

LETTER OF AUGUST 19, 1919, BY ED. E. YATES, OF KANSAS CITY, MO., ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

"No Democrat can, by any possibility, stand for the league pact and treaty.

"As a document it is distinctly un-American.

"The whole runs flat against the teachings of the fathers, who were never internationalists, but always Americans. Friendship for all, entangling alliances with none, is made to read friendship for some, entanglements world wide—national liberty surrendered and our engagements with foreign powers become the paramount thing in our national life.

"That is not all.

"It is inconceivable that any Democrat can condone, as he must if he indorses the league, every act of spoliation, every rape of peoples, territory, and liberty; every crime that has been committed in the name of civilization, with which the national life of our allies is replete. Yet he must do all these things if he goes in for article 10. If we stand pledged to maintain the status quo of nations, then logically the status quo is right, no matter how much larceny, blood, crime of high and low degree may have been involved in the origin of the thing. Moreover, it annihilates the dream of future freedom for peoples now under dominion of world powers; for how can tributary people or a colony—an underling nation—hope for national life without aggression of some sort from without? And is it not conceivable that such aggression might not only be meritorious, but conditions might impose an obligation to help it along which no liberty-loving citizen would desire to ignore. The wholesale condonation of the national crimes of some of our allies, it is hardly necessary to say, if carried to the conclusion where the advocates of the league of nations should be required to take it, would utterly repudiate the means by which American independence was obtained, as well as the beneficent results.

"Why abandon a national policy always followed that has given virility and esprit to our Republic at all times in favor of one of entanglement, a policy which spells emasculation for all national spirit? Really, to my mind, the only people who give a possibly plausible reason for support of the pact are the remnant of Mr. Wilson's old peace pact. They say, 'Let's try it; if it only averts a war in a decade, it will have benefited mankind immeasurably.' Just so! This reason looked at, however, falls little short of senility, for the kindergarten classes will naturally inquire, 'What greater reason have we to suppose that the league will avert war rather than produce it?' A historic, philosophic investigation of the probabilities of the matter, I think, would justify one in selling pools either way at practically the same price.

"Be this as it may, why should we, the richest, the most powerful, Nation in the world promise subservience to other powers in advance—'sight unseen,' as we used to say? There may be a reason, but to take up the vernacular, 'you may search me'!

"Shall we underwrite the present foreign territorial conditions to the full extent of our boy power and money resources? Mr. Wilson says, 'Yes.' But his reasons are wholly illogical, sentimental, dreamy, and, what is weightier than all, smack too much of Old World greed and selfishness and too little of that which has made us a Nation 'set apart.'

"Mr. Wilson, if he succeeds in this policy, should be deified as the god of fate, for he and his cult teach that world conditions should be left where chance has chucked them. Why should any strive or look up for better things; have not the fatalists headed by this new leader decreed that whatever is right? So kick not against the pricks, but accept the lot fate has allotted and be thankful it is not worse. All islands and continents held in leash cry against so damnable a doctrine.

"This touches but one phase of the question."

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Arizona will state it.

Mr. ASHURST. I am not stirred by sentiments of envy at the applause these eloquent speeches bring out, but I appeal to Senators like Senator LODGE, Senator HITCHCOCK, and other men who are statesmen and leaders to assist in preserving order in the Senate. No one here could admire more than I do the courageous speech just made by the Senator from Missouri. Whether the occupants of the galleries agree with him or not, whether we agree with him or not, we are bound to agree that he enriches the annals of the Senate when he speaks. Would you, occupants of the galleries, go into the Supreme Court and there applaud a decision? You would not. Yet we are here called upon to pass upon a greater cause than the Supreme Court ever had under its jurisdiction. We are passing upon the destiny of nations and of men. [Manifestations of disapproval in the galleries.] I see that you do not even

agree with these statements. I am simply saying this for the dignity and honor of the Senate. The debates on this subject are going to wax warm. Before this debate is concluded we are going to have scenes here that will call into requisition the coolest nerve of men in order that we may keep order. Let the occupants of the galleries help us. We need their assistance and we need the presiding officer's help. The occupants of the galleries are our guests; they are invited here; they should assist in preserving order.

I have said this much in the hope that the honor of the Senate may be maintained; for what demagogues may say outside and what men may do outside to intimidate a Senator, let there be here a serene atmosphere, unmoved and uninfluenced by the occupants of the galleries, who, I am sure, do not appreciate that it is against one of the oldest rules of the Senate to express approbation or disapprobation of the speakers.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, in order that we may return to the serene and calm atmosphere described by the Senator from Arizona, I move, as in legislative session, that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, September 23, 1919, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, September 22, 1919.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Lord God our Heavenly Father, source of every blessing, we thank Thee for the preservation of our lives, a new day with its hopes and possibilities.

Cleanse us, we beseech Thee, from all guile. Imbue us plentifully with heavenly gifts, that we may hallow Thy name in all that we undertake. In the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday, September 20, 1919, was read and approved.

AMENDMENT OF FOOD-CONTROL ACT.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I submit a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas submits a privileged report from the Committee on Rules, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas, from the Committee on Rules, submits the following report:

The Committee on Rules, to which was referred House resolution 304, submit a privileged report on said resolution with the recommendation that the resolution be agreed to.

House resolution 304.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to take from the Speaker's table H. R. 8624, the same being "An act 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,' disagree to all Senate amendments, and send the same to conference without intervening motion or debate.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the resolution is for the purpose of getting the bill amending the Lever Act to conference. This bill amending that act has been delayed for some time, and it is thought that in the interest of the public good the matter should be sent to conference at once. This resolution is to accomplish that purpose.

Unless there is request for further debate of the resolution by some one else, I will yield five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY].

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I would like to have about 45 minutes if I could get it.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, the rule that the committee has brought in probably is perfectly in keeping with the program, but I want again to call to the attention of the House the inconsistency of the procedure which we are undertaking.

The bill before us is "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." That is applicable throughout the United States, and was reported by the Committee on Agriculture and passed both branches with various minor amendments. There was

attached to the bill as a major amendment—because it is an absolutely separate and distinct proposition—what is known as the Ball Act, establishing in the District of Columbia a rent commission, applicable solely to the District of Columbia.

Now, I will not take up the time of the House to point out some of the defects in the Ball rent commission bill, but it is full of defects, as is acknowledged by its advocates in the other branch. We are told that the way to correct it is to send it to conference. The conferees are leading members of the Committee on Agriculture. We can perfect a bill, forsooth, establishing a rent commission in the District of Columbia by adding it as an amendment to a food bill, reported by the Committee on Agriculture, and refer this amendment to the agricultural conferees.

A great deal has been said at one time and another as to the defects of our system of placing riders on bills, and if the House saw fit and would accept this opportunity of expressing its dissatisfaction with that method of procedure, it would not adopt the rule which is now submitted by the Committee on Rules. We have a District of Columbia Committee. The distinguished chairman is sitting before us now, ready to deal with District matters.

The simplest thing in the world is to vote out this amendment, refer the Ball bill, if you wish, to the District Committee, let the District Committee hear it, and let it be considered on the floor of this House, and then take such action as we may see fit. The process that this rule makes possible is having a bill which has never been before the House, and which has never been considered by a committee of the House, and never debated on this floor, put onto a bill having nothing to do with the District of Columbia, having nothing to do with the establishment of a rent commission, and heard only by the conferees of the Committee on Agriculture.

If you can get a more inconsistent proposition than that before you in the way of the adoption of a rider, I do not know what it is. Therefore it seems to me that the right course of procedure is to consider the establishment of a rent commission in the District of Columbia purely on its own merits, not through the adoption of an amendment to an agricultural bill. It is the worst illustration of the so-called rider system that I have ever seen brought before the House in my term of service.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. I want to ask the gentleman if the only way we can accomplish that now is to vote down the rule?

Mr. TREADWAY. I think that would be the proper method, to vote down the rule.

Mr. DENISON. If you can accomplish it in that way, I agree with the gentleman that we ought to vote the rule down.

Mr. TREADWAY. I am not shaping the procedure of the House, and therefore I do not advocate that procedure too strongly, but it does seem to me that that is the course to pursue.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I rise not to oppose the rule, but to call attention to the first line in the second paragraph of the food-control act, "By reason of the existence of a state of war." I want to call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that that is a statement that is not true. There is no "state of war," except upon paper. The terms of peace have been agreed upon, so far as our enemy is concerned. There is no "state of war," and if an opportunity should come I hope to see an amendment offered to strike out that declaration. The only "state of war" exists by reason of the fact that it is a paper "state of war" and the fact that our troops are being sent all over the world without any act of Congress and without any declaration of war.

Some of my colleagues may remember that during this session I have before called your attention to the fact that 4,000 of my constituents are in Siberia. They are there without a declaration of war. There is no declaration of war, and we have a statement of a Member of Congress to the effect that when he called upon the department as to the sending of our troops to Silesia he ascertained that 5,000 of our troops had been ordered to Silesia without any declaration of war. Our troops are being used all over the world as policemen and guards, and I have offered evidence here which shows that our troops are being employed as track laborers in Siberia.

I call attention to this fact because I intend on every possible occasion to do so whenever I can. There has been no declaration of war against Silesia. The department tried to conceal

from the people and from the Congress the fact that these men were sent there. It was denied to our colleague, Mr. Wood of Indiana. They stated to him that they did not intend to have it known, but the fact came through Coblenz, and that dispatch was published in this country.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MASON. I would like one minute more, because I had to wait about that long for one or two gentlemen who were standing near me.

Mr. CANDLER. We would like to have some more time over here.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I can not yield any more time on this resolution. The purpose of it was not to provoke debate, but to get this very important bill into conference.

Mr. CANDLER. That is all I wanted to insist upon.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. If gentlemen are interested in getting this necessary legislation passed, there is only one way to do it, and that is to put this bill into conference at once. Therefore I move the previous question on the resolution.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas moves the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I move the adoption of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution. Those in favor of agreeing to the resolution will say "aye."

The affirmative vote was taken.

Mr. KNUTSON. I suggest the absence of a quorum, and therefore ask for a call of the House. I call for a division on the vote.

The SPEAKER. The motion would come on the division. Evidently there is no quorum present.

Mr. GARD. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker. The negative vote has not been taken.

The SPEAKER. The ayes were called but not the nays. There is obviously no quorum present.

Mr. KNUTSON. I withdraw my point of no quorum and ask for a division.

Mr. WALSH. It is too late to withdraw the point now.

Mr. BLANTON. A point of order, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks he has just stated that there is no quorum present, and that can not be withdrawn.

Mr. BLANTON. I was just going to make that point of order.

The SPEAKER. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members. The question is on agreeing to the resolution. The Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 257, nays 12, answered "present" 2, not voting 158, as follows:

YEAS—257.

Ackerman	Chindblom	Gard	Kitchin
Alexander	Christopherson	Garner	Klecza
Almon	Clark, Fla.	Glynn	Kraus
Anderson	Coady	Goodykoontz	Lampert
Andrews, Nebr.	Cole	Gould	Lanley
Ashbrook	Collier	Graham, Ill.	Lanham
Aswell	Connally	Green, Iowa	Lankford
Ayres	Cooper	Greene, Mass.	Larsen
Babka	Crago	Hadley	Layton
Baer	Cramton	Hamilton	Lazaro
Bankhead	Crisp	Hardy, Colo.	Lee, Ga.
Barbour	Crowther	Harrison	Leibach
Bee	Currie, Mich.	Hastings	Little
Benham	Dale	Haugen	Longworth
Black	Darrow	Hawley	Lubring
Blackmon	Davis, Tenn.	Hayden	McDuffie
Bland, Mo.	Danison	Hays	McFadden
Bland, Va.	Dewalt	Hernandez	McKenzie
Blanton	Dickinson, Mo.	Hersey	McLane
Boies	Dickinson, Iowa	Hickey	McLaughlin, Mich.
Booher	Dowell	Hicks	McLaughlin, Nebr.
Box	Drane	Hoch	MacGregor
Brand	Dunn	Holland	Mansfield
Briggs	Dupré	Houghton	Mapes
Brinson	Eagle	Hull, Iowa	Martin
Brooks, Ill.	Elliott	Hull, Tenn.	Mason
Brooks, Pa.	Elston	Humphreys	Mays
Browne	Esch	Husted	Merritt
Buchanan	Evans, Mont.	Igoe	Michener
Burdick	Evans, Nebr.	Ireland	Minahan, N. J.
Burrroughs	Evans, Nev.	James	Monahan, Wis.
Butler	Fairfield	Jefferts	Mondell
Byrnes, S. C.	Fess	Johnson, Miss.	Montague
Byrns, Tenn.	Fields	Johnson, Wash.	Moon
Caldwell	Fisher	Jones, Tex.	Mooney
Campbell, Kans.	Focht	Jul	Moore, Va.
Campbell, Pa.	Fordney	Kearns	Murphy
Candler	Foster	Keller	Neely
Cannon	Freeman	Kelly, Pa.	Nelson, Mo.
Carss	French	Kendall	Nelson, Wis.
Carter	Fuller, Ill.	King	Newton, Minn.
Casey	Gandy	Kinkaid	Newton, Mo.

Nicholls, S. C.	Ricketts	Stinss	Watson, Pa.
Nichols, Mich.	Riddick	Strong, Kans.	Weaver
O'Connor	Robinson, N. C.	Strong, Pa.	Webster
Ogden	Rodenberg	Summers, Wash.	Welling
Oliver	Romjue	Sweet	Welty
Osborne	Rose	Swope	Whaley
Overstreet	Rubey	Taylor, Colo.	Wheeler
Padgett	Rucker	Taylor, Penn.	White, Kans.
Park	Sanders, Ind.	Temple	Williams
Parrish	Saunders, Va.	Thompson	Wilson, Ill.
Phelan	Schall	Tilman	Wilson, La.
Platt	Scott	Tilson	Wingo
Pou	Shreve	Timberlake	Wise
Purnell	Siegel	Tincher	Wood, Ind.
Quin	Sims	Towner	Woods, Va.
Raker	Small	Upshaw	Woodyard
Ramseyer	Smith, Idaho	Venable	Yates
Randall, Wis.	Smith, Ill.	Vestal	Young, N. Dak.
Rayburn	Smith, Mich.	Vinson	Young, Tex.
Reavis	Smithwick	Voigt	Zihlman
Reber	Stedman	Volstead	
Reed, W. Va.	Stephens, Miss.	Walters	
Rhodes	Stephens, Ohio	Watkins	

NAYS—12.

Gallagher	Hullings	McAndrews	Tinkham
Griffin	Johnson, Ky.	Oldfield	Treadway
Huddleston	Luce	Thomas	Walsh

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2.

Dunbar Knutson

NOT VOTING—158.

Andrews, Md.	Fitzgerald	Linthicum	Riordan
Anthony	Flood	Loneragan	Robison, Ky.
Bacharach	Frear	Lufkin	Rogers
Barkley	Fuller, Mass.	McArthur	Rouse
Beggs	Gallivan	McClintic	Rowan
Bell	Ganly	McCulloch	Rowe
Benson	Garland	McGlennon	Sabath
Bland, Ind.	Garrett	McKeown	Sanders, La.
Bowers	Godwin, N. C.	McKiniry	Sanders, N. Y.
Britten	Goldfogle	McKinley	Sanford
Browning	Good	McPherson	Scully
Brumbaugh	Goodall	MacCrate	Sears
Burke	Goodwin, Ark.	Madden	Sells
Cantrill	Graham, Pa.	Magee	Sherwood
Caraway	Greene, Vt.	Maher	Sinclair
Carew	Griest	Major	Sinnott
Clark, Mo.	Hamill	Mann	Sisson
Classon	Hardy, Tex.	Mead	Slemp
Cleary	Haskell	Miller	Smith, N. Y.
Copley	Heilin	Moore, Ohio	Snell
Costello	Hersman	Moore, Pa.	Snyder
Cullen	Hill	Moore, Ind.	Stegall
Curry, Calif.	Howard	Morgan	Steele
Dallinger	Hudspeth	Morin	Steenerson
Davey	Hutchinson	Mott	Stevenson
Davis, Minn.	Jacoway	Mudd	Sullivan
Dempsey	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nolan	Sumners, Tex.
Dent	Johnston, N. Y.	O'Connell	Taylor, Ark.
Domintek	Jones, Pa.	Olney	Valle
Donovan	Kahn	Paige	Vare
Dooning	Kelley, Mich.	Parker	Ward
Doremus	Kennedy, Iowa	Pell	Wason
Doughton	Kennedy, R. I.	Peters	Watson, Va.
Dyer	Kettner	Porter	Webb
Eagan	Kiess	Radcliffe	White, Me.
Echols	Kincheloc	Rainey, H. T.	Wilson, Pa.
Edmonds	Kreider	Rainey, J. W.	Winslow
Ellsworth	LaGuardia	Ramsey	Wright
Emerson	Lea, Calif.	Randall, Calif.	
Ferris	Leshner	Reed, N. Y.	

So the resolution was agreed to.

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. KNUTSON with Mr. BELL.
 Mr. BOWERS with Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana.
 Mr. FREAR with Mr. O'CONNELL.
 Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota with Mr. FLOOD.
 Mr. MCPHERSON with Mr. MAJOR.
 Mr. MCARTHUR with Mr. SISSON.
 Mr. MAGEE with Mr. LINTHICUM.
 Mr. MADDEN with Mr. MAHER.
 Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota with Mr. JOHNSTON of New York.
 Mr. COPLEY with Mr. SUMNERS of Texas.
 Mr. EDMONDS with Mr. SCULLY.
 Mr. ROWE with Mr. CANTRILL.
 Mr. COSTELLO with Mr. SULLIVAN.
 Mr. KREIDER with Mr. CLARK of Missouri.
 Mr. CURRY of California with Mr. STEVENSON.
 Mr. WASON with Mr. DAVEY.
 Mr. WINSLOW with Mr. CULLEN.
 Mr. MORGAN with Mr. HAMILL.
 Mr. WHITE of Maine with Mr. CAREW.
 Mr. BURKE with Mr. CLEARY.
 Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania with Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY.
 Mr. MOTT with Mr. LONERAGAN.
 Mr. GREENE of Vermont with Mr. PELL.
 Mr. MORIN with Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas.
 Mr. MUDD with Mr. GOLDFOGLE.
 Mr. GRIEST with Mr. OLNEY.
 Mr. ANTHONY with Mr. WRIGHT.

Mr. BACHARACH with Mr. WILSON of Pennsylvania.
 Mr. NOLAN with Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina.
 Mr. SNYDER with Mr. DOOLING.
 Mr. HASKELL with Mr. MEAD.
 Mr. STEENERSON with Mr. DONOVAN.
 Mr. VARE with Mr. DOMINICK.
 Mr. KAHN with Mr. DENT.
 Mr. PAIGE with Mr. GARRETT.
 Mr. KELLEY of Michigan with Mr. MCCLINTIC.
 Mr. BEGG with Mr. WEBB.
 Mr. DALLINGER with Mr. STEELE.
 Mr. SELLS with Mr. BARKLEY.
 Mr. SLEMP with Mr. DOUGHTON.
 Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa with Mr. LESHER.
 Mr. BLAND of Indiana with Mr. WATSON of Virginia.
 Mr. PARKER with Mr. GANLY.
 Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island with Mr. LEA of California.
 Mr. SANDERS of New York with Mr. BRUMBAUGH.
 Mr. SANFORD with Mr. BENSON.
 Mr. KIESS with Mr. JACOWAY.
 Mr. DEMPSEY with Mr. STEAGALL.
 Mr. PETERS with Mr. FITZGERALD.
 Mr. BROWNING with Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas.
 Mr. PORTER with Mr. FERRIS.
 Mr. ELLSWORTH with Mr. SABATH.
 Mr. EMERSON with Mr. ROWAN.
 Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts with Mr. RIORDAN.
 Mr. DYER with Mr. SMITH of New York.
 Mr. RAMSEY with Mr. EAGAN.
 Mr. HUTCHINSON with Mr. MCKEOWN.
 Mr. ROGERS with Mr. CARAWAY.
 Mr. SINNOTT with Mr. GALLIVAN.
 Mr. LUFKIN with Mr. HUDSPETH.
 Mr. MCCULLOCH with Mr. HOWARD.
 Mr. MCKINLEY with Mr. HERSMAN.
 Mr. SNEEL with Mr. DOREMUS.
 Mr. GARLAND with Mr. RANDALL of California.
 Mr. MANN with Mr. HEFLIN.
 Mr. GOOD with Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY.
 Mr. JONES of Pennsylvania with Mr. MCGLENNON.
 Mr. ECHOLS with Mr. SEARS.
 Mr. MOORE of Ohio with Mr. HARDY of Texas.
 Mr. WARD with Mr. KETTNER.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania with Mr. SHERWOOD (Indefinitely).
 Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that I am paired with the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. BELL, I desire to change my vote from "aye" to "present."

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

A quorum being present, the doors were opened.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to take from the Speaker's table under the rule just adopted the bill H. R. 8624, and disagree to all the Senate amendments.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa moves to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 8624, disagree to all the Senate amendments, and send the same to conference without intervening motion or debate.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER appointed as conferees on the part of the House Mr. HAUGEN, Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan, and Mr. RUBEX.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Mr. WOODS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill H. R. 8658 be changed from the District of Columbia to the Judiciary Committee. I will state that I have asked the chairmen of both committees and there is no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Reserving the right to object, I would like to hear a statement from the gentleman of what the bill is about.

Mr. GARD. What is the bill about?

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 8658) for the repeal of a certain joint resolution passed by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled.

Be it enacted, etc., That the joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, No. 21, approved February 28, 1899 (30 Stats. L., p. 1390), be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

Mr. WOODS of Virginia. There is some conflict between this joint resolution and another resolution which ought to be coordinated with the laws now being acted upon by the Judiciary Committee. I introduced the resolution.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, for the present I shall have to object.

ANNIE R. EMMONS.

Mr. IRELAND. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following privileged resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Accounts, to whom was referred House resolution 302, authorizing the usual payment of an amount equal to six months' salary and \$250 to defray funeral expenses to the widow of a deceased employee of the House of Representatives, having had the same under consideration, find that Lucius H. Emmons was an employee of the House of Representatives on the soldiers' roll; that he died while an employee of the House; and that Annie R. Emmons is his lawful widow. It being the practice and custom of the House to so provide for the widow, the committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

House resolution 302.

Resolved, That there shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House to Annie R. Emmons, widow of Lucius H. Emmons, late an employee of the House of Representatives, a sum equal to six months of his compensation as such employee, and an additional amount, not exceeding \$250, to defray the expenses of the funeral of said Lucius H. Emmons.

Mr. IRELAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for not exceeding 10 minutes out of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for not exceeding 10 minutes out of order. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I trust that after the gentleman has proceeded for 10 minutes out of order he will take a few minutes to explain the purpose of the resolution, as there are one or two questions I desire to ask.

Mr. CANDLER. Mr. Speaker, on what subject does the gentleman desire to speak?

Mr. IRELAND. Mr. Speaker, I just want to submit a brief statement to the House upon the matter that was referred to on last legislative day here, respecting the telegraph bills of Members.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
There was no objection.

Mr. IRELAND. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, on Saturday last the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, having in charge the deficiency appropriation bill, made some reference to the telegraph bills of Members of the House. I was unfortunately absent at the time, and want now to impose upon your good nature and time for a few moments to correct any possible misapprehension that may exist because of those statements, and to express regret that I was not here to do it on Saturday. Although the Committee on Accounts is perhaps correctly charged with censoring these telegrams as to matter, their audit as to accuracy is clearly a matter solely for the audit department of the Treasury and not for the Committee on Accounts.

