
 Addison Robbins, jr., Hightstown.
 James C. H. Sherwood, Hohokus.
 Arabella C. Broander, Keansburg.
 Carl Shurts, Lebanon.
 William Fehrs, Little Ferry.
 Marcellus Parker, Manasquan.
 Charles C. Stewart, Mays Landing.
 Frank McMurtry, Mendham.
 Edward W. Townsend, Montclair.
 Gustav H. Rottgardt, Montvale.
 Francis H. Reed, Mount Holly.
 Sadie P. Miller, Netcong.
 George N. Harris, Newton.
 Alexander H. Sibbald, Park Ridge.
 James F. Beardsley, Pompton Lakes.
 Isaac Klein, Salem.
 James W. Rea, South Amboy.
 William B. Lance, Stanhope.
 Jennie Madden, Tuckaheo.
 George W. Baldwin, Summit.
 Robert L. De Camp, Westfield.
 John A. Smith, Wrightstown.
 James D. Carpenter, Woodbury.
 James J. Davidson, Swedesboro.

NEW YORK.

John W. McKnight, Castleton.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Archie W. Leech, Beaverdale.
 James P. Van Etten, Milford.

UTAH.

Furnessia A. Le Cheminant, Garfield.
 Daniel McMillan, Heber.

REJECTION.

Executive nomination rejected by the Senate September 10, 1919.

POSTMASTER.

George R. Hughes to be postmaster at Frankfort, Ky.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, September 10, 1919.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. William Couden, late chaplain of the Second Division, American forces in Germany, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our sincere prayer is that our beloved America by her patience may win her soul. Give us as a people in our racial relationship charity, in our industrial difficulties cooperation, in our social differences sympathy, in our civic problems earnestness, in our governmental activities justice, and in the outreach of our international influence honor and integrity and helpfulness to the right. Guard us against the evils of peace as well as of war. Keep us from the dangers of prosperity as much as from those of adversity.

Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,
 Lest we forget.

Thus may we as a people live and grow a blessing to ourselves and the world and a power pleasing in Thy sight. Bless to this end our national leaders, and especially the Members, officers, and servants of this House of Representatives. Day by day may we give whole-hearted homage to the principles of the kingdom of heaven as set forth by our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in whose name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, the Journal as read by the Clerk discloses that Mr. VOLSTEAD, of Minnesota, asked for a conference on the bill "6808." The number is H. R. 6810. It is my understanding that that should be corrected.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the correction will be made.

Mr. GARD. There is some question about what the Senate messaged over in regard to that bill, whether or not the official papers containing the message carried with them a request for a conference on the amendments of the Senate to the House bill. However, I do not desire to make any question about it.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is advised that they did not request a conference.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman from Ohio having mentioned the matter, I think it is perhaps as well to say that the Senate in passing the prohibition-enforcement bill agreed to a motion which was made that the Senate insist upon its amendments and ask for a conference; but in messaging the bill over no reference was made to that action of the Senate, and the House acted in accordance with the record which it had before it; and as the record did not indicate that the Senate had asked for a conference the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD], in making his final request, asked for a conference. I assume that when the bill reaches the Senate, the Senate, without regard to its former action, will agree to the conference requested by the House.

Mr. GARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. GARD. The House had no official notice of what was really the action of the Senate, or what the Senate intended to do, except that the Senate had passed the bill.

Mr. MONDELL. The only notice that the House had officially, of course, was the notice carried in the message, and the announcement made by the messenger from the Senate, and the House acted properly in view of the information that it had in the notice that was given it.

Mr. GARD. But with the subsequent information it developed that the House did not act properly, because it had no authority to do that which it did do.

Mr. MONDELL. I would not want to admit that the House did not act properly, because I think the House always acts properly when it acts in accordance with the official information before it. The House is not chargeable with the fact that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD indicates that the Senate moved to insist upon its amendments and ask for a conference. No such notice as that was served on the House, and therefore the House had to act, and properly did act, on the information which it had.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Is not that an unusual procedure, where the Senate amends a House bill and then insists upon its amendments and asks for a conference before the bill is returned to the House?

Mr. MONDELL. Not specially unusual. That action is sometimes taken by both the House and the Senate.

Mr. FESS. Sufficiently unusual, however, so that unless we had that information we could not act otherwise than as we did.

Mr. MONDELL. Whether it was unusual or not, we are not assumed to know anything about the action of the Senate except what is conveyed in the papers that are delivered to us.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If that is true, how does it happen that we are carrying on this conversation here?

Mr. MONDELL. It was not my purpose to refer to the matter at all, but the gentleman from Ohio did refer to it, and I thought that, reference having been made to it, the correctness of the action of the House should be made clear, in case any reference should be made to the matter elsewhere.

Mr. GARD. The request of the gentleman from Minnesota was to disagree to the Senate amendments and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

Mr. MONDELL. That was his first statement, but that was objected to, and his final statement, and the request submitted by the Chair, was in accordance with the facts as they had been presented to the House by the message.

Mr. GARD. This is what he said, as it appears on page 5081 of the RECORD:

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I renew the request to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 6810) to prohibit intoxicating beverages, and to regulate the manufacture, production, use, and sale of high-proof spirits for other than beverage purposes, and to insure an ample supply of alcohol and promote its use in scientific research and in the development of fuel, dye, and other lawful industries, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.