For some time—and I shall not say whether from the membership of the House or from outside—complaint has been made to the Committee on Accounts respecting this matter, and we, the committee, have been loath to take up the subject simply because of embarrassment that it might cause because of some unintentional and certainly unconscious abuses of the privilege. I want to present these figures, which I take from the clerk's report, which will give some idea of the necessity for the mention, and the mention alone. Whatever I have to say on the subject is not by way of criticism of any Member of the House or of the House as a whole. Such violations, if any there be, such abuses as have occurred, I repeat, in my own mind, have been highly exaggerated, and have been committed unintentionally, I am sure, and, more often than not, unconsciously.

In 1914 the bills permissible to be paid through congressional frank amounted to \$19,430.18. The figures I give are for the fiscal years ending on the 30th of June. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, they amounted to \$26,042.53. They commendably dropped at the end of the year ending June 30, 1916, to \$11,919.02. In 1917 they amounted to \$24,045.20. In 1918 they amounted to \$44,814.46 and for 1919 they amounted to \$108,947.53. There is great excuse for this seemingly unreasonable figure. There are many Members who have used their franks for cables abroad for the release of soldiers who were very sadly and badly needed at home because of bereavements, illness, and distress of their families, and I am bound to say that if the entire amount expended relieved the heart anguish of one single mother or brought home a single boy to his bereaved or distressed family every cent of it was well spent. [Applause.]

The abuse has not occurred in any respect, with very few exceptions, through the introduction of matter which was not within the purview of the privilege. That is to say, the amounts that I have given you have not been accumulated through direct abuse of the privilege enjoyed by Members of

the House. They have not used the frank for extraneous purposes nearly so much as might have been imagined by many of us from the figures given, but we have, perhaps, become a little lax and, perhaps, have transgressed in the manner in which we have sent out cablegrams and telegrams. One might very well imagine that some Members were trying to fill the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by writing a speech in their telegrams. As an instance, we took occasion to see how a telegram might be deleted and altered, as it would naturally be done in the severe economy pursued in one's private interest in sending personal telegrams. This is a concrete instance of two cablegrams, which cost, respectively, \$26.30 and \$31.40.

We have figured out that they might have been sent for \$6 and \$8, respectively, without the slightest fear of having them in any way misleading to the one to whom they were addressed. Another feature that might be eliminated is the statement made by many Members "reply at my expense." They usually did that. Ample allowance was made to the Army and the Navy for all telegraphic purposes, and instead of their being charged to our personal expense they were, of course, charged to the House account. Wherever there has been opportunity for comparison between one department and another, the House always gets the worst of it.

The promiscuous use of the frank by secretaries is a thing that should be frowned upon and could be eliminated to a great extent. Many telegrams come in that are difficult of solution as to just to whom they belong and to whom they should be charged.

Mr. Speaker, I have never posed as a reformer, and I certainly am not an informer. I regard the humble position that I hold, and that of my associates on the Committee on Accounts, as a confidential relation with all the other Members. I do not at any time desire to divulge the contents of telegrams or cablegrams that have been sent. I have taken this matter up only generally with the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and with him alone. The difficulty in the matter may in some way be appreciated by the membership when I tell you that I am informed that the Treasury Department, very excusably because of the onrush of business, is two years behind in its audit, and that it has taken three men a full week's time of consistent hard work to segregate the telegrams of the membership for the month of July only.

I have heard a great deal about economy from both sides of the House, and one side is just as great an offender as the other. Economy, like charity, might well begin at home. This is a matter that should not be disagreeably saddled upon the Committee on Accounts. It is a matter that each Member should see to himself and settle with himself, censoring his own wires, and thereby relieve us of further disagreeable duties in the performance of a most disagreeable position in the House.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. HICKS], who was referred to through an unprecedented typographical error as chairman of the Committee on Accounts—and I am sure that was a plain error, because I am positive he could not have been held so low in the estimation of his colleagues as to have been chairman of that committee—suggests a method by which these bills should be censored by the Committee on Accounts. It has been the effort of that committee not to ask you for additional clerical help, and we hope to get through with this matter without asking that.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. IRELAND. Mr. Speaker, may I proceed for five minutes more?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to speak for five minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. IRELAND. We hope to be able to handle this matter as well as we can ourselves and without additional assistance, but it is very tedious and very menial and very hard work. I have done some of it myself simply to familiarize myself with the situation, and I ask you sincerely to take this matter into your own hands and relieve the very delicate and disagreeable situation and responsibility entailed upon our committee.

Mr. HASTINGS. I think the chairman has made a very full and complete statement of the situation, and there is not anything I can think of that I can add to what has been stated. It is a very delicate situation. These telegrams do not reach the Committee on Accounts until some two or three months after they are sent. I might say in the chairman's time there is a very close twilight zone which creates a very delicate situation. It is difficult oftentimes for a Member to state whether the telegram comes strictly within the rule or not, and I want

to join the chairman in asking the Members of the House to help us in this delicate situation.

Mr. KNUTSON. May I suggest to the gentleman from Illinois that at the time he referred to the Government had control of the cables, so we were simply transferring the money from one pocket to another.

Mr. IRELAND. That did not cut down the bills, however, did it? I do not think the gentleman's suggestion is pertinent as a matter of economy.

Mr. RUCKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. IRELAND. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. RUCKER. I want to congratulate the gentleman upon the very frank and considerate statement he has made, and I would like to ask this question if he can answer it. Of course, I am not asking for any name whatever, but assuming that Members have likely made mistakes in the length of telegrams, or in the character of messages to which the gentleman referred, I want to ask this: Is there any marked difference in the amount charged to Members, \$108,000, prorated fairly well among the 435 Members? In other words, does one Member run up a large amount of expense when the rest of us keep within bounds?

Mr. IRELAND. I will say to my good friend from Missouri that the majority of Members are within bounds, and I regret very much to say there is a material difference, and that is as far as I would like to go.

Mr. RUCKER. That is as far as I would want the gentleman to go. I think if some notice was given those of us who have, maybe without being conscious of it, used the wires excessively, it would put the brakes on.

Mr. IRELAND. Yes, sir. I hope that will be the case.

Mr. RUCKER. And relieve the gentleman of the embarrassment which he reports here.

Mr. GARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. IRELAND. I will.

Mr. GARD. Does the Committee on Accounts, or anyone on the Committee on Accounts, audit these telegrams and cablegrams to determine whether they are official or whether they are personal?

Mr. IRELAND. Yes; we are supposed to as to matter, but not as to the amount. As to the aggregate of the amount charged, that is supposed to be cared for by the Treasury Department.

Mr. GARD. I understand it is the business of the Committee on Accounts to determine whether the matter is official or unofficial?

Mr. IRELAND. I regret very much to say the gentleman is correct, and I am sorry it is.

Mr. GARD. Is the committee doing that?

Mr. IRELAND. We are. That is one thing we are endeavoring to correct, and I will say that the committee is doing its best to do its duty in the matter.

Mr. GARD. What is the course of the committee if after the audit you find the matter is unofficial?

Mr. IRELAND. The gentleman will remember that we have been in charge but a short time, and the matter has been so voluminous that we have only been able to segregate and catalogue one month. We will attend to it.

Mr. GARD. I realize the labor involved, but I wished to find out what has been done and the policy of the committee with reference to these unofficial telegrams?

Mr. IRELAND. That will be done.

Mr. POU. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. IRELAND. I will.

Mr. POU. Why should any of this material be kept confidential. It seems to me it ought to be given publicity. It is public business.

Mr. IRELAND. The gentleman is quite right possibly, but it would only involve us in accusations and recriminations which would come to no real purpose or good.

Mr. POU. I do not see why public business should be kept secret.

Mr. IRELAND. I want to emphasize the fact that alarming as the amount of these telegrams is in a majority of cases, generally the Members have complied with the law and there has been ample excuse for the increase in volume. I do also want to call attention to the fact that the humble chairman does most of this work for the committee in trying to relieve his colleagues of extra work and embarrassment, and I am a fairly modest man—that is, modest for a Congressman [laughter]—and I have no desire to poke my official nose into any gentleman's private business or his domestic affairs.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the gentleman have two minutes more time.

Mr. WALSH. Oh, well—

Mr. IRELAND. I am sorry.

Mr. HASTINGS. I thought the gentleman wanted some information about the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended for two minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HASTINGS. Now, if the chairman will yield I will say that this resolution that is before us—I believe the gentleman wanted to make some explanation of the resolution that is before us.

Mr. IRELAND. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman does not require unanimous consent for that purpose.

Mr. HASTINGS. That is all I ask.

Mr. PARRISH. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Illinois yield to the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. IRELAND. I yield.

Mr. PARRISH. In reply to the suggestion made by my colleague over at the left, I would say that those telegrams, under the direction of the chairman of the committee, are being segregated down in the office of the Committee on Accounts, and, as I understand it, there is no secrecy at all about them. They may be seen by anybody who desires to see them. I just simply wanted to make that statement so that the House would know there was no secrecy about it, that the public may know it; and, furthermore, the men who send those telegrams and who feel that they are treading upon questionable ground—and some of them have done that, although not so many, so far as I am advised, but some have done so—may know that the matter is being carefully investigated, and they may refrain from any further steps in that direction. I want to be absolutely fair with the House in every way, and at the same time protect the Public Treasury in that regard.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. IRELAND. I will.

Mr. CONNALLY. I was very much interested in the statement the gentleman just made that he did not care to poke his official nose into private business. Does the gentleman regard the Committee on Accounts and these telegrams as private business?

Mr. IRELAND. The gentleman misunderstood me. I was referring to matter that might be contained in some of the wires of Members.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is it not the duty of the committee to sift out those telegrams that relate to personal business and make the Members pay for them, instead of leaving with the House the imputation that we are using telegraph franks for private business?

Mr. IRELAND. Is it in the gentleman's mind that I would do that? There was certainly no intentional imputation against the House or any Member.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does not the gentleman think it would be much more effective to call it to the attention of these individual Members who are abusing these franks than to call it to the attention of the House publicly? Would not that be more apt to correct the abuse?

Mr. IRELAND. I disagree with the gentleman. It would not result in the good we should try to reach.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does not the gentleman think the Members have enough discretion to know what is public and private, and if a Member does not make that distinction it is the chairman's business to call attention to it and correct it?

Mr. IRELAND. If we do that, we will do it privately, and not on the floor of the House.

As to the resolution under consideration, it is the usual resolution making provision for the widow of a deceased employee of the House. This employee was one of the doorkeepers on the soldiers' roll. It is the usual resolution, granting to her not to exceed \$250 for funeral expenses and six months' salary of the employee. If there is no question regarding it, I will move the adoption of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

COAL-TAR PRODUCTS.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 8078, known as the dyestuffs bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 8078.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, pending that motion, I want to say to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] that I have requests for considerable more time than I expect to grant. I want to know how much time the gentleman from North Carolina wants to consume on that side of the House.

Mr. KITCHIN. About as much as the gentleman's side will want to consume. I want to be fair. Will the general debate be confined to the bill? If so, we can save an hour or two. If not—

Mr. FORDNEY. With the exception of a very little debate. And if the gentleman will permit the matter to be confined to matters relating to import duties, with the exception of 30 minutes—

Mr. KITCHIN. We either ought to confine it to the bill or let it be open for general debate. The gentleman and myself in controlling the time ought to discourage as much as possible Members talking on other subjects.

Mr. FORDNEY. I will discourage debate, except on the bill, with the exception of 30 minutes on this side. I ask, Mr. Speaker, that one half of the time be controlled by the gentleman from North Carolina and the other half by myself, and that general debate—

Mr. KITCHIN. How much would you say?

Mr. FORDNEY. Give me about three hours and a half on this side.

Mr. KITCHIN. Three hours and a half to the side?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Put it three hours.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will say to the gentleman, if the Chair will pardon me, that I doubt very much, much as I dislike to trespass on the patience of the House, that I will be able to explain this bill, with the questions I expect to be asked, in less than an hour and a half.

Mr. KITCHIN. As you gentlemen are responsible for the facility with which it is to be passed, I yield.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the debate be limited to seven hours, one half to be controlled by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] and the other half by myself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that the debate be limited to seven hours, one half of the time to be controlled by himself and the other half by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN]. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question is on the motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 8078, with Mr. TOWNER in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering the bill H. R. 8078, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 8078) to regulate the importation of coal-tar products, to promote the establishment of the manufacture thereof in the United States, and, as incident thereto, to amend the act of September 8, 1916, entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes."

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield one hour to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH]. [Applause.]

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Ohio yield to me for a moment to ask him a question before he begins the discussion?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. RUCKER. As I read it and understand it, there is considerable discord and contradiction in the various aggregations of letters found on page 3. Will the gentleman explain, define, and pronounce those words to us?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will say to the gentleman from Missouri that in due time I will go thoroughly into that.

Gentlemen of the committee, at the outset I am going to make a rather novel request, that the Clerk in my time read the majority report. I do this because I think it is important that the House should get at least a bird's-eye view of the tremendous questions that are involved in this bill. The report is not long, and I think it covers practically the entire subject in a briefer and more succinct way than I could express it on the floor. I desire to have it read by the Clerk, because it is obvious that the condition of my voice is such that I do not desire to inflict either the House or myself with any more words than are abso-

lutely necessary. So I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk read in my time the majority report, and I ask that gentlemen may give attention, as it deals with a subject which I regard as of vital importance to this country.

The Clerk read as follows:

IMPORTATION OF COAL-TAR PRODUCTS.

The Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred H. R. 8078, "A bill to regulate the importation of coal-tar products, to promote the establishment of the manufacture thereof in the United States, and, as incident thereto, to amend the act of September 8, 1916, entitled 'An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes,' having had the same under consideration, report it back to the House without amendment and recommend that the bill be passed.

This bill amends the present law in four important particulars. In its technical details it follows substantially the recommendations of the Tariff Commission in bringing the phraseology of the law up to date, so as to prevent evasions of its provisions through undervaluation or false designation of articles sought to be imported. Experience in the administration of the existing law has made it clear that it is not so worded as to completely give effect to the intent of Congress, and it is believed that these technical changes will fulfill that purpose. In the second place, it repeals that provision under which the specific duties shall be reduced at the rate of 20 per cent a year for five years. It increases the rates of duty from 15 per cent ad valorem and 2½ cents a pound on the intermediates to 40 per cent ad valorem and 6 cents a pound, and upon the finished product from 30 per cent ad valorem and 5 cents a pound to 45 per cent ad valorem and 7 cents a pound. Expert chemical opinion was unanimous that the rates of duty on the intermediates should be substantially the same as those upon the finished product. In the fourth place, the bill provides that for two years no foreign dyes can be imported except under a license granted by a board created in the bill.

The bill subdivides, as does the present law, the materials used in the dye industry into three classes—the crudes, the intermediates, and the finished product. The process of producing the crudes is comparatively simple, they being actually present in coal tar and only an isolation. Any country which like this has an abundant supply of cheap coal and a great steel industry requiring much coke has an unlimited supply of the raw material, and the crudes therefore require no protection. But with regard to the intermediates the situation is entirely different. Their production requires the most elaborate chemical processes, which can be carried out without the waste of a large proportion of the raw materials used only by men of the most profound chemical knowledge and long experience, and such men are not yet available in sufficient numbers in this country. Under these circumstances, therefore, it is apparent that this industry requires for the present at least a very high degree of protection.

All this is still more true of the finished product, which may take one of six different forms. By further chemical processes, in some cases very simple, these intermediates may be converted into dyes, perfumes, pharmaceuticals, tanning materials, high explosives like T. N. T. and picric acid, or into poison gas. As a class these finished products, requiring as they do further labor and skill of a class plentiful in Germany but still very scarce in this country, need a greater though not much greater measure of protection than do the so-called intermediates.

The remarkable interdependence of the dye and the explosive industry is well illustrated by the fact that once having obtained by a long series of elaborate chemical operations a certain intermediate, that intermediate may be converted by one very simple chemical change into sulphur black, one of the most widely used dyes, or into picric acid, one of the most important of high explosives. The technical knowledge and skill, the materials and the apparatus necessary to make high explosives as well as poison gases and their antidotes are precisely what are to be found in any well-equipped dye works and nowhere else. A nation, therefore, which has a thoroughly complete dye industry capable of supplying its dye needs is always ready for a defensive or offensive war so far as the production of explosives and chemical gases are concerned. If, as seems likely, we are entering upon a period of international disarmament, the possession of such an industry becomes of infinite importance. In a world disarmed a nation possessing such a potential arsenal would be in a position to overwhelm any nation which had none and would be practically immune from attack.

An important, if not the most important, phase of this industry is its bearing upon the advancement of medical and industrial chemistry. It is the one industry which deals on a colossal scale with organic chemistry and it is upon organic chemistry that the progress of modern medicine rests. Salvarsan, for instance, was developed in a dye-works laboratory and is the first known certain cure for one of the most terrible scourges of humanity. It is confidently predicted that upon the further development of organic chemistry will rest the discovery of other cures for such devastating diseases as tuberculosis and even cancer.

This development rests upon the further development in this country of skilled research chemists, and it is only in a dye laboratory that large numbers of such chemists can find a livelihood. Accordingly, a well-developed dye industry in this country will furnish a tremendous reservoir of technically trained men and of scientific knowledge upon which the most important industries of the country may draw in time of peace and the Nation itself in time of war or of threatened war.

The economic importance of the industrial side of this question is illustrated by the fact that industries in this country producing nearly \$3,000,000,000 worth of goods each year are absolutely dependent upon coal-tar dyes and industries producing as much more annually are indirectly dependent upon coal-tar dyes and kindred materials.

For many years before the war we had practically no dye industry in this country. Such dye works as we had were merely assembling plants for German materials and supplied only about one-tenth of the American market. Accordingly all the huge industries requiring dyestuffs were absolutely at the mercy of Germany, and could have been dealt a crushing blow by Germany at any time the German trust saw fit. That Germany realized this is illustrated by a dispatch sent on March 13, 1915, by Count von Bernstorff to his own Government, as follows:

"Serial No. 432 of March 13, 1915. It is reported to me by Hossensfelder, telegram No. 4, that the stock of dyes in this country is so small that by a German embargo about 4,000,000 American workmen might be thrown out of employment."

As a matter of fact, Germany early in 1915, by the withdrawal of her supplies of dyes, attempted to force this Government into hostile action against Great Britain, and if she had had the power to send

her own textiles into this country she would have inflicted a blow upon our textile industry from which probably it would have never recovered.

The war forced upon America the building up of the dye industry, for a situation arose under which many industries came to a practical standstill, and even the Government itself was in danger of having to cease to function in many important branches. For instance, the difficulty of securing printers' ink, which was entirely dependent upon dyes, brought about a situation under which the closing of the Government Printing Office seemed imminent and the Bureau of Printing and Engraving was in most serious embarrassment. The dyes necessary for even cheap and necessary clothing jumped in price in some cases 5,000 per cent and in other cases were not procurable at all. Fortunately we had in this country an unlimited supply of the raw materials, and patriotic Americans in all branches of industry set to work to remedy the situation by making their own dyes.

Vast amounts of capital were risked, without any assurance that it would not in the end be a total loss, as no one could guess how long the war would last, and as a result to-day we have in this country a dye industry which, although it is a mere baby, is able to supply the country's needs in most essentials, and will undoubtedly be able to supply the missing colors if given a reasonable time to get surely on its feet.

Under such conditions it would seem impossible that any loyal American would not realize the absolute necessity of saving and fostering such an industry as this. Only three methods of legislative assistance have been suggested—a tariff, a tariff supplemented by an antidumping provision, and a tariff supplemented by a licensing system. Your committee believes that only the last of these methods would be effective, and has accordingly recommended its adoption.

The plan as provided in this bill is to form a licensing commission, its members to be designated by associations engaged in and representative of both the producing and consuming industries. This commission will have power to grant licenses for the importation of foreign dyes under certain conditions. It is positively commanded to grant licenses to any applicant to import any foreign dye which is not obtainable in this country from domestic sources, and any dye which, while made in this country, is not obtainable at a reasonable price, of good quality, and within a reasonable time. Thus absolute assurance is given any American consumer of dyes that he can at any time obtain the foreign product where the American industry is unable to supply on favorable terms. Conversely, it will absolutely exclude importation of dyes which are made in this country of satisfactory quality and at fair prices and insure the development and extension of the manufacture of those dyes. Furthermore, the applications for the importation of such dyes as are not made here will promptly stimulate our manufacturers to make the same dyes by showing that a strong demand exists for them, and will thus guide the industry into the development which is really required.

During the life of this system a substantial number of dyes not made in this country will no doubt be imported, and, as they will be subject to the rates of duty provided in this bill, will produce a very substantial revenue for the Government.

Your committee does not suggest a license system as a permanent governmental policy, but feels that nothing else can meet the present emergency. Accordingly your committee recommends the license plan, together with an increased tariff, because as soon as the peace treaty is ratified the new American dye industry will be exposed to competition from an adversary so powerful and so desperate that no practical rate of duty can offer any real defense. The whole huge German dye industry, capable at the time of supplying the entire demand of the world, was combined in 1916 into a single immense trust, organized on purpose to fight its way back to the former German world monopoly. The combination is even now enormously prosperous. Starting with assets of nearly half a billion dollars, invested in the empire's most remunerative industry, plants of the trust have been busy throughout the war making all Germany's poison gases, many of her munitions, and at the same time enough dyes to accumulate a reserve capable of flooding the market of this or any other country. Recent observers report that the working forces have been held together complete and intact throughout the war and since its cessation, and that one at least of the component companies has made large additions to plants since the armistice.

The resources of the trust are therefore colossal, its plants are so huge and organized for such vast production that unless it can regain most of its former world market half its equipment must lie idle and the other half run at low efficiency. It must then recover its world market or cease to exist as a profitable business. Even before the war, when its supremacy was uncontested, the German industry's competition was utterly unscrupulous. It practiced ruthlessly every form of corrupt and unfair competition known to commerce. What can be more certain, then, than that in the almost immediate future, when instead of a comfortable and safe supremacy it faces possible destruction, it will attack all competitors with reckless disregard of all considerations of business decency?

This attack, unless Congress acts very speedily, will be concentrated upon us. Great Britain, France, and Japan have protected their own Government-aided dye industries by license laws essentially similar to the one herein recommended. The market of the United States is therefore, except that of China, Germany's last opening. To penetrate it and destroy our domestic producers the trust will surely be glad to spend millions of its surplus. Not many millions would be needed. A very few adroitly used in practically giving away selected dyes would kill the business of even the strongest of our companies and leave us once more at the trust's mercy. Such an onslaught would be dangerous even if Germany's costs of production were as high as ours; but they are not. Even if the prices of labor and material are equal, an old dye industry can always undersell a new one. In making textiles or typewriters or paper or almost any other article that could be mentioned the maker gets practically all of his raw material back in finished product. In making dyes, however, some is lost in each of the many steps in the manufacture. How great each of these successive losses is depends on the experience of the manufacturer. The total of his successive losses when the work is done by an inexperienced man is enormous. We, now at the job, lose half our raw material as the work goes on. The Germans, who have been at it for 40 years, lose but a trifling proportion. Their costs are thus far below ours and are likely to remain so, though in a decreasing degree, for a long time. An attempt to meet under such conditions such an assault from such an adversary would require unheard-of tariff rates, and it is highly probable that by undervaluation, rebates, and concessions, coupled with the old German method of full-line forcing and bribery, the German trust could nullify their effect.

No antidumping law yet suggested seems at all likely to meet the conditions in this particular industry on account of its immense complexity

and the ease with which imports can be camouflaged by the skilled and unscrupulous German chemist. It is apparent, then, that any tariff bill which could possibly become law might, and, indeed, probably would, fail to insure the development of this industry, which is so essential to our national defense and well-being. It is equally clear that the proposed license plan, faithfully administered, will certainly furnish the necessary protection and that, too, without sacrificing revenue. Your committee believes that the industry is too important to be risked, and therefore recommends the adoption of this certain though unusual means of defense. Your committee makes this recommendation also as the only suitable answer to the similar British, French, and Japanese license laws. Those laws keep the competition of our dyes out of Great Britain, France, and Japan. Your committee does not believe that we should aid in building up their new subsidized industries by giving them at the expense of our producers, unlimited access to our market. When by this simple expedient we can at the same time make sure of obtaining every foreign product we need and of building up our own vitally important industry, we feel that Congress ought not to hesitate or rest content with any doubtful remedy.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I really must apologize for having had read so long and so complicated a report as this. But I desire to bring before your minds en bloc, as it were, the situation that faces the country to-day in regard to these coal-tar chemicals.

The report shows, in the first place, the intimate relation that exists not only between the dyes and explosives, which most of us knew before, but the intimate relation which also exists between these and many other articles such as the modern chemical and poison gases, and above all, medicinal preparations; for, gentlemen, to-day most of the great cures that are being developed for the most dangerous ills and diseases that afflict the people of this country are the direct result of experiments in organic chemistry, which can only be made in a dye works.

Thus this matter is of importance, and vital importance, to the country, not only from the business standpoint but from the purely national standpoint as well. And it will be my particular object to endeavor to impress upon you the need not only for action, but for speedy action, lest our present industry shall absolutely vanish from the face of the earth.

Before proceeding to any extended argument as to why this legislation should be enacted, I will take up the bill section by section and endeavor to explain its provisions, with a view of indicating just what it provides.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit an inquiry there?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. As to this commission that is proposed to be created, are their actions subject to any review by any higher authority?

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman will postpone his question until I come to that phase of the subject, I will go into it very fully, and I think I can explain to the satisfaction of the gentleman exactly what the powers of this commission are and that they are not excessive.

In the first place, allow me to say, gentlemen, that this is the third bill dealing with this subject that I have introduced in this Congress. The first bill, House bill No. 2706, dealt only with the tariff phase of this situation. It did not contain that provision which is now contained in the present bill in relation to a regulation of imports through a license system. It only went so far as the present law on the general subject and only changed that law in certain technical details and in the amount of duties to be placed upon these products. But the next bill, House bill No. 6495, contained this so-called license-system provision, not exactly as it is now, because it gave the commission considerably greater powers than are given in this bill. The so-called license system in this bill is the result of long and serious deliberation by the committee on the question of just how far we ought to go in giving any board the right of regulation of importations, and when I come to that portion of the bill I shall elaborate a little more extensively on that subject.

Up to page 9 of the bill before you, gentlemen, there are no changes of policy over the present law except in certain particulars which I shall enumerate. Generally speaking, this bill carries out the suggestions of the Tariff Commission for bringing the law up to date and preventing the evasion both of its letter and spirit that have gone on since the enactment of the present law. The Tariff Commission has given long and exhaustive consideration to this matter and recommends a number of technical changes in order to prevent violations of the law by all sorts of camouflage methods, of which the Germans are masters, in concealing the exact nature of the object sought to be imported.

In the first place, in the present law no items of the existing tariff law are repealed, and it has caused some confusion because these coal-tar chemicals are so infinitely varied in character that the merest change of substance or the merest technicality in construction of the customs law might shift them

over under the general tariff law where the duty is very slight, and thus avoiding the intent of Congress in dealing with coal-tar chemicals as a class.

Another possibility of evasion results from the fact that dye-stuffs can be brought in in various states of concentration, thus entirely changing the identity or character of the article. The object of the recommendation of the Tariff Commission is to make the provisions of the law very clear in that regard.

This bill divides the materials, as does the present law, into three groups; what are called the crudes, the intermediates, the finished product. With regard to the first group, the so-called crudes, they still remain on the free list with some additions. No country in the world, gentlemen, is so blessed as is this country in the possession of the raw materials for making all coal-tar chemical products, whether they be dyes, medicines, gases, or high explosives, because we have an unlimited supply of coal, and a practically unlimited demand for coke, owing to our enormous steel industry.

And it is in the process of making coke for the steel industry and other coke consumers that all these substances are derived. For years in this country, when we made our coke in the so-called beehive coke oven, practically all of these materials went up in smoke, and until the by-product coke oven came into being we were wasting at least 90 per cent of the product, all of which is practically saved now, and goes into the production of coal tar and these other so-called crudes. There can be no better way, I think, of conserving the resources of this country than to develop in the greatest possible degree the use of the by-products of the coke oven.

The industry in many of these substances has developed enormously since the war began. Take, for instance, benzol and toluol, two of the main bases of both explosives and dyes. The production of benzol has increased from \$3,000,000 in 1914 to more than \$55,000,000 in 1918, and the production of toluol has increased from \$600,000 in 1914 to more than \$14,500,000 in 1918. It is a most healthy indication of the progress of this vital industry, and for the reason that there is practically no competition in this industry from other countries, certainly none now, it seems proper that these products should remain upon the free list as they now are.

We now come to group 2, which consists of what are generally known as the intermediates, or, as the Germans call them, the derivatives. You will see on page 3 of this bill a list of jaw-breaking names. These are the final chemical refinements of the raw materials that I have just been speaking of, like benzol and toluol, to the stage when you decide what you are going to make out of them. You can make dyes with them, you can make synthetic tanning materials, you can make perfumery, you can make poison gas, you can make T. N. T., or any other form of high explosive. Their production requires very complicated chemical processes. The distinctive feature of the dyestuff industry is that it is really a combination of thousands and thousands of different industries. Practically no two processes are the same. These materials go through a large number of chemical changes, each of which may destroy the identity of the previous article. So you have no opportunity of judging, as you can in most industries, how much you are going to get out of your original raw product.

If you make a steel rail you know approximately how many tons of steel are going into that rail, but if you make a dye you have not the remotest idea how much of your original product will appear in that dye. That is one of the reasons why Germany is so immensely ahead of this country in the making of these materials; not only because her labor cost is very much less, but because by reason of her tremendous chemical staff and her long experience in the matter of these materials she gets an infinitely larger yield from the component materials than we do. For instance, in turning one of these intermediates into a finished dye a skilled German chemist will ordinarily get a yield of about 80 per cent, while even our very best chemists very seldom succeed in getting more than 40 per cent, for lack of practical experience, and we are still under tremendous disadvantage in competing with Germany to-day, not only with regard to our very much higher labor cost but in regard to our less well-developed chemical efficiency.

Mr. HUSTED. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HUSTED. How does this bill protect against newly invented intermediates which may accomplish the purposes now accomplished by the intermediates specifically enumerated in this section?

Mr. LONGWORTH. The only possible way of preventing the flooding of the market with them during the next two years is the so-called license system as contained in this bill.

Now, although many of the materials mentioned on page 2 are difficult to pronounce, as a matter of fact, if you will examine them, you will see they are very simple. Each name represents a grouping of the principal substances which have gone into the product.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will the gentleman mind trying to pronounce and giving us the meaning of the last word in line 3, on page 4?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will say to the gentleman that I have a very bad throat to-day and was advised by my physician not to try to pronounce any of these names [laughter], but merely to explain what they consist of.

Mr. LAYTON. I will pronounce that word if the gentleman wants me to.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will be very glad if the gentleman will do so.

Mr. LAYTON. Tol-u-y-le-ne-di'-a-min. [Applause.]

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is exactly the way I should have pronounced it if my throat had been in better condition. [Laughter.] It is a common custom in this body to call a bill after its author, and if there happens to be more than one author the bill is sometimes known by the names of its other authors, like the Payne-Aldrich law or the Esch-Townsend law. Occasionally we hear of a bill with the names of three authors. For instance, if the gentleman from North Carolina, my distinguished friend Mr. KITCHIN, and the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. RAINEY, and the gentleman from Texas, Mr. GARNER, should collaborate, each furnishing certain materials for a revenue bill, that bill would probably be known as the Kitchin-Rainey-Garner bill, which might look queer if spelled out in one word as some of the materials in this bill are. And if they were joined by the other gentleman from Texas, Mr. BLANTON, and his name added, the word would be even more difficult of pronunciation, and certainly the combination would seem to be about as difficult of amalgamation as some of the jawbreakers comprised in this bill. [Laughter.]

With regard to the tariff duties on the substances enumerated in group 2 of these intermediates we have made a substantial change. Under the present law these substances are dutiable at 15 per cent ad valorem and 2½ cents a pound.

As a matter of fact, their manufacture is practically as expensive as the manufacture of the finished dye. There are few processes involved in the turning of these materials into the finished dye and they are comparatively inexpensive, so the committee following expert opinion, which seemed unanimous upon the proposition that duties on the intermediates should be substantially as high as upon the finished dye, has made a much larger relative increase in the intermediates than in the finished dyes.

In this bill, instead of being 15 per cent ad valorem and 2½ cents a pound, the duties are 40 per cent ad valorem and 6 cents a pound. That seems a large increase, but let me quote to you some German authority for the necessity of a high protection on intermediates if we desire to retain them as an industry in this country, and retain them we must if we are to have an industry which can produce dyes, medicinals, chemical gasses, and explosives.

I read from a report submitted to Count von Bernstorff on January 26, 1917, by Dr. Hugo Schweitzer, who was the German expert in this country on this question, the "derivatives" he refers to being what we call "intermediates":

The manufacture of the derivatives offers much greater difficulties for an industry still in the process of development for the reason that such an incredibly large variety of products is necessary. In a well-developed industry like that of the German a technical use is found in the end for all these products. In a less well-developed industry and in an industry which is only in the process of development, great hindrances stand in the way of the utilization of these derivatives.

He says further:

The manufacture of derivatives stands in Germany on such an incredibly high plane that the prices for the manufactured articles are very low. It would take American industry many, many years before the same, even if it will ever be possible at all, could produce these derivatives as cheaply as German industry does. In order to show these differences of price, the following examples may be cited: * * *

Further on he says:

The history of American tariff legislation has shown that, in general, a protective tariff of 30 per cent ad valorem does not afford sufficient protection to create an American industry.

So you see, gentlemen, that unless we provide a very substantial increase in duties over and above what they are now, to the producers of these intermediates, we might as well throw up our hands, because Germany will immediately take the entire business.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Certainly.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman seems to give a great deal of credence to the German opinion of reports made to Count von Bernstorff. In view of the fact that those distinguished gentlemen were so badly fooled about matters in America in the recent emergency, can not the gentleman from Ohio take these reports with a little grain of salt?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Not such a report as this. Dr. Schweitzer was not romancing; there is no question about that; the Germans were not going about exploiting the American industry by any means. This was a confidential report, and you can be pretty sure that the exact truth was told with relation to the tremendous advantage that Germany had over us in this particular regard. And so, gentlemen, we have increased the duties very largely in this second group.

Mr. CALDWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. With pleasure.

Mr. CALDWELL. I have received a large number, running into the dozens, of letters from manufacturers who are protesting against this bill. I wondered whether the gentleman could tell the House whether the protesting manufacturers have had an opportunity to be heard, and if they have, why is not their protest a good one?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will say to the gentleman that there is a propaganda going on to-day in this country in opposition to this bill. I do not want to say that it is a propaganda induced by purely selfish motives of those engaged in promoting the German dye industry in this country. I will show a little later on that some persons are protesting against this bill who have been for years protesting against any legislation assisting the American chemical industry at all. They protested against any increased duties under the Payne law. The very same persons are opposing this bill, and they may have been able to pull the wool over the eyes of perfectly bona fide manufacturers.

Mr. CALDWELL. I will say that none of the parties whom I have known, who have written me letters, can by any far cry be said to be pro-German. I do not believe that a single one is a Democrat; they are all Republicans.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I, of course, concede that; but I say that their protest may be the result of propaganda. I do not assert that it is, and I cast not the slightest possible reflection on the patriotism of any one of the gentleman's correspondents. I think they have been unduly alarmed, as for years textile manufacturers have been unduly alarmed as to the possibility of not being able to get dyes necessary to their business and under the impression stimulated by certain propagandists that America can not make them under any circumstances.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes; I yield to my friend from Pennsylvania.

Mr. ROSE. I would like to say, along the line of the statement of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CALDWELL], that I have received dozens of protests and suggestions about this bill that have come from men who I know have no connection whatever with any German propaganda. I regret that some of them are not here to listen to what the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] has said about the report made to Count von Bernstorff. He has made the assertion that the Germans are in a position to make these dyes at a much less cost than we can make them in this country, and the man making the report gives an estimate of the cost of producing the dyes in this country and claims that this country is unable to produce them at the low cost which obtains in Germany. If that is true, then it seems to me that the protests against the passage of this bill would fall to a very great extent.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am delighted that the gentleman from Pennsylvania feels as he does. Mr. Chairman, if gentlemen will postpone their questions on this particular feature until I have an opportunity to finally explain the so-called license system and its necessity I shall be glad, because I think I can show that such protests as come from bona fide manufacturers—and mind you, I am not saying for a moment that any protests sent by an American manufacturer of textiles against the passage of this bill is otherwise than absolutely bona fide—will be found to have been induced, whether they realized it or not, by certain propaganda sent out by persons who have for many years been interested in the importation of German dyestuffs into this country.

In the case of the finished dyes and all of the finished products of coal tar we have increased the duty from the present rate of 30 per cent and 5 cents a pound to 45 per cent and 7 cents a pound.

We have made another vital change—or, at least, a very important change—in the present law with regard to a certain

group of materials which are specifically exempted from the duties in the present law, and I read further from the report of Dr. Schweitzer to His Excellency Count von Bernstorff, commenting on the existing law. He says:

Happily, the following dyes are excluded from this specific duty: "Except natural and synthetic alizarin, and dyes obtained from alizarin, anthracene, and carbazol; natural and synthetic indigo and all indigoids, whether or not obtained from indigo, and medicinals, and flavors." This exception may well become the sheet anchor of the German industry. The dyestuffs which are excepted from this specific duty are the so-called vat dyes, and these vat dyes are a comparatively modern achievement of the German dye technique and are in general regarded as the most genuine dyes.

In other words, in the present law those dyes are specifically exempted, dyes in the manufacture of which Germany stands supreme, and in which we have to-day practically no industry whatever. They are the fastest of all dyes for certain purposes, and are used in dyeing certain classes of cotton goods. In this bill they are restored to the dutiable list and pay the same duty as all other finished dyes, thereby destroying what Dr. Schweitzer calls Germany's "sheet anchor." With regard to the possibility of the manufacture of this class of dyes in this country—and there are practically none manufactured to-day—Dr. Jones, the chemical expert of the Tariff Commission, says, on page 12 of the hearings, speaking of the so-called vat dyes:

There is, however, no question that these dyes will be produced within a short time, provided the companies feel that they have sufficient protection to justify them in making the necessary additional investments required.

Under this bill, if you pass it as it is, we may hope to have added to American production the only portion of the dye industry which is to-day absolutely lacking.

Another important change was made. Under the present law the provision is that five years after its enactment the specific duties proposed in the law shall be decreased by 20 per cent a year, so that after five years they cease altogether. A further provision is that if five years after the passage of the law the President determines that at least 60 per cent of our total consumption is not being produced in this country these specific duties shall no longer be levied or collected, but go on the free list. Both these provisions are eliminated in this bill.

We come now to the so-called license system, the provisions of which I shall endeavor to explain and a little later try to show that it is absolutely necessary for at least two years to make some such provision as this, because no rate of duty, no matter how high, could meet the situation that to-day confronts us.

Section 503 (a) of the bill provides that for the next two years no dyes or other coal-tar chemicals mentioned in the bill can be imported except under a license granted by a commission formed for that purpose. The commission is to consist of 11 men, 10 of them engaged either in producing or consuming dyes, and 1, the chairman, a man not connected with any business either producing or consuming dyes. The members are to be chosen by the industries themselves and their names certified to the Secretary of the Treasury, and they thereupon shall receive their appointment. It will be observed that under this present bill there are six consumers and four producers of dyes on the board, so that it is to be assumed that all points of difference, if such exist, in case of any applications would be decided in favor of the American consumer rather than the American producer.

Mr. YATES. Eleven all together?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes. The 10 appointed by the various associations meet and elect a chairman, the chairman to be the only salaried member of the commission, and the commission is authorized to charge a small license fee in order to pay all expenses. So that there will be no expense attached to the creation or functioning of this commission, so far as the Treasury is concerned. The powers of the commission are simply these: Wherever an application is made to them by any American consumer to import German, English, Swiss, or French, or other dyes, a license must automatically issue if the fact is that that dye is not produced in this country or can not be obtained at a reasonable price. The fear expressed by some textile manufacturers that discrimination might be exercised in favor of some and against others is not warranted because that power is not lodged in the commission. They are commanded to issue licenses in every case where the fact is that these dyestuffs can not be procured within a reasonable time and for a reasonable sum in this country.

Mr. HICKS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HICKS. Speaking of this commission, it states on page 11 that they are allowed to issue this license "on such products only as may be unobtainable from domestic sources on reasonable terms as to price, quality, and delivery." Now, presuming

this commission grants a license on the import of some dyes which come under this item here, of course those dyes coming under that item will pay the duty that is already established in other parts of this bill. Is that so?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. It merely gives the right to bring those dyes in, and it does not abrogate the duty on those dyes?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Absolutely not. And for that reason, gentlemen, for the two years that this license commission plan is in force it is expected that this bill will produce a very handsome revenue. All vat dyes for the time being will have to be imported. They are not produced here, and a license will automatically issue. They will bear the increased rate of duty provided in this bill and a large revenue will be derived. Another advantage will no doubt result. The mere demand, the mere application for a license to import a certain dye is constructive notice to the chemists and manufacturers of this country that there exists in this country a demand for that dye, and undoubtedly research work will at once begin in the direction of its production here. Because of that you can safely count that if for the next two years you give them a fair chance our producers will be able to show that we can make our own dyes here at home with American capital and with American labor and say to Germany "We do not need you." [Applause.]

Mr. DEWALT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will.

Mr. DEWALT. I notice in this provision on page 11 that the wording, in line 18, is this:

Domestic manufacture, such of the products covered by section 503 (a) of this act, and such products only, as may be unobtainable from domestic sources on reasonable terms at the price, quality, and delivery.

Now, am I right in construing that to mean this, that this commission of 11, appointed, I believe, by the President—

Mr. LONGWORTH. No; they are appointed by the associations themselves.

Mr. DEWALT. This committee, appointed by these various associations, are also the judges as to the reasonableness of the price and of the quality and of the delivery?

Mr. LONGWORTH. No; I think the gentleman—

Mr. BUTLER. That is what I want to know.

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman will read that whole section and pay particular attention to the use of the word "shall," in line 16—

Mr. DEWALT. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It says "shall issue licenses"—

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield 30 minutes additional to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And if the gentleman will also read the last paragraph—

Nothing herein contained shall authorize the commission to refuse a license to a manufacturer, person, or agent to import for actual use by the manufacturer foreign dye when such domestic dye of equal quality is not immediately available for his use.

He will see that it is not a price-fixing commission by any means. The commission's hands are tied where a dye is not produced in this country or can not be delivered in a reasonable time. They must grant a license.

Mr. DEWALT. Will the gentleman yield for one question more?

Mr. LONGWORTH. With pleasure.

Mr. DEWALT. Conceding that the licensing commission shall issue, that is imperative; but notwithstanding that, is not that imperative order to issue that dependent upon these things, namely, when unobtainable from domestic sources on reasonable terms and as to price, quality, and delivery? Now, does not that import that there is some judgment there, and by whom is that judgment to be exercised as to price, quality, and delivery? And the question is, Is that judgment reposed in this commission?

Mr. LONGWORTH. My construction of that section is this, that exercise of discretion would not extend to a case where the dye could not be secured at all. In a case where the dye was produced here, but could not be secured in a reasonable time and for a reasonable price, some exercise of discretion might lie, but it would tend to be exercised for the benefit of the American consumer, for, mind you, a majority of this commission are manufacturers themselves, they are not producers of dyes.

Mr. DEWALT. They are the men who use the dyes?

Mr. LONGWORTH. They are the men who use them. They always have the majority, and should a question arise such as is suggested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania it is to be assumed that the textile manufacturers, the men who consume

the dyes, are going to see to it that men in the same business receive fair treatment. I can not think of a case where any unfair discrimination could be used against the American consumer.

Mr. DEWALT. One question further.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will yield to the gentleman, but I would like to proceed.

Mr. DEWALT. Could this be met with an antidumping clause?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am coming to that. I will say briefly that in my judgment no antidumping clause could be framed that would help out in the situation that immediately confronts us, no matter how strong it was.

Mr. HICKS. Will the gentleman permit one question there? In the first part of his speech I interrupted him and asked a question as to whether or not the decision of this commission, under the term "reasonableness" is subject to a review by any court?

Mr. LONGWORTH. No; it is final, but, as a matter of fact, I can not conceive how, if a bona fide American consumer of dyes asks a license to import dyes after this bill is passed, it could be by any possibility refused to him if he could not procure those dyes here under reasonable terms and immediately.

Let me call your attention to this fact, too, gentlemen. Under the present regulations which provide that the War Trade Board shall issue licenses—as they have absolute authority to do—licenses have been granted within the last 10 days to import the next six months' supply of all necessary dyes. They have given licenses to everybody who applied for permission to import the dyes not produced here, and, I am told, though I have not seen the final figures, that the amount asked for is relatively insignificant, showing conclusively that America can produce practically all the dyes, except some of these specialties like vat dyes, that are necessary for American consumption at the present time.

Now, the commission proposed in this bill has a very much lesser authority than that now exercised by the War Trade Board.

Mr. HUSTED. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HUSTED. I am very much interested in the success of this proposition, and I want to see the bill meet every situation. I do not see how your licensing provision protects you under its language against the importation of newly invented German derivatives, for example, or newly invented dyes which have not been specifically enumerated, because your language distinctly says that your commission must grant a license where the dyes or derivatives are not manufactured in this country. Assume that in Germany they develop a lot of derivatives under different names by changing the process slightly, and those derivatives will accomplish the same purpose as the derivatives specifically enumerated in this bill, how does your licensing provision stop Germany from flooding our market with those derivatives that are not enumerated?

Mr. LONGWORTH. It would not prevent the importation of a given quantity if any bona fide American needed it for his own use and could not get it here. But it is not to be assumed that there will be a flood of importations, because we are to-day able to produce probably four-fifths of the American demand. I believe the average demand of the American market has run for a good many years at about 900 different colors, and we are now producing in this country about 400. At any rate, the fact is we are able, in most of the basic dyes, to supply the American demand to-day. The trouble would be that, without this licensing system, and under a tariff only, no matter how high, the accumulated stores of Germany would be dumped here regardless of cost. The immediate object of Germany is not to sell dyes for the next year or so in this country at a profit. They will be willing to give them away if only they can destroy the American chemical industry, the baby industry which was created by this war, and then they can sell their dyes and dye-stuffs when American competition is removed, as they did before, at any profit they may see fit.

Mr. DEWALT. Possibly by yielding we can get the information more succinctly than we can in any other way. What I would like to know is this: This is not considered as a war measure, is it?

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman, when he asks that question—

Mr. DEWALT. It was not in the minds of the framers of this bill?

Mr. LONGWORTH. In my opinion it is a necessary war measure, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say a necessary measure for war preparedness. Now, if the gentleman will let me go on—

Mr. DEWALT. All right.

Mr. LONGWORTH. So far I have been speaking mainly of the business side of this question, but as a matter of fact I subordinate it entirely to the national side.

The outstanding feature of this whole question is that it has two distinct sides, a business side and a national side, a peace side and a war side.

On the business side we find in this country an industrial production of \$3,000,000,000 a year directly dependent upon dyestuffs and as much more dependent indirectly. On the national side we find that not only are we dependent upon dyestuffs for certain absolutely necessary materials for war, either defensive or offensive, like explosives and poison gases, but for many modern medicinal preparations in which the health of the community is bound up irrevocably. It is this mutual interdependence of these two widely different branches of human endeavor upon one industry which makes its study so fascinating and its importance to the Nation so vital. It is this that has caused one like myself, for instance, who has no practical skill in or erudite knowledge of chemistry to interest himself, as I have for the past four years, in endeavoring to bring it about that this country shall have a well-developed and permanent coal-tar chemical industry, sufficient at the very least to supply the needs of the American people both in time of peace and in time of war, and to for all time obviate the necessity that we should be dependent upon Germany or any other country for that which is vital not only to the welfare of the American people but to the safety of the Nation itself.

Mr. EVANS of Nebraska. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes; I yield.

Mr. EVANS of Nebraska. I think I understood the gentleman to say that we had not been and were not now able to produce the vat dyes. What is the explanation of that, since there has been practically inhibition against free importation for the past two years, or during the war?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Because they are a comparatively recent development, and our chemists have not learned how to make them. We now have all the German patents. We did not know the methods before. It is certain if you will give our men two years they will make them all.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I think there is a slight misunderstanding on the part of the gentleman from Nebraska. These dyes are for coloring certain materials like cotton.

Mr. LONGWORTH. They are not used in clothing at all.

Mr. EVANS of Nebraska. Were not our manufacturers permitted to use those patents during the war period?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Not at the beginning. We never got hold of them until quite recently. The Government has acquired all the German patents in this country, and it is only very recently that our chemists have had access to them.

Mr. BURROUGHS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I wish, gentlemen, to go on.

Mr. BURROUGHS. Just a question along that line.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Very well.

Mr. BURROUGHS. Will the gentleman state what our manufacturers have been using in place of these vat dyes during the war, when the German dyes were inhibited from being used?

Mr. LONGWORTH. They have had a hard time getting any, and that is the reason why our big textile manufacturers, almost to a man, who first opposed this legislation, are now for it, because when they were cut off from the German dyes and we had no industry of that kind in this country they were in great embarrassment, and they want at all hazards to avoid it again.

If this question had only its business side my interest in it would be far less intense than it is. In fact, I might hesitate to advocate any method outside of the protective tariff for a solution of the difficulty. But when I look upon the national side, both as it relates to the national defense and to the health and happiness of the people of America, I say to you with deliberate conviction that the need for this legislation is vital, and that this bill, notwithstanding the novelty of some of its features, ought to be passed substantially unamended.

In taking up the business side of this question I want first to very briefly review the history of the dye industry in the United States. Up to the 1st of August, 1914, it was an industry of practically no importance whatever. Congress every now and then had made spasmodic efforts to do something for it, but without any real success. The big textile manufacturers were almost a unit in opposition to any substantial increase in tariff duties on dyes and dye materials, as were, of course, the

professional dye importers, almost all of whom were agents of the German trusts, and every effort was used to induce the belief that it was impossible for us ever to compete with Germany. Most of the concerns which produced dyes at all in this country were mere assembling plants for German materials, and there were only two or three, like Schookopf Co., at Buffalo, and the Beckers Co., in Brooklyn, who really made dyes. At best, our industry produced only about a dozen different colors, out of the eight or nine hundred odd used in the American market, and was supplying only about 10 per cent of the American demand.

On the other hand, Germany controlled close to 90 per cent of the American market, in addition to being in practical control of the dye market of the world. As against the American production of some dozen or so different colors Germany produced in one concern alone more than 11,000 different colors.

Under these circumstances it is not difficult to imagine what happened here when the regular German supply was suddenly shut off. When Great Britain and the Allies assumed control of the seas, dyes in common use shot up by thousands per cent, and many of them were unobtainable at any price. Not only the consuming public but the Government found itself in serious embarrassment, for lack of colored inks used in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving and other bureaus.

Here is an example—and I take this from a very large number of cases that came to my attention when I was advocating the passage of the so-called Hill bill, which was in substance the present law but with a higher rate of duty. We had hundreds of instances submitted to us of the tremendous increase in the price of dyes in this country, and I am now going to read you this letter, received from a manufacturer of cotton:

New York, February 23, 1916.

Mr. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH,
Room 319, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have just read the copy of Congressman HILL's speech before Congress on the dyestuff bill, H. R. 702, and on page 11 I read that yourself and Mr. HILL discussed the writer's statement before the Ways and Means Committee regarding our recent dyestuff purchases in China.

In order to have the matter entirely correct in your mind, I would say that you will find, on page 119 of the printed hearing before the Ways and Means Committee on the dyestuff bill, that the writer answered your question as to exorbitant cost of dyestuffs, stating that my company had just paid \$5.75 a pound for aniline black (made by Badische, in Germany), which we had purchased from China.

These identical goods in normal times would have cost us 20 cents per pound, or a total of \$1,748, whereas we are now compelled to pay more than \$52,000.

Since that time we have made another purchase of same goods from Shanghai, paying \$7.50 per pound instead of \$5.75, and on February 14 last we were quoted \$12 a pound for exactly the same material from China.

This latest quotation means an advance of 6,000 per cent over the normal before-the-war figure of 20 cents per pound.

Yours, very truly,

R. H. COMEY CO.,
GEO. W. WILKIE,
For the Company.

In other words, here was a manufacturer of cheap cotton goods who, for goods that had cost him before the war 20 cents a pound, had to pay \$12, for the reason that we had no industry of that kind in this country. We had never built it up and had allowed Germany to control our own markets. Of course, something was bound to happen the moment Germany was unable to ship her goods in.

Here was an instance of goods shooting up in a few months over 6,000 per cent. There are cases where they shot up 10,000 per cent, and in many cases the dyes were not obtainable at all, textile mills were shutting down, and Germany knew what the situation was. You remember in the report the telegram of Hossenfelder, the German consul in New York, to Bernstorff, saying that the total cutting off of German dyes would throw 4,000,000 men in America out of employment. That may come again if we do not do something for this industry. Here is an instance of the way it affected the Government of the United States. It is contained in a letter from Byron R. Newton, Acting Secretary of the Treasury, addressed to the Speaker of the House and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. I will read it. He says:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 9, 1916.

SIR: Owing to conditions arising out of the European war, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, which prepares all Government notes and other securities, national bank notes and Federal reserve notes, postage and revenue stamps, and currency of the Philippine government, has found it impossible to purchase colors for inks in sufficient quantities in the United States to carry on its work. It has been compelled for over a year to use cheap and unsatisfactory substitutes for some of the colors, and as time has gone on even these substitutes have become more and more difficult to purchase, and it seems to be only a question of a short time until the supply of them will be exhausted.

At present the Bureau of Engraving and Printing has only two weeks' supply of reds and blues, which are the most important colors used by it.

Some time ago an order for 145,000 pounds of blues and reds was placed in Germany, and through the assistance of the State Department permission was granted for the exportation of these colors. The first of several consignments has just reached this country. Under the tariff act some, if not all, of these colors are dutiable, and it seems to me it is proper at this time and under these conditions for Congress by joint resolution to authorize the importation of all of these colors free. It is impossible to buy these colors here. The prices that are now paid for them in Germany are higher than the prices before the war plus the duty. The duty will be approximately \$12,000, and it will be necessary to go to Congress for a deficiency appropriation if this duty is paid. There can be no question of this importation injuring in any manner any American industry.

I therefore have the honor to request that a joint resolution authorizing the admission free of duty of approximately 145,000 pounds of dry colors, valued at \$40,000 to \$50,000 (the exact amount not being determinable at this time owing to the fluctuations of exchange), from Germany for the use of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the same having been ordered December 10, 1915, and shipment being made to and in the name of the Secretary of the Treasury, said colors to be exclusively for the use of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, may be passed by Congress. As part of these colors has already been shipped and some of them are now in this country, I request that immediate action on this resolution may be taken, if possible.

I inclose herewith a suggested form of resolution.

Respectfully,

BYRON R. NEWTON,
Acting Secretary.

Hon. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. HULINGS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. HULINGS. What proportion of these dyes that are now so greatly needed have they been able to produce in American factories?

Mr. LONGWORTH. They are making them all now—all these dyes.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. Who will represent the consuming public upon this commission?

Mr. LONGWORTH. No one will represent the consuming public directly, because the consuming public has no direct interest whatever in this matter. I will be glad to explain to the gentleman what I mean.

Mr. WALSH. I wish the gentleman would do that.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I had intended to take that up later in my remarks, but since the gentleman has asked that question I will be glad to answer it now.

Mr. YATES. Before the gentleman does that—

Mr. LONGWORTH. I wish the gentleman would let me answer this question first.

Mr. YATES. Certainly.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] has asked me a question which ought to be vital in any discussion involving the tariff or legislation favoring industry. That is the question of what effect may it have upon the cost of living.

I will begin, first, with the question of the price of silk goods, where dyes form a more important item than they do in any other article of clothing of any kind. Silk requires a more expensive dye than any other fabric. The testimony before the committee shows that the highest estimate given by anyone as to the cost of the dye in a yard of silk selling for \$5 a yard is between 4 and 5 cents a yard, so that even in the case of silks the cost is relatively nothing and would never be passed on to the customer. Think of it! In silk selling for \$5 a yard, the total cost of the dye is only between 4 and 5 cents a yard.

In the cheaper articles—cotton goods—in which the poorer people are interested, the cost is much less. I will ask the Clerk to read this letter, to give my voice a rest for a moment. This is written by the treasurer of the United States Finishing Co., which is, I believe, the largest consumer of these cotton dyes. It is with regard to the cost of the dyes in the goods.

The Clerk read as follows:

THE UNITED STATES FINISHING CO.,
320 Broadway, New York, N. Y., June 25, 1919.

Hon. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY,
*Chairman Committee on Ways and Means,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I wish to supplement the statement which I made on June 18 at the dyestuff hearing before your committee in behalf of the National Association of Finishers of Cotton Fabrics. At that time I did not have with me the figures given below.

In order to emphasize the fact that the actual cost of dyestuffs, apart from the cost of other materials, such as chemicals, is a relatively small proportion of the total cost of finishing cotton goods, I submit the following information:

During the 12 months from July 1, 1913, to July 1, 1914, immediately preceding the outbreak of the European war, the average cost of dyes used by the United States Finishing Co. in its three plants at Pawtucket and Providence, R. I., and Norwich, Conn. (engaged in the

dyeing and printing of colored cotton fabrics of a total yardage of 204,000,507), was one-eighth of 1 cent per yard of goods finished. Practically all of the dyes used at that time were imported from Germany.

During the 12 months of the year 1918, at the same mills, and upon a yardage of 180,525,317, the average cost of dyes used was one-half of 1 cent per yard of goods finished. A large majority of the dyes used in 1918 were made in the United States.

The costs of dyes at the present time, and especially during the year 1918, are admittedly high. They are higher than it is confidently expected that American dyes will be with the expected decline in the cost of raw materials and with the increase in the range of colors which progress in the dyestuff industry will certainly develop. In other words, I feel that our average cost of one-half of 1 cent per yard for colors is a maximum figure, which is likely to be less from now on.

The point I wish to make, therefore, is that, even with a protective duty added, the cost of dyes per yard of cotton goods finished is a relatively small portion of the total cost of finishing. Consumers of dyes, like ourselves, are very much more anxious to see a permanent and self-contained dyestuff industry established in this country than they are to obtain such relatively slight reductions in cost as would result from the unrestricted competition of foreign dyestuff manufacturers.

As consumers of dyes, upon whom the burden of taxation would necessarily fall, we are willing to bear such a burden as a measure of insurance against a recurrence of the demoralized situation in the dyestuff market we experienced in the early years of the war.

A protective tariff, coupled with a well-administered licensing system, such as has been proposed by the Chemical Foundation, would, in my judgment, meet the situation adequately and be satisfactory alike to the manufacturers and consumers of dyes.

Yours, faithfully,

ANDREW C. IMBRIE, *Treasurer.*

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I dislike very much to inflict myself on the committee, but I have not nearly finished what it is necessary to say.

Mr. FORDNEY. I have applications for more time than I have left, but I will yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio, if that will do. We have either got to have an extension of time or else cut out some of our friends, because we have applications for more time than we have.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I doubt whether I can cover this subject at all in less than half an hour.

Mr. FORDNEY. I will yield to the gentleman 20 minutes, and let him see how near he can come to it.

Mr. BUTLER. I suggest that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHEN] will yield the gentleman some time.

Mr. KITCHEN. I yield the gentleman 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am taking no particular pleasure in making this speech under the circumstances, because of my physical discomfort, but I feel that I ought to explain this bill fully.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman care to venture the prediction that this dye-licensing commission will not be required after two years from the approval of this act?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will say to the gentleman frankly that if I had my way, I would like to make it three years. I think three years would be the ideal time, but I think two years will settle the question that America can produce these things.

Mr. ANDERSON. On this commission proposition—

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman let me postpone the discussion of the commission proposition for a little?

Mr. ANDERSON. Of course, if the gentleman desires it.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will answer the question when I come to it.

Mr. ANDERSON. Very well.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am discussing now what happened at the time of the war. In the first place, as I have said, the question of the cost of these dyes is immaterial, so far as the consuming public is concerned, because it will not know whether you increase the duties on dyes or not, for the cost of the dye in the goods the public buy is absolutely insignificant, only one-eighth of 1 cent a yard. It is too small to talk about. Even the figures given by the silk manufacturers refer to the present high cost of American dyes. Dyes to-day are higher than before the war, but they are going down all the time. For instance, one of the most important dyes used in this country, methyl violet, has gone down from \$12 a pound in 1916 to \$2.65 a pound in April, 1919. It is safe to assume that if you give American industry a chance to have competition all these present prices will be very speedily reduced.

The situation I have endeavored to describe to you when Germany went into this war called for drastic action. Congress endeavored to meet the situation to some extent by passing a bill which put a fairly protective duty on dyestuffs. This was the first time, so far as my knowledge goes, that a Democratic Congress ever used the tariff for the encouragement of an

American industry without any thought of revenue. The overwhelming necessity of the situation compelled them to ignore, to this extent at least, their time-honored political tenets, and they are to be congratulated for their patriotic action. Even though the rates of duty were plainly inadequate and by no means measured the difference in cost of production here and in Germany, at least they afforded some encouragement to men here to risk the investment of great quantities of capital to produce the dyes which were absolutely necessary for the needs of the Government and the consuming public, and gave ground for hope that whichever political party was in control of the Government when the war came to an end, it would be seen to that their investment was not a total loss. And so a great number of American business men made large investments in dye production, until on the day the armistice was signed the industry had grown in this country to such an extent that the major demand of the American market was amply provided for.

But it must be frankly admitted that it was not the rates of duty provided in the act of September 8, 1916, but the fact that the war itself acted as an unsurmountable barrier to the importation of German dyes that has so far saved this baby industry.

To my mind, those Americans who have risked the investment of probably somewhere near three hundred millions to turn out those substances of which not only the people but the Government itself were in dire need deserve the support of the Government. They took tremendous risks, and we should see to it that their property is not swept away. They had not only to construct, but to learn to construct. They built crudely, perhaps, at the beginning, but more effectively as time went on. It is not a hard matter to build a brick wall if you have the bricks handy, but if you have not only to make the bricks but to learn how to make them it is a different matter, and that was just the sort of problem that our dye producers had to meet.

Without an extension of the legal safeguards now in force it would be only a question of a few months, with foreign competition, and particularly German competition restored, when this wall would be completely undermined and would topple to the ground. It is the object of this bill to see to it that this industry is not undermined; that it is given an opportunity to flourish and to grow until the time shall come, and that within a very few years, when we can say to Germany and the rest of the world, "We don't need your dyes. All we need are being made in American factories and by American workmen."

So much for the business side of this question. I submit that it is one of vast and far-reaching importance, and yet I subordinate it entirely to the other or national side of this question, which I will discuss for a moment, and that first with that portion of it which relates to the public health. Your committee had some very valuable information on this phase of the question from Dr. Charles Steiglitz, head of the department of chemistry of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., expert advisor of the Federal Trade Commission during the war, and former president of the American Chemical Society, and a world authority on modern organic chemistry. Without commenting on his testimony in detail, I commend it to your most thoughtful attention. Generally speaking, it shows that the development of most of the modern cures for some of the most dreaded diseases are made from materials obtained from a coal-tar base and directly involved in this bill.

As he says:

We use some materials which in the hands of the skilled organic chemist can be converted either to the production of dyes, explosives, poison gases, or to medicinals.

And again:

The dye industry is the sole industry from which we can get our materials and our chemists and which can support the type of work which we have in mind.

In other words, gentlemen, unless we are to have a complete and self-sustaining dye industry in this country we will have to depend upon the chemists of foreign lands to make and to invent the remedies to make American life more secure and happy.

And now I come to the side of this question which relates to preparedness for the national defense. This consists of the relation of the dyestuffs industry to modern high explosives and to chemical gases. I shall not dwell at length upon the explosive question, because it has been a known fact for a long time that dyes and explosives bear the same relation as the Siamese twins. They are inextricably bound together. You can not make one without having the materials at hand to make the other. The fact is that in the same plant, with the same equipment and the same men, you can make either dyes or high explosives as you choose.

The relation between dyes and chemical gases, however, is of very recent development, and upon that point we had most interesting enlightenment from Gen. William L. Sibert, Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service, and from Col. Amos A. Fries, chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the American Expeditionary Forces. A few quotations from their testimony will, I think, illuminate the situation.

Gen. Sibert, after having alluded to the enormous sums of money spent toward building of chemical and nitrate and other plants, and the fact that they probably cost at least twice as much as they would have cost if built in time of peace, said:

If nitrate and dyestuff plants were built in time of peace, such plants would be a most essential preparation for war.

And further along he said:

The dyestuff industry is the one peace-time enterprise which will furnish us with the plants and equipment which can be hurriedly converted to essential uses in time of war. If such plants do not exist in time of peace, they will have to be hastily constructed and equipped in time of emergency, and we will have the same situation arising as confronted us at the outbreak of this war.

And again:

There is another point which is worthy of especial emphasis. We are not only concerned with plants and equipment, but also with the trained personnel needed. This war has shown that it takes two or three times as long to prepare the material of war as it does to train the personnel for war.

This latter point that Gen. Sibert makes, as it seems to me, strikes at the very root of the whole question. We have in this country in unlimited quantities the raw materials necessary for the manufacture of all these coal-tar products, whether they be dyes, tanning materials, medicinal preparations, high explosives, or poison gases; but we have not, as has Germany, the trained chemical force necessary to produce them in quantity and cheaply. Such a force can only be developed in time of peace, and then only in an industry which with proper legislative assistance can be conducted profitably, namely, the dye industry. Can it be questioned that the further development of poison gases and their antidotes will be of vital importance to the future of this Nation, both for preparedness for or insurance against war?

Col. Amos Fries went into the matter in even more detail. While at the start, when the Germans began to use these poison gases, it seemed to be a most barbarous and inhuman method of warfare, it has turned out that properly used it may be the most humane. Certain it is that while at the beginning, when these gases came as a surprise and no method of combating them was known, the casualties were very large, toward the end of the war they were comparatively insignificant.

You can make these gases of almost any strength, from the tear gases up. As Col. Fries says:

The tear gases can be used against savages if we want to, or against any unprepared peoples, to drive them out of places without loss of life. If we had had it in the Philippines in times past we would not have needed to have lost our boys in taking those places, because there is no escape from it except in a mask.

I recall when I was in the Philippines some years ago that an uprising had just taken place in one of the southern islands. A lot of insurgents had gathered together in the bottom of an old dead crater, and we lost hundreds, I believe, of our men in trying to dislodge them. The only way our men could do was to climb up the sides of the crater and try to shoot the insurgents below. If we had had gas bombs fired over into the crater we might have captured every one of these men and not lost one of ours. That only shows what the possible future of chemical-gas warfare is. So far as its development in this country is concerned, it is dependent solely on the creation of a permanent, self-sustaining dyestuff industry.

Germany did not win the war, thank God, but it was not because of failure upon the chemical side of it. From the beginning to the end she had an unlimited and apparently inexhaustible supply of the bedrock of modern warfare—explosives and chemical gases. For 40 years she had planned for the exact situation that confronted her in the summer of 1914. Cut off from all her outside sources of supply, she at once turned over her huge chemical plants to the production of explosives and poison gases, and if her morale and her man power had not fallen down she might have been fighting yet, and perhaps for years to come. In this particular, if in no other, let us take pattern by Germany to the end that come what may we shall never again find ourselves deficient in at least the adequate potential supply of those materials which stand first as necessities for our national defense. Above all, let us see to it that for this supply we shall never again be dependent upon Germany.

I have attempted to sketch very briefly and very inadequately the reasons why the dyestuff industry is of such vital importance to the United States. I shall not even ask the question, Is it

worth saving? I believe that there is in this country to-day an extraordinary and unprecedented unanimity of opinion that this industry is absolutely essential and must be preserved at all hazards. I take it for granted that the membership of this House is united in the belief that we must preserve it somehow. I take it, too, that upon both sides of the House there exists the conviction that it must be done by some sort of tariff legislation. The President, in his message on the 20th of last May, said:

Nevertheless there are parts of our tariff system which need prompt attention. The experiences of the war have made it plain that in some cases too great reliance on foreign supply is dangerous and that in determining some parts of our tariff policy domestic considerations must be borne in mind which are political as well as economic. Among the industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals. Our complete dependence upon German supplies before the war made the interruption of trade a case of exceptional economic disturbance. The close relation between the manufacturer of dyestuffs on the one hand and of explosives and poisonous gases on the other, moreover, has given the industry an exceptional significance and value. Although the United States will gladly and unhesitatingly join in its program of international disarmament it will nevertheless be a policy of obvious prudence to make certain of the successful maintenance of many strong and well-equipped chemical plants. The German chemical industry, with which we will be brought into competition, was and may well be again a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind.

I think that you, my colleagues on the Democratic side, under the circumstances, will be willing to go very far to carry out these recommendations of your party leader. I think that you, my colleagues on this side, would be willing to go to the very limit of tariff protection, if by protection alone, as we generally understand it, we could solve this problem. For myself I wish it could be solved by a protective tariff. That is the natural, easy, old-fashioned Republican way, but I think that it would be only a very reactionary party which would decline to go further in a case so vitally important as this, not only to American industry, but to the national safety as well, merely because the remedy suggested is new. I confess that when this so-called license system was first proposed it rather hit me in the eye. I do not like licensing boards very much in time of war, still less in time of peace, but a thoroughly conscientious and pretty exhaustive study of this situation has absolutely convinced me that this situation can only be met by some such system as proposed in this bill, and that without it it would be practically ineffective. I would never think of advocating it as a permanent governmental policy. I would never propose it except as a purely temporary expedient to prevent what is bound to occur, namely, the dumping of a tremendous mass of dye materials into this country, regardless of price, regardless of cost, regardless of any tariff rates that Congress might fix.

As a matter of fact, the term "licensing system" is a misnomer. It does not mean "licensing" as we ordinarily comprehend it. It does not mean a license to do business. It means a regulation of importation. All that we propose is that no dyes shall be imported when the same dyes are now being produced here at a reasonable price. The proposed board in the vast majority of cases will act automatically and will have no power to interfere with legitimate American business.

We are proposing this system in addition to the increased tariff, because as soon as the peace treaty is ratified the new American dye industry will be at once exposed to the competition of an adversary so powerful, so fierce, and so desperate that no practicable rates of duty will offer a really effective defense.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, before the gentleman leaves the question of the commission proposing a license, I should like to ask him where the committee found any legislative precedent or any constitutional warrant for the designation of a commission of this kind by purely unofficial, commercial organizations.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I am not myself by any means convinced that that is the best way of dealing with the question—that is, to have the industrial bodies themselves name the commission—but I can not see myself any constitutional difficulty in the way. This is a prohibition of importation except under certain conditions.

Mr. ANDERSON. But this is the exercise of a governmental function, is it not?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes; it is a governmental function to prohibit the importation of goods.

Mr. ANDERSON. And the Constitution provides that the officials of the Government shall be appointed by the President and in other specified ways. I do not see where the Ways and Means Committee could get around that proposition.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Is the gentleman distinguishing between the war power and the peace power now?

Mr. ANDERSON. I was assuming that this legislation would not be passed as a part of the exercise of the war power.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The reason I asked that is that there is a board now exercising precisely the functions proposed to be exercised by this commission, except that its powers are very much larger.

Mr. ANDERSON. That may be true. I am not questioning the power of a commission properly appointed to exercise these functions, but what I am questioning is the power of Congress to say that this commission shall be designated by 11 or 9 or 10 wholly unofficial bodies which have no connection with the Government whatever.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I would not care to hazard my reputation as a constitutional lawyer that this method of appointment is constitutional, but in my opinion it is. I confess that I have not examined the precedents to any extent.

Mr. ANDERSON. Did not the committee make an investigation, or was there no testimony before the committee on this question?

Mr. LONGWORTH. There was no question raised as to the constitutionality of this method of dealing with the question. It was the method suggested by certain members of the committee who were opposed to the proposition that the President appoint this board or commission.

Mr. Chairman, how much more time have I?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has eight minutes remaining.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, let me see if I can picture to you the German dye industry to-day. As we all know, its six great component companies controlled and produced all the dyestuffs necessary for practically the entire world's market. It employed more than 50,000 men and had assets of more than half a billion dollars. To-day those six concerns have been absorbed into one gigantic, Government-aided trust, formed in 1916, for the avowed purpose of fighting its way back, so soon as the war should be over, to the former German world monopoly.

Its plants have been busy throughout the war making all Germany's poison gases, most of her munitions, and, at the same time, enough dyes to establish a reserve which could not only overwhelm our market, but the markets of any other country in the world. This is the reason why England, France, and Japan, the principal dye-consuming and producing countries, have protected their own Government-aided dye industries by license laws substantially similar to the one proposed by this bill.

Did these plants suffer during the war, either by deterioration or loss of their trained personnel? On the contrary. From the beginning they were cherished and protected in every way by the German high command, because they were the sole source of supply of Germany's bedrock military necessities.

Consider the problem that the German dye trust has to face. With resources so colossal, with plants so huge and organized for such vast production, it must retain most of its former world market unless a part of its equipment is to lie idle and another part run at low efficiency. Without enormous production, it would cease to be a profitable business. Unless a profound change has come over German civilization and business methods it is unreasonable to suppose that its competition will be less unscrupulous than it was in the past, when it practiced every form of corrupt and unfair competition known to commerce. What can be more certain than when, instead of being in safe control of the world market, this industry faces destruction, that it will attack all competitors with ruthless disregard of any considerations of business decency. Where will this attack center? Not upon England, because England bars all importations of German dyes except under a license. Not France or Japan, because they similarly protect themselves. It is our market, therefore, that is Germany's real opening, and it is upon it that Germany's attack will be concentrated. Do you question that to penetrate it and destroy our budding chemical industry the German trust would hesitate for a moment to spend millions of its surplus, would use any method, fair or unfair, to gain its ends?

From all this it seems perfectly apparent that without further legislative assistance our coal-tar chemical industry is doomed to destruction, and that right speedily. Let me impress upon you that time is of the essence of this matter. The moment the peace treaty is ratified the various war boards which have exercised certain powers with regard to licensing importations of dyestuffs cease to operate and our only barrier against world competition will be our present entirely inadequate tariff protection. To double the duties, as this bill does, substantially, will not avail. To triple them or quadruple them will fall short of meeting the conditions that will soon be upon us.

The German trust would laugh at a duty of 500 per cent, for its immediate object is not so much to sell its vast accumulated store of dyes at a profit but to overwhelm and destroy our baby industry so that in a few years it may sell its goods here at whatever profit it pleases. If we can preserve our in-

dustry from this kind of cutthroat competition for the next two years we believe that it will have then expanded to the extent that the duties provided in this bill will insure its continued growth and expansion.

But these duties by themselves will fall immeasurably to meet the situation that immediately confronts us. We must go further or confess defeat in advance. We must provide a remedy, heroic if you please, but one which will do the job. England, France, and Japan have realized the situation and have met it in the only way it is possible effectively to meet it by prohibiting all importations of dyestuffs except under a Government license. Leaving Germany out of the question, are we justified in throwing open our markets to nations who close theirs to us? Such a policy, I think, would sound altruistic to even the most advanced internationalist. The policy we advocate can hurt no one except the German trust and its agents here. On the other hand the great mass of the American people are bound to receive substantial benefit and the country will be made secure for all time in the bedrock necessities for adequate national preparedness. Pass this bill, my colleagues, substantially as it is and we shall have removed forever the odious condition by virtue of which we have been dependent upon others for the supply of things vital not only to the welfare of our people but to the integrity of the Nation. [Applause.]

Mr. CHAIRMAN, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DEWALT. Mr. Chairman, has the gentleman any time left?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has one minute remaining.

Mr. DEWALT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will.

Mr. DEWALT. The framer of this bill or the committee framing the bill, when they did so, did they consider it as a revenue measure or did they consider it as a measure regulating foreign commerce, or both?

Mr. LONGWORTH. As I have explained, incidentally it will produce considerable revenue, but, of course, our purpose is to keep out German importations, except those that are temporarily necessary for the convenience of the American textile manufacturers.

Mr. DEWALT. Granting that it is a measure to regulate foreign commerce, and granting also that the power to regulate foreign commerce is in the Congress of the United States, did the framer of the bill or the committee itself take into consideration that there was a delegation of the power of Congress to this commission?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. DEWALT. I ask that the gentleman's time be extended one-half minute to answer the question.

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one-half minute to the gentleman to answer the question.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I attempted to answer the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON]. I think there is no question in the world that the Congress has the right to prohibit the importation into this country of any article or provide an agency by which the question should be determined.

Mr. DEWALT. That is, to delegate the power to a commission of this kind?

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is, in so far as the importation of a certain article is concerned.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY].

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, after the very full and illuminating description of the bill before us presented by our colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH], possibly extensions and explanations are almost unnecessary, because he certainly has given us a very able and full description of the bill. I can not expect to add to your information through anything that I may say, but it is a very big subject, and possibly I may bring to you a little different viewpoint on certain of its features than has the gentleman from Ohio.

The bill under consideration, H. R. 8078, entitled "A bill to regulate the importation of coal-tar products, to promote the establishment of the manufacture thereof in the United States, and, as incident thereto, to amend the act of September 8, 1916, entitled 'An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes,'" offers one of the most interesting problems for consideration of this House that has come to my attention during my membership in this body. It may not be as far-reaching as some general bills from the Ways and Means Committee, such, for

instance, as the revenue acts, but the subject with which it deals has the broadest ramifications. It is not my purpose to go into the tariff features of the bill in detail, other members of the committee with more experience and more intimate knowledge of the subject being much better qualified to explain to the House these sections. I am in hearty accord, however, with the tariff provisions and believe that it is in accordance with sound doctrine and Republican principles to provide the necessary protection to such an industry. Particularly is this true, as it is a well-known fact that dye manufacturing comes absolutely within the province of an infant industry, needing the support and assistance that a protective tariff provides. But the subject is much greater and broader than simply one of a protective duty.

IMPORTANCE OF DYE INDUSTRY.

The Committee on Ways and Means gave extended hearings on the original bill introduced by Mr. LONGWORTH, and supplemented by two further bills. The first, H. R. 2706, did not contain the section providing for the appointment of a licensing commission. The second, H. R. 6495, did contain this provision, and the bill now before the House, H. R. 8078, is the committee revision of the second Longworth bill. The hearings very clearly developed the principal interests of the proponents of the measure. It was early shown that the great textile interests of the country, which abound in New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, were not primarily the subject of solicitude, but rather the development of the manufacture of coal-tar products from the viewpoint of the scientist, the chemist, and the philanthropist. While having every sympathy with the altruistic purposes of the gentlemen interested, as the Massachusetts representative on the Ways and Means Committee, I for one could not overlook the claims of the textile people and the thousands of wage earners in their employ. The industries of Massachusetts and New England are very vitally interested in the use of dyes, and from my viewpoint these interests take precedence over the other questions involved in the pending legislation.

Illustrating the importance of this industry, I beg to insert the tables which are printed in the hearings before the committee. Table A is a list of the industries directly dependent on dyestuffs, showing the number of establishments to be 11,037; the number of persons employed, 1,070,460; the capital invested, \$2,530,207,000; value of products, \$2,631,390,000. I might add that nearly every one of these industries is represented in Massachusetts or New England and the same statement would apply to Table B. The tables are here given:

TABLE A.—Industries directly dependent on dyestuffs.

Industry.	Number of establishments.	Number of people employed.	Capital invested.	Value of products.
Dyeing and finishing textiles.....	507	48,467	\$139,194,000	\$109,292,000
Cotton textiles.....	1,287	385,964	678,809,000	688,094,000
Hosiery and knit goods.....	1,622	150,520	215,826,000	258,913,000
Silk goods.....	902	108,170	210,072,000	254,011,000
Woolen and worsted goods.....	799	158,692	399,653,000	379,484,000
Felt goods and wool felt hats.....	83	5,284	22,893,000	15,638,000
Carpets and rugs.....	97	31,309	85,154,000	69,128,000
Shoddy.....	64	2,145	6,421,000	7,707,000
Linen goods.....	21	3,567	8,810,000	6,900,000
Mats and matting.....	12	889	3,055,000	2,236,000
Fur felt hats.....	224	21,318	39,401,000	37,359,000
Leather industry.....	741	55,936	332,180,000	367,202,000
Paint and varnish industry.....	800	16,083	129,534,000	145,624,000
Printing inks.....	70	1,391	11,943,000	13,880,000
Paper industry (paper alone).....	465	42,481	177,413,000	158,427,000
Blacking, stains, etc.....	197	1,766	4,986,000	9,882,000
Bling.....	66	254	712,000	1,184,000
Perfumery and cosmetics.....	496	2,897	9,647,000	16,899,000
Inks, writing.....	54	512	2,464,000	2,784,000
Artificial flowers.....	217	4,808	3,349,000	7,614,000
Buttons.....	517	14,511	19,075,000	20,712,000
Feathers and plumes.....	239	4,483	5,396,000	11,451,000
Fur goods.....	1,322	9,030	29,677,000	43,633,000
Hair work.....	205	1,193	2,543,000	3,335,000
Total.....	11,037	1,070,460	2,530,207,000	2,631,390,000

TABLE B.—Industries indirectly dependent on dyestuffs.

Industry.	Number of establishments.	Number of people employed.	Capital invested.	Value of products.
Clothing, men's.....	4,830	173,747	\$224,051,000	\$458,211,000
Shirts.....	792	51,972	50,944,000	95,815,000
Suspenders, garters, etc.....	216	9,646	16,344,000	24,433,000
Hats and caps.....	580	7,322	6,847,000	18,593,000
Clothing, women's.....	5,564	163,907	153,549,000	473,888,000
Millinery.....	2,079	45,274	53,101,000	114,160,000

TABLE B.—Industries indirectly dependent on dyestuffs—Continued.

Industry.	Number of establishments.	Number of people employed.	Capital invested.	Value of products.
Awnings, etc.	888	5,073	\$9,958,000	\$18,138,000
Horse clothing.	37	1,669	4,482,000	5,150,000
Flags and banners.	87	1,495	1,843,000	3,601,000
Regalia and badges, etc.	138	2,010	4,122,000	5,025,000
Oilcloth and linoleum.	31	5,651	28,041,000	25,598,000
Imitation leather.	10	795	6,020,000	6,097,000
Finished products of leather.	6,017	251,124	411,167,000	737,393,000
Manufactures of paper.	1,711	74,630	138,888,000	174,681,000
Printing and publishing.	33,471	272,062	720,232,000	901,534,000
Hat and cap materials.	98	1,775	6,417,000	6,929,000
Total.	56,549	1,073,182	1,836,006,000	3,069,246,000
Directly dependent.	11,037	1,070,460	2,530,207,000	2,631,890,000
Grand total.	67,585	2,143,642	4,366,213,000	5,700,636,000

AUTHORSHIP OF BILL.

With due deference to my distinguished colleague, whose name is associated with this bill, it probably is fair to say that at least he had collaborators in its preparation. The eminent counsel who appeared before us did not desire to assume the entire credit for the preparation of the bill, nor did the representative of the Federal Trade Commission acknowledge authorship. Likewise, the Alien Property Custodian showed a disposition to sidestep. But it was very apparent that its introduction did not come as a surprise to any one of these persons.

THE CHEMICAL FOUNDATION (INC.).

The hearings were conducted by Hon. J. Harry Covington and Joseph H. Choate, jr., as counsel for the Chemical Foundation and the American Dyes Institute. The Chemical Foundation is a recently formed organization of gentlemen in no way connected with previous manufacture of dyes for commercial purposes, but are gentlemen of high standing who evidently have become interested in the philanthropic side of the manufacture of coal-tar products. The president is Hon. Francis P. Garvan, until recently Alien Property Custodian, but, I believe, at the present time Assistant Attorney General. Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, former Alien Property Custodian, disposed of practically all important German chemical patents which had been seized through him to the Chemical Foundation, reserving, however, to the Government itself the most important one, namely, the patent for the manufacture of salvarsan. Whether or not it is good ethics for the Alien Property Custodian to sell at a comparatively nominal price such enormously important and valuable rights as are contained in these patents to a company of which he himself is president I will not discuss. The only redeeming feature about the transaction is that neither he nor his associates in the Chemical Foundation need the financial benefit which certainly might accrue through this opportunity.

It will, therefore, be plainly seen that so far as the use of German patents is concerned the Alien Property Custodian has placed in the hands of a group of gentlemen a monopolistic control, which we are told by them will be used to the advantage of the general public. It is to be sincerely hoped that this promise is made in absolute good faith. Personally I have no reason to doubt but that it is. These patents will undoubtedly be made the basis of the future manufacture of dyestuffs in this country, as they have been very generally used during the period of the war, and the experimental work that is now being carried on by certain large manufacturers in this country is, I infer, largely based on their rights to use these seized German patents.

The personnel of the trustees of the Chemical Foundation amply demonstrates that the mercantile use of dyestuffs is absolutely subservient and secondary to the other interests involved. The people promoting the Chemical Foundation found it convenient to make use of names of prominent citizens rather than men interested in the commercial side of the question. That the names have been used in the above manner is evidenced by the fact that one of the trustees, at least, acknowledged in a letter to the clerk of the committee that he did not have sufficient knowledge to add anything to the information submitted to the committee. We can fairly criticize the form of the contract submitted by the Chemical Foundation to manufacturers desiring to use the German patents. This license agreement ties the hands of the manufacturers and in every way keeps the control within the reach of the Chemical Foundation. There is no possible loophole, and the manufac-

turer is entirely within the power of an organization in no way interested in the commercial feature of the use of the patents.

DEVELOPMENT OF DYESTUFF INDUSTRY.

The future of the dyestuff industry in this country is one of the most important developments following the war. It is important because of its threefold connection. Coal tar is the key and basis of dyestuffs, important chemical compounds, and high explosives, and the interrelation between the three is the interesting and very material feature of the bill before us. The production of dyes for world use previous to the war is another illustration of the keen perception of the German Government in cooperation with their business men. We, as Americans, would not admit that American genius and industry could not have perfected the use of coal-tar products in this country to the same extent as any other set of citizens. But the fact remains that we were lulled to sleep by the easy method of securing same through importation from Germany. Germany was glad to continue to supply the soporific influence, as her authorities realized the importance of the control of coal-tar products as a source of national defense, and the helplessness of the nation entering into war without the opportunity of quickly transferring the commercial factory for dyestuffs into a powerful war energy in the manufacture of high explosives. As an illustration of our dependence on Germany for dyestuffs previous to the war period, we only need to cite the instance that the cargo of the submarine *Deutschland* was practically entirely made up of dyestuffs or intermediates. It is safe to say that aside from a few students of chemistry at that time very few of our citizens realized the interrelation and the narrow separation between coal-tar products for commercial purposes and their use for high explosives. With the alertness displayed by our students of war problems and our manufacturers, it was but a short time after the declaration of war before this country was manufacturing dyestuffs and at the same time the necessary explosives to help win the war. The question confronting us to-day is, Shall such legislation be passed as will protect that infant industry and continue to have available for the future factories where a quick transfer can be made if occasion should require?

FUTURE DYE SUPPLY OF THIS COUNTRY.

We therefore face two problems, absolutely distinct and separate of themselves, but closely interwoven with each other, namely, the manner in which our manufacturers needing dyes will procure them in the future, and the chemical and explosive products from coal tar. I shall address myself principally to the first subject.

Owing to the intricate method of the manufacture of dyes and their easy change from one quality or color to another by chemical processes, it is claimed, and perhaps with some degree of truth, that it is almost impossible to exclude German dyes at this time, either through a high tariff or a stringent antidumping clause. The proponents of the licensing system hold out as a source of great fear to American interests the quantity of the German dyes probably now on hand and ready for shipment to this country at prices below market value. This scare is well answered in a recent address by one of the recognized authorities on tariff matters, Col. John P. Wood, of Philadelphia, from which I quote the following:

By the time all the other countries that to-day want dyes have received their share of that present value \$20,000,000 stock, and when from what is left is eliminated, those dyes that can not be sent here in competition with domestic products which can now be successfully sold in the world's markets, the remainder must be vastly less than normal.

It will therefore be seen that the quantity probably now on hand in Germany need not be a serious menace and that important manufacturers are not anticipating an undue supply. If it is so absolutely wrong at this time to use dyes of Germany, what explanation is offered of the announcement that the President has sent abroad an agent authorized to secure a six months' supply for use in this country? Reliable information has recently been received that the association of shirt makers of the country secured the appointment of this agent through the influence of the Alien Property Custodian, who is president of the Chemical Foundation.

Further, our manufacturers, being obliged to compete with goods of foreign production, must be in a position to secure those dyes best adapted to their immediate needs without regard to their cost and with as little delay as possible. In this connection it may be stated that, although the aggregate volume of dyes used in this country is enormous, the actual increase of the price of a yard of goods on account of the cost of the dye itself is very small. There are two large producers in this country who have entered the business as a result of

the war and who, it is claimed, will be the principal beneficiaries under this act, namely, the National Aniline & Chemical Co. and the Du Pont interests.

PRESENT LARGEST PRODUCERS IN AMERICA.

The National Aniline & Chemical Co. is a combination of those formerly interested in the German importations, but are now manufacturing upon a comparatively large scale in this country. The Du Ponts are also manufacturing a large quantity of dyes and we are informed are conducting very extensive experiments in their factories and laboratories. Neither of these companies submitted testimony before the committee, but their representatives were constantly in attendance and showed keen interest in the proceedings. It is fair to assume that in the three names to be submitted by the American Dyes Institute in the formation of the licensing board these two large concerns will not be unrepresented. What reason is assigned for the intense interest of the above organizations but failure to openly state their attitude before the committee and submit themselves to questions by the committee? If the American Dyes Institute is not actively controlled by these two concerns, their influence within it is sufficiently powerful to practically direct its action. If they are only looking to the greatest good for the greatest number and have no selfish motives to further, there would appear to be no reason for their remaining in the background during the time the hearings were held on the bill.

THE LICENSING SYSTEM.

The real crux of the bill is the proposal of a licensing system, as it is the only new suggestion under consideration. The tariff rates are largely augmented, as it is right they should be, but adoption of this system, other than as a positive war emergency, is a new departure and accompanied with dangerous possibilities. In addition to the direct interest of those forming the Chemical Foundation, the proponents placed their arguments before various prominent men in the textile industry and secured considerable support. Some of this support was afterwards qualified, but at the time of the hearings it is fair to state that the majority of the textile interests from whom the committee heard was evidently favorable to the licensing system.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Certainly.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I am satisfied that the gentleman from Massachusetts offered amendments to this bill in the committee which improved it very greatly, and I know that he was very fearful that the licensing feature of this bill would be dangerous to the manufacturing interests of the country. Is not that correct?

Mr. TREADWAY. I think that is correct.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Now, coming as I do from the Northwest, where we have no manufacturing to speak of, but are customers buying the cloth, and so forth, manufactured in the East, my thought is our interest in this legislation is just as great as that of the manufacturers. We are both interested in and must look to the quality, and I am satisfied, and I think the Members of Congress who are here to-day are satisfied, that the quality of the dyes that have been used during the past couple of years is very inferior and very much below the standard.

Mr. TREADWAY. I think the gentleman is correct in that statement, and it is a very interesting subject. The testimony the committee received can perhaps be explained something in this manner: The quality of the dyes as made in Germany appears as the result of many years of actual work in their preparation as regards their chemical analysis and the articles going to make them up. They have been able through this long period of years to perfect their methods so that the same quantity of the crudes will actually produce under their system a larger quantity of the intermediates or the finished dyes.

The testimony before the committee seemed to indicate that, dye for dye, so far as our efforts have gone during the brief period we have been making them, our chemists and manufacturers are perfecting the products so that they can compete successfully in quality now with the imported dyes. One reason probably for the poor quality to which the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Young] refers, during the past two years, is the result of the great haste that has been necessary to get any dyes in this country to take the place of those we could not import. Further than that, the first concern of the manufacturers during this past two-year period, the time we were actually engaged in the war, was the necessary production of high explosives. The dye industry was secondary, of course, to the

manufacture of high explosives. But looking to the future, giving chemists of this country the opportunity for study and labor in the preparation of dyes, there is absolutely no reason why, dye for dye, we eventually are not going to be able to compete with any product of any foreign country.

Mr. BURROUGHS. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. TREADWAY. I will.

Mr. BURROUGHS. Right along that line, did not the testimony before the committee show that American dyes are already in a position to compete successfully and are competing successfully?

Mr. TREADWAY. A great many of them, but not all. We are not making in this country the so-called vat dyes.

Mr. BURROUGHS. Are we not exporting successfully any dyes we are not using to foreign countries and selling them?

Mr. TREADWAY. I am not able to give the gentleman much information on the export feature. But it is certainly true that with the intricacy of dye manufactures and thousands of different grades made by the chemical mixtures, we are making to-day comparatively few of the aggregate of those actually used in the manufacture of goods.

Mr. DICKINSON of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. I will.

Mr. DICKINSON of Iowa. Was there any testimony taken before your committee showing the conditions under which any independent company could get from this Chemical Foundation the use of the formulas for making these dyes?

Mr. TREADWAY. The conditions will be referred to a little further on in my remarks, but if I do not answer the gentleman's question I shall be glad to be interrupted on that point.

Resuming in reference to the licensing system, it now appears evident that some of this support was the result of adroit arguments being laid before the business concerns and the support obtained without the parties thoroughly familiarizing themselves with the details of the bill or the effect upon their business the licensing system might have. Members of the committee, and I assume the Members of the House, have been hearing from representatives of the industries affected, and there evidently has been considerable change in public sentiment on the measure in the past few weeks. In my own district, where there are very large consumers of dyes, there was a great difference of opinion. The licensing sections as originally submitted were far from satisfactory, and I should have been opposed to the bill had not these sections been rewritten by the committee. Let me briefly note the changes. Originally the period of the life of the dye-licensing commission was to have been for five years. This has been reduced to two. In the first draft the commission was to have been appointed by the President. This was revised so that the commission was to be appointed by various organizations interested in the industry, but would have been controlled by the manufacturers of dyes rather than the industries using the dyes. In other words, the power to grant licenses would have been practically in the hands of the American Dyes Institute. The present draft, section 503 (b), forms the commission of six users of dyes and four manufacturers chosen from various organizations directly affected, so that the users will control the organization. Even with these changes in the personnel it has been found that the board does not meet the approval of the manufacturers, as evidenced by numerous protests reaching the members of the committee since the new draft was made public.

Another extremely important change is the removal of the decision to issue the license upon the judgment of the commission whether or not the dye can be procured in this country. It is now obligatory on the commission to issue the license for importation, provided it be shown that the person applying for the license can not procure the same dye through domestic markets.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I would like to ask my colleague this question: He has made the statement either that the users of dyes would control, or it is claimed that the users will control, the board. Granting a majority of the board is made up of manufacturers who use the dyes—

Mr. TREADWAY. There are to be six members, my colleague understands.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Let us assume, then, that six manufacturers are selected who will have that responsibility, and we will say that you are a manufacturer but that you do not happen to have a membership on that board; that you were not appointed, and you come to that board believing that you can not get a dye in the United States that will enable you to make a cloth that you can sell in South America in competition

with goods dyed, say, in Great Britain—now, I think we found during this war that men who served on these boards are human and they are not always alert to do their duty, and possibly from lack of interest or failure to attend a meeting, or possibly even because they envy the big business you have, or out of some old antagonism to you, one of the members of the board may suggest that they refuse to give the license to you, and thereby can compel you to buy that dye in this country against your judgment, when your judgment tells you you must get that dye in Germany or the quality of your product will suffer so much that you will lose business in South America. Now, then, in that case the board either might flatly refuse to give you that license or it might be suggested they let it go over until the next meeting, and by the next meeting you have lost your business or it has been seriously injured. Do you not think it is fair to assume that this licensing proposition involves discretion on the part of the board and it may be used against your interest?

Mr. TREADWAY. The latter part of the gentleman's inquiry brings up the question of delay in granting licenses, which was a very serious argument against the system. I think rather than saying that the granting of a particular license, to which he refers, should go over until the next meeting of the board, perhaps it would be fair to say that feature might be overcome by the general rules that undoubtedly will be laid down by the commission in granting licenses, and that as a matter of actually obtaining a license the manufacturer will not necessarily have to make his application to the full membership of the board. In other words, the chairman, who is the executive officer, and the only man under salary, will, of course, have a wide latitude of power in the use of authority granted to the commission. I think that is fairly safeguarded in the bill. The board will be allowed to make its own rules and regulations, and it is natural to assume that these people will be interested in the development of the industry, and in the industry itself, and in the use of the dyes, and the manufacture of the finished goods, because they themselves are manufacturers. It is hard to conceive that men big enough to represent these large organizations on such a board as this would be petty and small to a business competitor and bring forward the matter of a delay in order not to grant a license to a competitor. I do not think that would be an American proposition.

The rest of the gentleman's inquiry being directed to the question as to whether a manufacturer himself wants a foreign dye or not, that was thrashed out so fully that I think the committee were fairly agreed that the man applying for the license is the one whose judgment will actually be the decisive factor.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. TREADWAY. May I have 10 minutes more, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman 10 minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 10 minutes more.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TREADWAY. Certainly.

Mr. FORDNEY. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts believe that the committee will issue a license to each merchant that comes along and asks for a license?

Mr. TREADWAY. Well, I think from the method of the formation of the board if a man says that a dye is not suitable for the kind of goods he wants to use it in, his word is the deciding factor rather than the judgment of the commission.

Mr. FORDNEY. Then why have the licenses made at all?

Mr. TREADWAY. I am not a keen supporter, as the gentleman knows, of the original proposition to establish this system.

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TREADWAY. Certainly.

Mr. HULINGS. I understood the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH], in answer to the question I asked of him, to say that we were now making these dyes in America. Did I understand him aright?

Mr. TREADWAY. We are making a great many of them, but as I explained in answer to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], we are not making all of them. I can not begin to say how many there are. I will ask the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] how many kinds and styles of dyes are there actually in use, and how many are made in this country? I would like the gentleman from Ohio to answer in detail that question.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The reports show that there are about 900 different colors that are in use.

Mr. HULINGS. Some of them we can not yet make?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Some of them we can not yet make, but a very few.

Mr. HULINGS. Why should we not protect the American dye makers by a tariff on these that we do not now make, so that any manufacturer can take up these imports that are brought here under that tariff, and at the same time be protecting the development by American manufacturers of these dyes that we do not yet make?

Mr. TREADWAY. That is exactly the claim of the proponents of the licensing system, that by establishing the license system we are protecting those dyes that are made in this country and giving them a chance to develop.

Mr. HULINGS. This Chemical Foundation owns these German patents. Nobody can use them except at their will?

Mr. TREADWAY. At the license of the Chemical Foundation, which, it seems to me, is a pretty powerful weapon that we are placing in the hands of a board in no way connected with dye manufacturing.

Mr. HULINGS. Why would it not be just as well if the Government should take up those patents and make them free to the use of any manufacturer, and then establish a tariff to protect them without any license?

Mr. TREADWAY. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] answered very fully in his statement regarding what he considered to be the absolute need of the licensing system. As one of the members of the committee I am free to say that I have not followed quite so far as the gentleman from Ohio along the line of the imperative need of the licensing board. Probably the gentleman will see, from the nature of the remarks I have made, that I am not a very keen advocate even of the present licensing feature of the bill.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The German patents cover only a very small number of dyes now being made in America. A number of them have expired, and a number of them are about to expire, so that it does not involve the bedrock of the American production.

Mr. HULINGS. What is the relation of the Chemical Foundation that has these patents and the licensing commission?

Mr. LONGWORTH. There is none whatever. The Chemical Foundation has these patents, and this license commission deals only with importers of dyes, and has nothing to do with the manufacture of dyes in this country.

Mr. HULINGS. In that case I really can not see why there is any use in introducing this licensing system.

Mr. TREADWAY. I am afraid the gentleman from Pennsylvania has not been convinced by the argument that the gentleman from Ohio has made for two hours here.

I believe the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. DICKINSON] asked with reference to the form of the license to be issued by the Chemical Foundation?

Mr. DICKINSON of Iowa. And the conditions under which they are issued.

Mr. TREADWAY. The Chemical Foundation absolutely keeps control of the license it grants to any licensee. For further confirmation of that I would refer the gentleman to page 513 of the hearings, where the form of the license appears and the statement issued by the Federal Trade Commission. It is a very powerful and strongly drawn license. The gentleman may be interested in section 13 particularly: "This license may be canceled and terminated in the following manner." It proceeds to tell how the Chemical Foundation can cancel the license and give no reason whatever why it should do so. I fear that the form of the license will give unbounded authority.

Mr. DICKINSON of Iowa. The thought I had in mind was this: That with your license system in this bill and the necessity of procuring a license from the Chemical Foundation Co. you would practically say to an independent man that wanted to get into the dye business, "You can not get in unless you can get inside the combination of one organization or the other."

Mr. TREADWAY. Absolutely, if you doubt the altruistic intentions of the people who are bringing this legislation before us. They represent they are bringing this legislation before us, as I stated in the beginning of my remarks, for the broadest development of the industry, without any financial interest. But they are getting power and authority under this bill which, if lodged in the wrong hands, would be the most powerful agency for monopoly ever established in this country. The bill presents a method of controlling importations through the

license system, while the Chemical Foundation controls the local manufacture through ownership of German patents. You must believe in the men back of it in order to believe in the bill itself.

Mr. DICKINSON of Iowa. Will not the gentleman admit that danger?

Mr. TREADWAY. I do not hesitate to admit it. I have admitted it all along.

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman will pardon me, this bill in no way affects the Chemical Foundation. It has nothing to do with the Chemical Foundation. It gives them neither rights nor privileges.

Mr. EVANS of Nebraska rose.

Mr. TREADWAY. Does the gentleman from Nebraska desire to ask me a question?

Mr. EVANS of Nebraska. Yes. Then you separate the two? Are they not connected absolutely together in the ultimate result?

Mr. LONGWORTH. They are not connected together in any possible way, as the gentleman from Massachusetts explained. The Chemical Foundation owns some of these chemical patents, which it licenses to American manufacturers, who themselves are manufacturing dyes here in America. The licensing commission simply grants licenses to persons to import dyes to be used in America, not to manufacture dyes. The two things are as far apart as the poles. This bill affects the licensing commission and has nothing whatever to do with the Chemical Foundation.

Mr. TREADWAY. In conjunction with what the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] has just suggested, may I say that this fact appears that the Chemical Foundation controls, as we both have endeavored to explain, the use of the seized German patents, 4,500 of them here in the United States, which are in the hands of the Chemical Foundation. That is for dyes made in this country. Now, the Licensing Board is to permit the manufacturer desiring to import dyes to secure them by importation. The Chemical Foundation is domestic, the Licensing Board is for foreign products. But this fact is very distinct and plain, that the Chemical Foundation and the American Dye Institute are sufficiently closely allied so that the same counsel appeared before our committee for both organizations, and three members of the Licensing Board are to be members of the American Dye Institute, as provided in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. TREADWAY. I shall have to ask for 10 minutes more.

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield to the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. KITCHIN. Would the gentleman like five minutes from this side?

Mr. TREADWAY. I would.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think gentlemen on that side are so much in need of enlightenment and information on this question that I am glad to yield five minutes more to the gentleman. [Laughter.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. TREADWAY. As I started to explain, there are to be three members of the American Dye Institute on the Licensing Board. The Dye Institute and the Chemical Foundation are practically one. They are interrelated in such a way that as I say the same attorney appeared for both organizations. Consequently I can not agree to the statement of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] that there is no relation between the two bodies, because there is. While the Chemical Foundation deals with one subject, there will be in the Licensing Board three members of the American Dye Institute, so that there is a very close relation between the two bodies, although they are for different purposes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman will pardon me, so that we may get this thing exactly straight—

Mr. TREADWAY. Certainly.

Mr. LONGWORTH. My statement was that there was no relation between their duties, and that this bill has no effect whatever one way or the other upon the Chemical Foundation.

Mr. TREADWAY. Not at all. I corroborate the gentleman's statement in that respect, that the Chemical Foundation has to do with domestic licenses and the Licensing Board has to do with foreign licenses, so that so far as their duties are concerned there is no connection.

LICENSES ONLY FOR WAR EMERGENCIES.

In general I am not a believer in the licensing system. As a war emergency it may have been necessary, but even during the strenuous period of the past two years its power has been seriously abused. Our manufacturers were willing during the stress of wars to submit to delays incident to control by licens-

ing boards and the necessary governmental red tape. That condition is entirely removed at the present time. Both domestic and foreign competition will enter into and become a part of the successful carrying on of business. Customers of big manufacturing plants will not accept the reasons given for non-delivery during the war. While the proponents of the bill, men lacking in experience in the dye business, claim this licensing system would not delay the manufacture of goods, I prefer to weigh against this evidence that now being submitted by men to whom are intrusted the carrying on of the business itself. Again, I have in mind Col. Wood's address. We are told this is practically the only industry that will need the support of a license system. I fear the moment this is adopted other excuses, perhaps as valid as this one, will be presented for our consideration and the horrible example of adoption of this one will come back to trouble us.

I am absolutely opposed to any autocratic, departmental authority being granted over business, and I have with great reluctance consented to support the license system as finally drafted in this bill. I do this only in view of the fact that departmental authority has been completely eliminated. In its present form the licensing board does not recognize any governmental connection, and if we are to have licenses issued for any purpose in connection with business the method under which this one is constituted has as few objectionable features as any that have been suggested.

PERMANENCY OF DYE INDUSTRIES.

There is no industry so important in all its ramifications as the one we are considering. It must be fostered and made permanent in this country. The threefold purposes of coal-tar products are separately or collectively of sufficient importance to warrant almost any exception being made to what would be regarded as the general policy of legislation. The dyestuffs industry in this country must be put on a footing absolutely independent of Germany and able to compete in every way with German products in the near future. Never again must such a sword hang over this Nation as our prewar dependence on Germany for coal-tar products. We are therefore justified in adopting extraordinary and exceptional methods of both excluding German products and fostering our own industry in this country. [Applause.]

Unless some gentleman desires to ask me a question, I yield back the remainder of my time.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. WALSH having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2972) to extend the cancellation-stamp privilege for the Roosevelt Memorial Association.

The message also announced that the Senate had insisted upon its amendments 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, disagreed to by the House of Representatives, had agreed to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. GRONNA, Mr. NORRIS, and Mr. SMITH of Georgia as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

COAL-TAR PRODUCTS.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOCH].

Mr. HOCH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks upon this bill by inserting in the RECORD an address upon this subject recently made by Mr. Culbertson, a member of the Tariff Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD as indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, to-day, under a special rule brought before the House, the rent antiprofitteering bill was sent to conference with only five minutes' debate. I had hoped to be able to say something at that time in criticism of what is known as the Ball rent bill, a bill introduced by Senator BALL, of Delaware, and which was put as a rider upon one of the agricultural bills.

Not having had an opportunity this morning to address myself to that bill, I am compelled to take advantage of this opportunity, when another bill is under discussion, for the purpose of discussing that bill.

It is my desire to take what is known as the Ball rent bill section by section and invite attention to what I think are unwise provisions in it. If I should say anything which might bear the construction in the least as reflecting upon its author I want to say at the outset that, if done, it will be thoughtlessly and unintentionally done, because I believe he has been actuated only by the very best motives.

I saw in the Washington Star of yesterday a short history of the life of the Senator whose name this bill bears. In that he describes himself as "a country doctor." I believe that since that is true, and since he has devoted his life to writing prescriptions instead of bills which must stand the constitutional test, accounts for some of the provisions in the bill which I deem to be quite unwise. In addition to that, I think I see all through this bill the voice of Jacob and the hand of Esau. This Congress is quite familiar with what I think of the successful attempts which defeated rent legislation in the last Congress.

This bill really was not considered in the Senate. As evidencing that I will read from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD when the bill was under discussion. I read from the RECORD of September 12, 1919:

Mr. SHERMAN. There is a condition of that kind existing, and I think a section ought to be added to cover it, if it is not already covered. I had understood that there was a provision of that kind in the bill. I have not seen the print. I am just running through it now. The Senator has prepared a section of that kind.

Immediately after that Senator JONES from the State of Washington said:

Mr. JONES of Washington. I submitted a rough draft of a proposition of that kind to the chairman of the committee on yesterday. I have been busy myself, and I understood that it had been turned over to the drafting expert to be put in proper shape, and understood that it was going to go in the bill, but the only provision I see is the provision limiting it to September 15. I have not here the draft that I prepared. I will ask the Senator this question: Does the Senator think the commission that is provided for here could, to use a common expression, overhaul a lease of that kind?

A little further along in the debate this colloquy occurred:

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I have been unable to follow very accurately the amendments which have recently been adopted to this provision, and I want to ask some one who has charge of the measure whether, under the amendment last agreed to, the owner of a property or the purchaser of it can recover possession of his house if he desires to occupy it himself, but in order to recover possession of it he must occupy it, and will not be permitted to lease it or rent it to another? Is that the policy of the legislation that is proposed here?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio can answer that question.

Mr. POMERENE. My mind was occupied with another question, and I was not following the query of the Senator from Arkansas.

Then a little later on Senator POMERENE undertook to answer the question. The Senator who is the author of the bill was absent. We have the Senator, the chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, offering it as an amendment to the agricultural bill when he had not read it.

Then we have the Senator from the State of Washington, Senator JONES, saying that he prepared an amendment and submitted it, and that it was to go into the bill, but that he could not find it in the bill. Then when the various Senators—and as far as I can ascertain there were only seven present—were discussing the proposition, Senator ROBINSON asked somebody to tell him something about it, and the presiding officer immediately referred to the Senator from Ohio, Senator POMERENE.

The bill first provides a commission to stop profiteering in rents, and before it concludes it takes away that means.

In the beginning of the bill we find this term:

The term "rental property," as defined in the bill, means "any building or any part thereof in the District of Columbia rented or hired for dwelling purposes and the furniture or furnishings therein, but does not include hotels or apartments."

Let me invite the attention of the House to the word "building" in that sentence. The term "rental property" means buildings.

Anybody who knows anything about rent profiteering in the District of Columbia knows that the United States Government is suffering terribly at the hands of the rent profiteers. It is suffering through the renting of vacant land. The United States in the District of Columbia to-day is paying an annual rent equal to one-half of what the vacant real estate is worth. Is it an accident that the bill was drawn so as to cover "buildings" alone and not real estate that the United States Government is renting? I will leave the answer to you.

Another definition in the bill is this:

The term "true value" is defined in the bill as meaning the "actual market value" of the property at the time in question.

In the body of the bill it provides that the rent shall be based on the "true value" of the property. Then under the definition clause it defines the "true value" to mean the "actual market value." For years it has been accepted by the courts that the real value is that fixed in a voluntary sale to a purchaser who is not compelled to buy. The "market value" in the District of Columbia to-day is the price realized by one who voluntarily sells to one who is compelled to buy or go out into the streets. Nobody can make me believe that that definition slipped into this bill by accident only. In my opinion it was put there by somebody, I know not by whom, for the purpose of getting rents not upon the real value but upon this compulsory market value.

Mr. KING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. KING. Does the gentleman not want to state who injected that into the bill?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I do not know who. If I knew I would unhesitatingly state.

The bill provides that a commission to be known as the rent commission of the District of Columbia be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Upon former occasions I have said, and I repeat it now, that it is next to impossible to find a man in the District of Columbia who amounts to anything who will take a position of that kind and do his duty. If he be a lawyer, as I have said on former occasions, he must get out of the practice of the law after he has done his duty to tenants. If he be a doctor, he must do the same thing, and if he be a merchant he must do the same thing. I said that before anybody was appointed in the District of Columbia to take care of the rights of tenants. The War Department took a lawyer here in town for that task. By and by he was made a captain, and he was sent to the courts every day to prevent the ejection of war workers. He himself told me only a few days ago that just as he was retiring from that position one of the most prominent real estate dealers in the town came to him and tauntingly said, "What are you going to do when you get out of this Army position?" Clearly, he tells me, implying thereby that he had to go out of the practice of law. Following that his law firm put him out. We have now presented the same proposition, that you are to have a commission of three men, pay them \$6,000 a year each, and that each must live in the District of Columbia and must be confirmed by the Senate. If, after they are selected, the United States Senate does not confirm them any quicker than it has granted relief to the oppressed war-worker tenants of the District of Columbia, God knows that their confirmation will be long deferred.

I wish to now direct attention to another feature of the bill, and that is that no complaint can be made to the rent commission until the relation of landlord and tenant exists, and no complaint can be made after the relation of landlord and tenant ceases to exist. If no complaint can be made to the rent commission before the relation of landlord and tenant commences, then when is it to be made? Not until after the tenant is in the house, the apartment, or the room of the landlord, getting heat, light, elevator service, or the linen changed on his bed. Do you tell me that that tenant, even though he be one of our most oppressed war workers, is going to this commission and make complaint against the landlord, who under the terms of the bill can not put him out but who can make things so disagreeable around the house that the tenant can not remain? I predict that if this bill becomes a law there will never be a complaint, and in the meantime this commission of three men will be getting \$6,000 a year each, another getting \$2,000, with a secretary getting \$3,000, a commission with carte blanche to employ whomsoever it pleases, including an attorney, at salaries to be fixed by the commission. The money will be absolutely thrown away, because, as I say, there will never be a complaint. The man who is able to pay the extortionate rent is going to pay it in silence, and the one who is unable to pay it is never going to complain, because the only remedy is a long-drawn-out lawsuit.

During the last Congress, when a rent antiprofitteering bill had passed this House and gone over to the other body, a hearing was held. In that hearing a man named Bates Warren appeared as a spokesman for the real estate people, and this colloquy appeared in the hearings:

Senator HOLLIS. Are you familiar with any place where they do have a rent administrator?

Mr. WARREN. Not in rents.

Senator HOLLIS. Is that an invention of your own, Mr. Warren?

Mr. WARREN. I will not claim it as my own. We all discussed it, and it comes out. I drafted the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, it is hardly worth while for me to proceed, because I can not discuss the matter in so short a time, but I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend and revise his remarks in the Record. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, before I conclude I wish to present, so that it may be published in the Record, some figures obtained by me from the departments here in Washington which kept them from March 11, 1918, down to and including the 4th of November, 1918. This paper which I shall insert in the Record gives the number of clerks called to Washington by the Government in our recent emergency. It is not picked out for a particular time. It is all the record they have on the subject. It is made up from the time they commenced to keep the record until they ceased to keep it. During that time there were called here by the Government 68,694 clerks. Out of that number there were driven away from the District of Columbia by extortionate practices the enormous number of 31,962, which left to the Government a net gain in clerks of 36,732. In other words, in order to get 36,732 clerks 31,962 were driven away.

That list is as follows:

WEEK OF MAR. 11, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separations.	Net additions.
Food Administration	71	16	55
Fuel Administration	5	13	-8
Library of Congress	8	7	1
Government Printing Office	43	42	1
Interior Department	74	37	37
Justice Department	5	1	4
Commerce Department	61	42	19
Interstate Commerce	7	3	4
Department of Agriculture	76	27	49
Department of War	551	124	427
Federal Trade Commission	13	6	7
Smithsonian Institution	6	7	-1
The Navy Department	60	18	42
Department of State	10	4	6
Emergency Fleet Corporation	116	15	101
United States Shipping Board	23	3	20
Civil Service Commission	27		27
District government	8	15	-7
American Red Cross			
Department of Labor	34	12	22
Treasury Department	437	88	349
United States War Trade Board	69		69
Council of National Defense	2		2
Federal Reserve Board			
The Panama Canal			
Director General of Railroads			
Alien Property Custodian			
Total	1,706	480	1,226

WEEK OF MAR. 18, 1918.

Food Administration	45	27	18
Fuel Administration	4	9	-5
Library of Congress	9	4	5
Government Printing Office	64	19	45
Interior Department	67	41	26
Justice Department	4	4	
Commerce Department	62	44	18
Interstate Commerce	6	5	1
Department of Agriculture	46	32	14
Department of War	528	176	352
Federal Trade Commission	8	9	-1
Smithsonian Institution			
The Navy Department	51	18	33
Department of State	7		7
Emergency Fleet Corporation	115	14	101
United States Shipping Board	21		21
Civil Service Commission	8	4	4
District government	21	28	-7
American Red Cross			
Department of Labor	35	8	27
Treasury Department	437	88	349
United States War Trade Board	69		69
Council of National Defense	2		2
Federal Reserve Board			
The Panama Canal			
Director General of Railroads			
Alien Property Custodian			
Total	1,609	530	1,079

WEEK OF MAR. 25, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separations.	New additions.
Food Administration	53	45	8
Fuel Administration	16	9	7
Library of Congress	6	5	1
Government Printing Office	43	45	-2
Interior Department	58	61	-3
Justice Department		1	-1
Commerce Department	74	61	13
Interstate Commerce	2	2	
Department of Agriculture	89	62	27
Department of War	557	263	294
Federal Trade Commission	4	8	-4
Smithsonian Institution			
The Navy Department	44	19	25
Department of State	6	3	3
Emergency Fleet Corporation	190	31	159
United States Shipping Board	19	1	18
Civil Service Commission	10		10
District government	11	14	-3
American Red Cross			
Department of Labor	18	8	10
Treasury Department	437	88	349
War Trade Board	69		69
Council of National Defense	3		3
The Panama Canal	1	2	-1
Federal Reserve Board			
Alien Property Custodian			
Director General of Railroads			
Total	1,710	728	982

WEEK OF APR. 1, 1918.

Fuel Administration	10	23	-13
Food Administration	53	26	27
Library of Congress	1	3	-2
Government Printing Office	57	31	26
Interior Department	72	52	20
Department of Justice		3	-3
Commerce Department	77	40	37
Interstate Commerce	11	10	1
Agriculture Department	70	65	4
Department of War	527	329	198
Federal Trade Commission	4	13	-9
Smithsonian Institution			
Navy Department	37	13	24
Department of State	5	2	3
Emergency Fleet Corporation	189	30	159
United States Shipping Board	19		19
Civil Service Commission			
District government	11	13	-2
American Red Cross			
Department of Labor	31	10	21
Treasury Department	287	48	239
War Trade Board	78		78
Council of National Defense	3		3
Federal Reserve Board			
Alien Property Custodian			
The Panama Canal			
Director General of Railroads			
Total	1,542	712	830

WEEK OF APR. 8, 1918.

Food Administration	32	62	-30
Fuel Administration	33	7	26
Library of Congress	1	5	-4
Government Printing Office	45	72	-27
Interior Department	38	42	-4
Department of Justice	4	2	2
Commerce Department	68	58	10
Interstate Commerce	11	10	1
Agriculture Department	53	81	-31
Department of War	772	288	504
Federal Trade Commission	5	6	-1
Smithsonian Institution	6		6
Navy Department	44	27	17
Department of State	5	1	4
Emergency Fleet Corporation	377	67	310
United States Shipping Board	25	2	23
Civil Service Commission	5	4	1
District government	9	8	1
American Red Cross			
Department of Labor	11	7	4
Treasury Department	603	96	507
War Trade Board	77	31	46
Council of National Defense	3	2	1
Federal Reserve Board			
Alien Property Custodian			
The Panama Canal			
Director General of Railroads			
Total	2,227	867	1,360

WEEK OF APR. 15, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separa-tions.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	43	17	26
Fuel Administration.....	36	16	20
Library of Congress.....	1	2	-1
Government Printing Office.....	41	72	-31
Interior Department.....	68	41	27
Department of Justice.....	7	1	6
Commerce Department.....	77	33	44
Interstate Commerce.....	6	9	-3
Agriculture Department.....	58	54	4
Department of War.....	769	250	519
Federal Trade Commission.....	5	5	.....
Smithsonian Institution.....	.....	.....	.....
The Navy Department.....	75	7	68
Department of State.....	7	4	3
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....	.....	.....	.....
United States Shipping Board.....	18	5	13
Civil Service Commission.....	1	2	-1
District government.....	19	20	-1
American Red Cross.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of Labor.....	88	18	70
Treasury Department.....	485	87	398
War Trade Board.....	103	23	80
Council National Defense.....	3	2	1
Federal Reserve Board.....	.....	.....	.....
Alien Property Custodian.....	.....	.....	.....
The Panama Canal.....	.....	.....	.....
Director General of Railroads.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	1,910	668	1,242

WEEK OF APR. 22, 1918.

Food Administration.....	20	29	-9
Fuel Administration.....	7	19	-12
Library of Congress.....	7	2	5
Government Printing Office.....	61	47	14
Interior Department.....	44	40	4
Justice Department.....	10	2	8
Commerce Department.....	92	72	20
Interstate Commerce.....	6	5	1
Department of Agriculture.....	50	56	-6
Department of War.....	720	249	471
Federal Trade Commission.....	6	15	-9
Smithsonian Institution.....	1	2	-1
The Navy Department.....	50	15	35
Department of State.....	9	.....	9
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....	.....	.....	.....
United States Shipping Board.....	21	3	18
Civil Service Commission.....	2	3	-1
District government.....	12	9	3
Department of Labor.....	36	18	18
American Red Cross.....	.....	.....	.....
Treasury Department.....	532	102	430
War Trade Board.....	31	32	-1
Council of National Defense.....	49	8	41
Federal Reserve Board.....	.....	.....	.....
Alien Property Custodian.....	.....	.....	.....
The Panama Canal.....	.....	.....	.....
Director General of Railroads.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	1,766	728	1,038

WEEK OF APR. 29, 1918.

Food Administration.....	65	17	48
Fuel Administration.....	36	9	27
Library of Congress.....	2	.....	2
Government Printing Office.....	43	52	-9
Interior Department.....	52	46	6
Justice Department.....	4	3	1
Commerce Department.....	74	44	30
Interstate Commerce.....	19	16	3
Department of Agriculture.....	62	44	18
Department of War.....	374	309	65
Federal Trade Commission.....	9	4	5
Smithsonian Institution.....	.....	6	-6
The Navy Department.....	28	14	14
Department of State.....	10	7	3
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....	450	96	354
United States Shipping Board.....	22	.....	22
Civil Service Commission.....	7	2	5
District government.....	11	9	2
American Red Cross.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of Labor.....	42	16	26
Treasury Department.....	288	82	206
United States War Trade Board.....	11	9	2
Council National Defense.....	25	4	21
Federal Reserve Board.....	3	.....	3
Alien Property Custodian.....	.....	.....	.....
The Panama Canal.....	.....	.....	.....
Director General of Railroads.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	1,637	789	878

WEEK OF MAY 6, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separa-tions.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	48	61	-13
Fuel Administration.....	13	3	10
Library of Congress.....	0	2	-2
Government Printing Office.....	28	39	-11
Interior Department.....	43	46	-3
Justice Department.....	0	0	0
Commerce Department.....	55	44	11
Interstate Commerce Commission.....	19	16	3
Department of Agriculture.....	60	77	-17
Department of War.....	335	202	133
Federal Trade Commission.....	4	10	-6
Smithsonian Institution.....	1	2	-1
The Navy Department.....	44	17	27
Department of State.....	7	5	2
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....	.....	.....	.....
United States Shipping Board.....	17	0	17
Civil Service Commission.....	8	1	7
District government.....	9	7	2
American Red Cross.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of Labor.....	26	10	16
Treasury Department.....	695	119	576
United States War Trade Board.....	39	21	18
Council of National Defense.....	41	4	37
Federal Reserve Board.....	.....	.....	.....
Alien Property Custodian.....	.....	.....	.....
The Panama Canal.....	.....	.....	.....
Director General of Railroads.....	20	1	19
Total.....	1,512	687	825

WEEK OF MAY 13, 1918.

Food Administration.....	32	34	-2
Fuel Administration.....	11	26	-15
Library of Congress.....	10	5	5
Government Printing Office.....	41	38	3
Interior Department.....	55	55	.....
Justice Department.....	4	6	-2
Commerce Department.....	47	20	27
Interstate Commerce Commission.....	19	16	3
Department of Agriculture.....	77	97	-20
Department of War.....	785	266	519
Federal Trade Commission.....	2	8	-6
Smithsonian Institution.....	9	7	2
Navy Department.....	25	22	3
Department of State.....	7	1	6
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....	.....	.....	.....
United States Shipping Board.....	27	3	24
Civil Service Commission.....	5	2	3
District government.....	24	20	4
American Red Cross.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of Labor.....	37	14	23
Treasury Department.....	245	131	114
United States War Trade Board.....	59	23	36
Council of National Defense.....	25	4	21
Federal Reserve Board.....	4	2	2
Alien Property Custodian.....	.....	.....	.....
The Panama Canal.....	.....	.....	.....
Director General of Railroads.....	30	2	28
Total.....	1,580	802	778

WEEK OF MAY 20, 1918.

Food Administration.....	44	17	27
Fuel Administration.....	33	24	9
Library of Congress.....	7	6	1
Government Printing Office.....	38	64	-26
Interior Department.....	73	65	8
Justice Department.....	.....	.....	.....
Commerce Department.....	70	27	43
Interstate Commerce.....	9	6	3
Department of Agriculture.....	77	79	-2
Department of War.....	568	307	261
Federal Trade Commission.....	4	10	-6
Smithsonian Institution.....	22	8	14
The Navy Department.....	41	15	26
Department of State.....	5	2	3
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....	.....	.....	.....
United States Shipping Board.....	27	2	25
Civil Service Commission.....	3	3	.....
District government.....	10	11	-1
American Red Cross.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of Labor.....	48	19	29
Treasury Department.....	446	125	321
War Trade Board.....	43	31	12
Council of National Defense.....	45	7	38
Alien Property Custodian.....	.....	.....	.....
The Panama Canal.....	.....	.....	.....
Director General of Railroads.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	1,613	828	785

WEEK OF MAY 27, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separations.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	66	36	30
Fuel Administration.....	16	12	4
Library of Congress.....	6	3	3
Government Printing Office.....	31	72	-41
Interior Department.....	70	49	21
Justice Department.....	7	2	5
Commerce Department.....	70	30	40
Interstate Commerce.....	3	10	-7
Department of Agriculture.....	85	57	28
Department of War.....	263	276	87
Federal Trade Commission.....	7	4	3
Smithsonian Institution.....	4	1	3
The Navy Department.....	51	21	30
Department of State.....	2	2	0
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....	429	191	238
United States Shipping Board.....	23	5	18
Civil Service Commission.....	6	6	0
District government.....	9	11	-2
American Red Cross.....			
Department of Labor.....	42	15	27
Treasury Department.....	196	98	98
United States War Trade Board.....	40	25	15
Council National Defense.....	41	8	33
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....			
Director General of Railroads.....			
Total.....	1,567	934	633

WEEK OF JUNE 17, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separations.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	43	38	5
Fuel Administration.....	45	32	13
Library of Congress.....	15	9	6
Government Printing Office.....	75	39	36
Interior Department.....	112	64	48
Justice Department.....	2	3	-1
Commerce Department.....	60	36	24
Interstate Commerce.....	16	15	1
Department of Agriculture.....	99	67	32
Department of War.....	486	264	222
Federal Trade Commission.....	15	6	9
Smithsonian Institution.....	3	2	1
The Navy Department.....	27	19	8
Department of State.....	14	4	10
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....			
United States Shipping Board.....			
Civil Service Commission.....	3	4	-1
District government.....	14	9	5
American Red Cross.....			
Department of Labor.....	98	49	49
Treasury Department.....	338	60	278
United States War Trade Board.....	52	27	25
Council of National Defense.....	78	12	66
Federal Reserve Board.....			
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
Total.....	1,595	759	836

WEEK OF JUNE 3, 1918.

Food Administration.....	18	29	-11
Fuel Administration.....	19	3	16
Library of Congress.....	7	7	0
Government Printing Office.....	60	46	14
Interior Department.....	22	32	-30
Justice Department.....	8	1	7
Commerce Department.....	45	26	19
Interstate Commerce.....	15	30	-15
Department of Agriculture.....	59	47	12
Department of War.....	399	234	165
Federal Trade Commission.....	14	17	-3
Smithsonian Institution.....	12	6	6
The Navy Department.....			
Department of State.....	11	6	5
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....			
United States Shipping Board.....	8	8	0
Civil Service Commission.....	3	7	-4
District government.....	20	39	-19
American Red Cross.....			
Department of Labor.....	64	29	35
Treasury Department.....	483	148	335
United States War Trade Board.....	28	58	-30
Council National Defense.....	49	4	45
Federal Reserve Board.....	3	0	3
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	15	0	15
Alien Property Custodian.....			
Total.....	1,362	797	565

WEEK OF JUNE 24, 1918.

Food Administration.....	44	55	-11
Fuel Administration.....	74	18	56
Library of Congress.....	11	8	3
Government Printing Office.....	44	50	-6
Interior Department.....	54	38	16
Justice Department.....	2	3	-1
Commerce Department.....	65	18	47
Interstate Commerce.....	19	11	8
Department of Agriculture.....	74	72	2
Department of War.....	60	204	399
Federal Trade Commission.....	17	6	11
Smithsonian Institution.....	5	7	-2
The Navy Department.....	132	42	90
Department of State.....	15	1	14
United States Shipping Board.....	84	13	71
Civil Service Commission.....	8	4	4
District government.....	20	19	1
American Red Cross.....			
Department of Labor.....	50	20	30
Treasury Department.....	616	160	456
United States War Trade Board.....	50	23	27
Council of National Defense.....	10	2	8
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....			
War Industries Board.....	29	2	27
Total.....	2,026	778	1,248

WEEK OF JUNE 10, 1918.

Food Administration.....	57	45	12
Fuel Administration.....	31	23	8
Library of Congress.....	8	5	3
Government Printing Office.....	65	32	33
Interior Department.....	140	71	69
Justice Department.....	6	5	1
Commerce Department.....	67	19	48
Interstate Commerce.....	10	9	1
Department of Agriculture.....	108	83	25
Department of War.....	298	342	-44
Federal Trade Commission.....	10	3	7
Smithsonian Institution.....	1	12	-11
The Navy Department.....	56	6	50
Department of State.....	23	7	16
Emergency Fleet Corporation.....			
United States Shipping Board.....	40	4	36
Civil Service Commission.....	9	7	2
District government.....	17	12	5
American Red Cross.....			
Department of Labor.....	36	22	14
Treasury Department.....	72	103	569
United States War Trade Board.....	40	20	11
Council National Defense.....	77	12	65
Federal Reserve Board.....	9	1	8
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	18	5	13
Alien Property Custodian.....			
Total.....	1,798	857	941

WEEK OF JULY 1, 1918.

Food Administration.....	51	64	-13
Fuel Administration.....	156	27	129
Library of Congress.....	8	15	-7
Government Printing Office.....	38	37	1
Interior Department.....	84	57	27
Justice Department.....	3	2	1
Commerce Department.....	73	46	27
Interstate Commerce.....	11	4	7
Department of Agriculture.....	164	79	85
Department of War.....	392	247	145
Federal Trade Commission.....	9	2	7
Smithsonian Institution.....	11	4	7
The Navy Department.....	68	28	40
Department of State.....	21	8	13
United States Shipping Board.....	53	12	41
Civil Service Commission.....	6	1	5
District government.....	14	9	5
American Red Cross.....			
Department of Labor.....	70	3	31
Treasury Department.....	266	148	118
United States War Trade Board.....	71	26	45
Council National Defense.....	16	3	13
Federal Reserve Board.....	3		3
Alien Property Custodian.....			
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	31	2	29
War Industries Board.....	99	5	94
Total.....	1,718	835	833

WEEK OF JULY 8, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separa-tions.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	33	44	-11
Fuel Administration.....	5	0	5
Library of Congress.....	18	33	-15
Government Printing Office.....	67	60	7
Interior Department.....	12	6	6
Justice Department.....	53	45	8
Commerce Department.....	30	31	-1
Interstate Commerce.....	138	82	56
Department of Agriculture.....	445	324	121
Department of War.....	10	12	-2
Federal Trade Commission.....	3	3	0
Smithsonian Institution.....	33	12	21
The Navy Department.....	19	4	15
Department of State.....	16	7	9
United States Shipping Board.....	3	5	-2
Civil Service Commission.....	6	6	0
District government.....	21	18	3
American Red Cross.....	852	119	733
Department of Labor.....	52	15	37
Treasury Department.....	15	4	11
United States War Trade Board.....			
Council National Defense.....			
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....			
War Industries Board.....	51	7	44
Total.....	1,882	837	1,045

WEEK OF JULY 15, 1918.

Food Administration.....	31	20	11
Fuel Administration.....	114	22	92
Library of Congress.....	3	7	-4
Government Printing Office.....	52	46	6
Interior Department.....	110	60	50
Justice Department.....	4	4	0
Commerce Department.....	42	26	16
Interstate Commerce.....	6	12	-6
Department of Agriculture.....	145	64	81
Department of War.....	644	190	454
Federal Trade Commission.....	5	3	2
Smithsonian Institution.....	11	3	8
The Navy Department.....	70	17	53
Department of State.....	7	5	2
United States Shipping Board.....	10	12	-2
Civil Service Commission.....	6	5	1
District government.....	5	3	2
American Red Cross.....	98	49	49
Department of Labor.....	627	87	540
Treasury Department.....	46	17	29
United States War Trade Board.....	6	6	0
Council National Defense.....	5	5	0
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	25	4	21
War Industries Board.....	57	12	45
Total.....	2,129	664	1,465

WEEK OF JULY 22, 1918.

Food Administration.....	27	24	3
Fuel Administration.....	3	7	-4
Library of Congress.....	96	30	66
Government Printing Office.....	80	42	38
Interior Department.....	3	3	0
Justice Department.....	82	48	34
Commerce Department.....	5	6	-1
Interstate Commerce.....	94	99	-5
Department of Agriculture.....	826	253	573
Department of War.....	30	2	28
Federal Trade Commission.....	2	4	-2
Smithsonian Institution.....	61	22	39
The Navy Department.....	9	3	6
Department of State.....	18	10	8
United States Shipping Board.....	5	3	2
Civil Service Commission.....	24	19	5
District government.....	96	42	54
American Red Cross.....	884	81	803
Department of Labor.....	71	34	37
Treasury Department.....	10	10	0
United States War Trade Board.....			
Council National Defense.....			
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	11	1	10
War Industries Board.....	25	4	21
Total.....	2,465	751	1,714

WEEK OF JULY 29, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separa-tions.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	25	36	-11
Fuel Administration.....	155	35	120
Library of Congress.....	4	2	2
Government Printing Office.....	77	51	26
Interior Department.....	51	39	12
Justice Department.....	4	4	0
Commerce Department.....	34	40	-6
Interstate Commerce Commission.....	5	6	-1
Department of Agriculture.....	95	106	-11
Department of War.....	948	274	674
Federal Trade Commission.....	15	6	9
Smithsonian Institution.....	1	3	-2
Navy Department.....	47	30	17
Department of State.....	16	6	10
United States Shipping Board.....			
Civil Service Commission.....	5	4	1
District government.....	8	11	-3
American Red Cross.....	131	51	80
Department of Labor.....	512	97	415
Treasury Department.....	61	14	47
United States War Trade Board.....	11	7	4
Council of National Defense.....			
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
The Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	5	5	0
War Industries Board.....	50	22	28
Total.....	2,260	847	1,413

WEEK OF AUG. 5, 1918.

Food Administration.....	26	33	-7
Fuel Administration.....	47	4	43
Library of Congress.....	8	5	3
Government Printing Office.....	47	37	10
Interior Department.....	51	56	-5
Justice Department.....	4	1	3
Commerce Department.....	65	37	28
Interstate Commerce.....	10	10	0
Department of Agriculture.....	71	90	-19
Department of War.....	610	306	304
Federal Trade Commission.....	20	5	15
Smithsonian Institution.....			
Navy Department.....	96	37	29
Department of State.....	13	7	6
United States Shipping Board.....	18	12	6
Civil Service Commission.....	2	1	1
District government.....	22	11	11
American Red Cross.....	100	35	65
Department of Labor.....	539	125	414
Treasury Department.....	15	2	13
United States War Trade Board.....			
Council of National Defense.....			
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	152	27	125
War Industries Board.....	52	26	26
Total.....	1,938	867	1,071

WEEK OF AUG. 12-19, 1918.

Food Administration.....	15	62	-47
Fuel Administration.....	65	65	0
Library of Congress.....	3	4	-1
Government Printing Office.....	51	35	16
Interior Department.....	50	50	0
Justice Department.....	4	6	-2
Commerce Department.....	83	39	44
Interstate Commerce.....	5	14	-9
Department of Agriculture.....	100	89	11
Department of War.....	527	149	378
Federal Trade Commission.....	15	5	10
Smithsonian Institution.....	5	18	-13
Navy Department.....	38	23	15
Department of State.....	8	4	4
United States Shipping Board.....	34	22	12
Civil Service Commission.....	4	5	-1
District government.....	23	12	11
American Red Cross.....	70	30	40
Department of Labor.....	436	229	207
Treasury Department.....	89	23	66
United States War Trade Board.....	4	4	0
Council National Defense.....	1	1	0
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Alien Property Custodian.....			
Panama Canal.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	65	34	31
War Industries Board.....	49	10	39
Total.....	1,744	853	881

WEEK OF AUG. 19-26, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separations.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	48	35	13
Fuel Administration.....	42	8	34
Library of Congress.....	7	3	4
Government Printing Office.....	109	37	72
Interior Department.....	36	29	7
Justice Department.....	20	8	12
Commerce Department.....	55	45	10
Interstate Commerce.....	6	11	-5
Department of Agriculture.....	94	105	-11
Department of War.....	821	509	312
Federal Trade Commission.....	15	3	12
Smithsonian Institution.....	4	5	-1
The Navy Department.....	75	10	65
Department of State.....	9	3	6
United States Shipping Board.....	22	32	-10
Civil Service Commission.....	3	6	-3
District government.....	27	13	14
Department of Labor.....	70	30	40
Treasury Department.....	807	116	691
United States War Trade Board.....	84	33	51
Council National Defense.....	5	2	3
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	29	6	23
War Industries Board.....	53	29	24
Panama Canal.....			
Total.....	2,441	1,078	1,363

WEEK OF AUG. 26-31, 1918.

Food Administration.....	19	38	-19
Fuel Administration.....	67	14	53
Library of Congress.....	1	10	-9
Government Printing Office.....	90	50	40
Interior Department.....	62	32	30
Justice Department.....	8	8	0
Commerce Department.....	144	66	78
Interstate Commerce.....	12	16	-4
Department of Agriculture.....	85	87	-2
Department of War.....	753	367	386
Federal Trade Commission.....	11	4	7
Smithsonian Institution.....	4	2	2
Navy Department.....	82	50	32
Department of State.....	8	2	6
United States Shipping Board.....	30	16	14
Civil Service Commission.....			
District government.....	27	13	14
Department of Labor.....	82	46	36
Treasury Department.....	465	94	371
United States War Trade Board.....			
Council of National Defense.....	18	2	16
Federal Reserve Board.....	0	0	0
Director General of Railroads.....	7	2	5
War Industries Board.....			
Panama Canal.....	4	2	2
Total.....	1,979	941	1,038

WEEK OF SEPT. 2-7, 1918.

Food Administration.....	33	23	10
Fuel Administration.....	105	66	39
Library of Congress.....	6	5	1
Government Printing Office.....	115	48	67
Interior Department.....	51	76	-25
Justice Department.....	5	3	2
Commerce Department.....	67	67	0
Interstate Commerce.....	7	7	0
Department of Agriculture.....	82	102	-20
Department of War.....	912	468	444
Federal Trade Commission.....	13	9	4
Smithsonian Institution.....	7	8	-1
The Navy Department.....	71	36	35
Department of State.....	14	2	12
United States Shipping Board.....	56	36	20
Civil Service Commission.....	5	7	-2
District government.....	11	16	-5
Department of Labor.....	67	25	42
Treasury Department.....	970	159	811
United States War Trade Board.....	54	23	31
Council National Defense.....	5	2	3
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	4	2	2
War Industries Board.....	82	18	64
Panama Canal.....			
Total.....	2,742	1,208	1,534

WEEK OF SEPT. 9-14, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separations.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	27	63	-36
Fuel Administration.....	80	18	62
Library of Congress.....	7	9	-2
Government Printing Office.....	85	46	39
Interior Department.....	53	38	15
Justice Department.....	9	7	2
Commerce Department.....	44	54	-10
Interstate Commerce.....	13	14	-1
Department of Agriculture.....	96	131	-35
Smithsonian Institution.....	2	5	-3
The Navy Department.....	36	49	-13
Department of State.....	23	6	17
United States Shipping Board.....	41	22	19
Civil Service Commission.....	6	9	-3
District government.....	63	23	40
Department of Labor.....	76	30	46
Treasury Department.....	971	160	811
United States War Trade Board.....	33	31	2
Council National Defense.....	12	10	2
Federal Reserve Board.....	1		1
Director General of Railroads.....	25	9	16
War Industries Board.....	93	19	74
Department of War.....	987	402	585
Federal Trade Commission.....	20	7	13
Panama Canal.....	(1)	(1)	(1)
Total.....	2,803	1,162	1,641

WEEK OF SEPT. 16-21, 1918.

Food Administration.....	25	43	-18
Fuel Administration.....	29	86	-57
Library of Congress.....	5	18	-13
Government Printing Office.....	74	55	19
Interior Department.....	57	43	14
Justice Department.....	22	4	18
Commerce Department.....	85	53	32
Interstate Commerce Commission.....	19	24	-5
Department of Agriculture.....	98	113	-15
Smithsonian Institution.....	8	10	-2
Navy Department.....	56	52	4
Department of State.....	34	17	17
United States Shipping Board.....	68	34	34
Civil Service Commission.....	4	1	3
District government.....	21	12	9
Department of Labor.....	107	21	86
Treasury Department.....	738	229	509
United States War Trade Board.....	70	57	13
Council of National Defense.....	24	5	19
Federal Reserve Board.....	2	2	0
Director General of Railroads.....	12	2	10
War Industries Board.....	88	38	50
Department of War.....	530	461	69
Federal Trade Commission.....	8	12	-4
Panama Canal.....	(1)	(1)	(1)
Total.....	2,184	1,392	792

WEEK OF SEPT. 23-28, 1918.

Food Administration.....	43	61	-18
Fuel Administration.....	30	42	-12
Library of Congress.....	14	8	6
Government Printing Office.....	71	77	-6
Interior Department.....	56	61	-5
Justice Department.....	1	5	-4
Commerce Department.....	35	68	-33
Interstate Commerce.....	4	19	-15
Department of Agriculture.....	70	147	-77
Smithsonian Institution.....	3	8	-5
Navy Department.....	37	35	2
Department of State.....	15	12	3
United States Shipping Board.....	26	28	-2
Civil Service Commission.....	4	12	-8
District government.....	60	22	38
Department of Labor.....	67	40	27
Treasury Department.....	1,568	303	1,265
United States War Trade Board.....	36	38	-2
Council National Defense.....	10	2	8
Federal Reserve Board.....	1		1
Director General of Railroads.....	69	15	54
War Industries Board.....	83	31	52
Department of War.....	905	484	421
Federal Trade Commission.....	6	8	-2
Panama Canal (month of September).....		3	-3
Total.....	3,214	1,529	1,685

Monthly report only.

WEEK OF SEPT. 30—OCT. 5, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separa-tions.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	0	25	-25
Fuel Administration.....	32	25	7
Library of Congress.....	20	12	8
Government Printing Office.....	42	45	-3
Interior Department.....	52	40	12
Justice Department.....	14	12	2
Commerce Department.....	18	36	-18
Interstate Commerce.....	3	18	-15
Department of Agriculture.....	76	110	-34
Smithsonian Institution.....	2	5	-3
Navy Department.....	33	20	13
Department of State.....	30	11	19
United States Shipping Board.....	28	26	2
Civil Service Commission.....	3	5	-2
District government.....	21	17	4
Department of Labor.....	82	35	47
Treasury Department.....	1,313	411	902
War Trade Board.....	41	36	5
Council of National Defense.....	20	5	15
Federal Reserve Board.....	4	0	4
Director General of Railroads.....	66	60	6
War Industries Board.....	88	13	75
Department of War.....	970	453	517
Federal Trade Commission.....	16	8	8
Panama Canal.....	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)
Total.....	2,974	1,428	1,546

WEEK OF OCT. 7-12, 1918.

Food Administration.....	49	46	3
Fuel Administration.....	95	68	27
Library of Congress.....	4	4	0
Government Printing Office.....	49	37	12
Interior Department.....	54	38	16
Justice Department.....	17	7	10
Commerce Department.....	38	23	15
Interstate Commerce.....	26	18	8
Department of Agriculture.....	102	108	-6
Smithsonian Institution.....	1	5	-4
Navy Department.....	37	17	20
Department of State.....	12	5	12
United States Shipping Board.....	30	24	6
Civil Service Commission.....	1	4	-3
District government.....	21	26	-5
Department of Labor.....	64	20	44
Treasury Department.....	870	987	-117
United States War Trade Board.....	51	29	22
Council of National Defense.....	6	7	-1
Federal Reserve Board.....	3	1	2
Director General of Railroads.....	24	1	23
War Industries Board.....	60	10	50
Department of War.....	360	293	67
Federal Trade Commission.....	14	4	10
Panama Canal (monthly report only).....			
Total.....	1,993	1,782	211

WEEK OF OCT. 14, 1918.

Food Administration.....	23	23	-1
Fuel Administration.....	27	18	9
Library of Congress.....	8	4	4
Government Printing Office.....	51	26	25
Interior Department.....	34	35	-1
Justice Department.....	5	4	1
Commerce Department.....	28	38	-10
Interstate Commerce.....	18	10	8
Department of Agriculture.....	116	135	-19
Smithsonian Institution.....	5	2	3
The Navy Department.....	32	31	1
Department of State.....	13	5	8
United States Shipping Board.....	46	13	33
Civil Service Commission.....	4	7	-3
District government.....	14	13	1
Department of Labor.....	75	21	54
Treasury Department.....	930	223	707
United States War Trade Board.....	82	30	52
Council of National Defense.....	5	2	3
Federal Reserve Board.....	2	1	1
Director General of Railroads.....	16	1	15
War Industries Board.....	69	21	48
Department of War.....	662	495	167
Federal Trade Commission.....	15	8	7
Panama Canal.....	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)
Total.....	2,279	1,165	1,114

¹ Monthly report only.

WEEK OF OCT. 21-26, 1918.

Name of department.	Appoint-ments.	Separa-tions.	New ad-ditions.
Food Administration.....	33	62	-29
Fuel Administration.....	30	45	-15
Library of Congress.....	6	1	5
Government Printing Office.....	28	35	-7
Interior Department.....	37	33	4
Justice Department.....	3	12	-9
Commerce Department.....	12	14	-2
Interstate Commerce.....	10	9	1
Department of Agriculture.....	106	86	20
Smithsonian Institution.....	3	2	1
The Navy Department.....	19	13	6
Department of State.....	20	9	11
United States Shipping Board.....	41	19	22
Civil Service Commission.....	1	5	-4
District government.....	37	41	-4
Department of Labor.....	53	39	14
Treasury Department.....	543	287	256
United States War Trade Board.....	52	18	34
Council of National Defense.....	17	4	13
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	36		36
War Industries Board.....	60	37	23
Department of War.....	265	226	39
Federal Trade Commission.....	14	2	12
Panama Canal.....	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)
Total.....	1,426	999	427

WEEK OF OCT. 28-NOV. 2, 1918.

Food Administration.....	31	19	12
Fuel Administration.....	15	37	-22
Library of Congress.....	7	9	-2
Government Printing Office.....	74	29	45
Interior Department.....	27	88	-61
Justice Department.....	14	10	4
Commerce Department.....	24	24	0
Interstate Commerce.....	6	32	-26
Department of Agriculture.....	105	125	-20
Smithsonian Institution.....		1	-1
The Navy Department.....	35	26	9
Department of State.....	19	11	8
United States Shipping Board.....	33	21	12
Civil Service Commission.....	3	3	0
District government.....	25	33	-8
Department of Labor.....	110	74	36
Treasury Department.....	352	72	280
United States War Trade Board.....	55	52	3
Council of National Defense.....	6	2	4
Federal Reserve Board.....			
Director General of Railroads.....	19	6	13
War Industries Board.....	52	37	15
Department of War.....	726	93	633
Federal Trade Commission.....	11	3	8
Panama Canal (month of October).....	11	8	3
Total.....	1,760	815	945

WEEK OF NOV. 4-9, 1918.

Food Administration.....	16	60	-44
Fuel Administration.....	5	25	-20
Library of Congress.....	6	7	-1
Government Printing Office.....	25	36	-11
Interior Department.....	29	60	-31
Justice Department.....	4	2	2
Commerce Department.....	32	37	-5
Interstate Commerce.....	8	18	-10
Department of Agriculture.....	93	112	-19
Smithsonian Institution.....	4	7	-3
The Navy Department.....	38	32	6
Department of State.....	10	5	5
United States Shipping Board.....	22	30	-8
Civil Service Commission.....	7	1	6
District government.....	9	11	-2
Department of Labor.....	79	24	55
Treasury Department.....	688	131	557
United States War Trade Board.....	70	26	44
Council of National Defense.....	15	2	13
Federal Reserve Board.....	2		2
Director General of Railroads.....	15	4	11
War Industries Board.....	44	18	26
Department of War.....	376	173	203
Federal Trade Commission.....	6	4	2
Panama Canal.....	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)
Total.....	1,603	825	778

¹ Monthly report only.

Just in the few minutes I have remaining let me invite your attention to another provision, which was shown by the testimony of Mr. Charles Shreve, a real estate man, who appeared before the Senate hearing. He said:

The real estate men's bill, in that their bill states that the rent administrator may fix rentals on the application of any person in interest.

That is found in Senate hearing, part 2, page 92.

It developed in that hearing that the real estate people insisted, until they got it, that there should be an appeal to the courts. Take one of these girls in one of the departments here and compel her to go before the rent administrator, quitting her work to do it, and losing her compensation. After the rent commission has determined the "reasonable" rent to be paid, the landlord can appeal to the court, and we are told every day that the courts are two and a half years behind with their docket, and this bill goes on to specify that these appeal cases shall take the course of all other civil suits. Was that put in accidentally?

It was put in so that the act itself would say that those cases had to take their course, notwithstanding the fact that the courts are two and a half years behind with their dockets. But that is not all on that score. It provides that if the court determines the findings of the rent commission not to be what they should that it goes back to the rent commission, and then the landlord can again appeal it to the court, which is two and a half years behind. In other words, they can get five years of appeal, when the law only lasts for four years. Where is your tenant during all that time? First, your tenant has got to employ a lawyer to prepare the charges that go to the rent commission, and, next, as the bill itself says, the appeal shall be by filing a petition in court. That, of course, means that a petition, which is made necessary, has to be filed, and the tenant can not do that without a lawyer. So I say, as I said in the beginning, that this bill itself provides the means, and then before it concludes takes away every reasonable means.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. May I ask the gentleman from Michigan to give me five minutes?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes; I yield the gentleman five minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I thank you, sir. The bill undertakes to say to A that if he leases premises to B that he shall not charge B more than the amount fixed by the rent commission. I am afraid that is not constitutional, and if this whole proceeding is based upon premises that are unconstitutional, all that follows it must be. The penalty in this bill for anything that may be done in violation of its provisions is a fine of \$5,000 or imprisonment for not exceeding one year, or both.

If the rent commission fixes the rate of rental not agreed to by the tenant and the landlord before the contract was commenced, but fixed by the commission afterwards, and that tenant should take sick or any other misfortune happen to her, and she be unable to pay that rent, what is the penalty? There is only one penalty in the bill, and it is fine and imprisonment. That is reviving the old law of imprisonment for debt. The bill further provides that if any section or any provision of the bill is held to be unconstitutional it shall relate to that provision only. Therefore, it is a clear, clean-cut proposition that the penalty clause must go out as unconstitutional; and if it goes out, then there is no penalty in the bill, and then you have exactly what the real estate men want.

They pretend to be opposed to this bill, and on several occasions the lady has come pretty nearly protesting too much. But the Star is the official organ for the real estate people and you do not find the Star attacking that bill as it has attacked other bills that would really stop rent profiteering. The realtors are opposed to this bill only to the extent that they are opposed to any bill upon the subject. They would rather be left without any bill; but if they are to have any bill they are not opposed to this one. The last section of the bill provides:

That it is hereby declared that the provisions of this section are made necessary by emergencies growing out of the war with the Imperial German Government, resulting—

Listen, please—

in a scarcity of housing facilities in the District of Columbia—

And so forth.

So they undertake, by putting that last sentence in, to destroy the bill. That says to the court where these appeals are to go that this much be done because there is a scarcity of housing facilities in the District of Columbia. Then, those who will contest the bill will say that we undertake to do away with the law of supply and demand. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I believe I have asked leave to revise and extend my remarks, but I will not so extend. Instead, I will await another opportunity to say more on this subject.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 12 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. KINKAID].

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in view of the consideration being given to the pending bill, the purpose of which is to develop and conserve an American dyestuff industry, and likewise in view of several bills reported by the Ways and Means Committee intended to develop and protect American industries, especially those that were initiated by reason of our extremity in the war, I trust it may not be regarded as an abrupt departure for me to propound to you, Why not protect potash? And have we not reached a legislative stage midway this session when it becomes permissible to inquire, Why not preserve our infant domestic potash industry from the illegitimate competition of the German potash monopoly? Our domestic industry does not seek any special or exceptional privilege or advantage not usually accorded infant industries. It does seek economic equality with other American industries of a similar character and in like condition.

But let me make it clear, it is not my intention to complain, but it is my purpose to appeal, which I do very earnestly, for relief for our domestic potash industry. It is very exigent that relief be had and that it come soon.

But first I heartily congratulate the membership of the Ways and Means Committee on what they have so far accomplished in the advancement of measures for the development, preservation, and prosperity of home industries, and I feel that they deserve the commendation of the House and of the public generally for the faithful and arduous services they have performed. The policy thus evinced to encourage and develop American industries, wisely carried out, as it will be, is bound to promote our material progress and general prosperity. Such of these bills as have already been passed in the House have received my support. The favorable reports made upon these industrial bills reasonably warrants and forecasts like favorable action of this committee on H. R. 4870, introduced by the able chairman of the committee, entitled "An act to provide revenue for the Government and to safeguard, by a license control of imports of potassium salts and by imposing an import duty thereon, the interests of domestic potash producers."

But investors in the potash industry are not seeking legislative relief merely because it is being accorded to other mineral, metal, and other kinds of industries, brought into existence or advanced by the exigencies of the war. The potash industry is willing to submit its case on its own merits, which are second to none of the several industries for which protection in some form is now in contemplation, and stand or fall thereby. It seeks only the justice which should be granted by the Government under similar circumstances.

When war was imminent and after it had commenced, the same appeals were made and the same inducements held out by the President, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the chairman of the War Trade Board, and like sanctions given by the Director of the Bureau of Geological Survey, the Director of the Bureau of Mines, the Director of the Bureau of Soils, and by other proper officials, for the production of potash as for other minerals, ores, and metals essential to the prosecution of the war.

Mr. Chairman, so grave had become the situation on account of the meager supply of potash that, in accord with the recommendation made by the President, the Congress promptly passed the act "to authorize exploration for and disposition of potassium"—potash—which was approved October 2, 1917. This act provides specifically for the giving of leases on the alkaline waters of Searles Lake, Calif. for the operation of potash plants, and also provides specifically for leases on the public lands in Sweetwater County, Wyo., for potash production. On the whole, the act was intended to stimulate the production of potash in the United States by every feasible means.

Further, in behalf of the increased production of potash, the President by his proclamation delivered February 25, 1918, by authority of the act "to provide for the further national security and defense by encouraging the supply of foods, fuel, and so forth," approved August 10, 1917, declared fertilizers and their ingredients, including potash, to be essential to food production. Naturally this gave a further stimulus to the efforts made for the discovery and development of potash.

Again, on October 5, 1918, the President approved the act "to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production" of numerous minerals, ores, and

chemicals, including manganese, pyrites, tungsten, and potassium—potash—and certainly this act contributed materially to efforts made for the production of potash and other things specified.

In the Agricultural appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1917 an appropriation of \$175,000 was granted for the investigation and demonstration in the United States, for obtaining the best method of producing potash on a commercial scale from kelp, and to establish a plant or plants for that purpose. Again, in the Agricultural appropriation bill for the fiscal year of 1919, it was provided that so much of that appropriation of \$175,000 as remained unexpended be reappropriated for a continuance of the experiment. But I should state that the experiments with kelp commenced in 1911 and have since continued.

Many more inducements were offered and appeals made in behalf of the production of potash and other war essentials, but I shall not now further specify what they were.

Mr. Chairman, what was the result of all these governmental appeals made and legislative acts passed to promote and increase the production of potash? The answer is, the effect was most gratifying, both in new discoveries made of potash resources and in the quantity produced. Geologists, mineralogists, miners, prospectors, and citizens generally promptly responded, to the end that a famine in potash and other minerals and materials useful in peace and essential in war might be averted.

Mr. CRISP. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KINKAID. I will.

Mr. CRISP. Did not these same patriotic gentlemen charge from \$4 to \$6 a unit when before the war the farmers got potash at 75 cents a unit, and will not the fact we increase the tariff on potash increase the cost of producing vegetables and food supplies and increase the cost of living to people living in the cities rather than reduce it?

Mr. KINKAID. I answer the gentleman by saying that the high price of potash was brought about directly by the course of the German potash monopoly and the indulgence extended to it for years when America was sleeping on its opportunity to itself develop the industry. That was the reason that potash sold for \$6 when it should have been sold for \$1.50, or perhaps \$1, and it is just a recurrence of such an extremity as that which the Fordney bill would prevent.

Mr. CRISP. Will the gentleman yield to another question?

Mr. KINKAID. Certainly.

Mr. CRISP. The gentleman has held up the bugaboo about wanting to stop the German from coming in. Is it not true that the former German field—Alsace-Lorraine—is now the property of France, and if we thought sufficiently well of France to send our money and soldiers over there to assist her, would it not be a friendly act to have some commercial dealings with her?

Mr. KINKAID. I will answer my friend that, unfortunately, it is not true that the Alsace-Lorraine potash belongs to France.

Mr. CRISP. I will take issue with the gentleman. It does.

Mr. KINKAID. The owners are German, and it is under their individual control. My latest information is, and I think it is up to date, that it belongs to Germans, and that they boast that they will still control these mines. Germany is now trying to throttle development of the potash industry in the United States, just as it has always done, and just as it diligently tried to prevent the development of the industry for years previous to the war.

Mr. GARNER. Would the gentleman mind? There is a diversity of controversy here as to the ownership of the Alsace-Lorraine mines. The Ways and Means Committee have had hearings on the subject, and a man who has returned from there inside of 40 days gave us information. Would the gentleman mind giving the source of his information to the House?

Mr. KINKAID. My informant is the former chief of the fertilizer branch of the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Brown.

Mr. GARNER. Has he been over in France and did he secure this information there?

Mr. KINKAID. No; but he is about as up to date as anybody can be, because that is his calling, and he is up on potash questions.

Mr. GARNER. The Department of Commerce sent a man over there, and he reported back that those mines were under control of the French people, and that potash could be shipped from Alsace-Lorraine as cheaply as it could from Germany or any other place.

Mr. KINKAID. However, I regard that as wholly immaterial. The United States, having boundless resources of potash, would be untrue to its own interest if it did not develop that industry and keep itself self-sustaining and independent, as far as potash is concerned, of foreign countries. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will my friend yield?

Mr. KINKAID. I yield.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. In the first place, I am unable to agree with the gentleman from Texas as to the information in the hearings. It did develop there that the French had legal control over the mines, and I do not remember that anything was stated in the hearings as to just what capital was operating them. But still more important than that, as the gentleman is well aware, there is still in German territory, as left to Germany at the present day, very large and extensive deposits of potash that are claimed to be richer than those of Alsace-Lorraine.

Mr. KINKAID. I prefer American potash to French potash, if they may have it to spare, and especially do I prefer it to German potash, and in general in preference to the potash of any other country. And I prefer the American industry and the interests of American labor to that of any other country. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. CRISP. Will my friend yield?

Mr. KINKAID. I will.

Mr. CRISP. The gentleman prefers Nebraska potash to California potash, does he not?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. KINKAID. May I have a few minutes more?

Mr. FORDNEY. I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. KINKAID. This is not a Nebraska question, a California question, a Georgia question, a down-South or up-North question, but it is an American question; and if we are true to the welfare of our country, when we have this great resource lying dormant, if we are true to the future of our country and the welfare of all of our citizens, we will do what we can in a reasonable way to develop and preserve the industry. [Applause on the Republican side.] And we will prevent a recurrence of that extremity which the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Crisp] has referred to, namely, potash at \$6 a unit.

Resuming, the testimony of Mr. W. E. Sharp, president of one of the largest potash companies, shows that "6,000 of the Nebraska citizens poured in their money to hasten quantity production of potash." "Great hordes of men worked feverishly day and night to erect mammoth plants and thereafter to operate them."

The reports of the hearings further show that nearly \$50,000,000 has been invested in the potash industry in America. (See committee hearings on H. R. 4870, p. 271.) Of this \$50,000,000, from \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 has been invested in plants and the development of the industry in the sand hills of western Nebraska.

In the United States there were more than 150 plants and factories manufacturing potash when the armistice was signed, which includes all the sources of potash. In Nebraska there were 9 large plants and from 15 to 20 smaller plants. These plants have 260 miles of 8 and 6-inch pipe line which have 26,000 wells connected up. These fine plants cost all the way from \$600,000 to \$1,500,000 each, and the 16 smaller plants all the way from \$15,000 to \$20,000 up to \$100,000 each, according to statements made by Mr. Sharp, of Lincoln, Nebr. (Hearings before the Committee on Mines and Mining, Senate on S. 5557.)

At Searles Lake, Calif., are two very large plants and a third partly constructed. Utah has five large plants, and there are plants in Colorado, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. In all, there are more than 150 plants for the production of potash from American sources.

In Nebraska, the origin of the towns of Hoffland and Antioch, with a population of about 1,500 each, was due wholly to the establishment of potash plants on their sites. Likewise, the growth of the hitherto crossroads town of Lakeside to a population of 1,000 is due wholly to the development of the potash industry there.

The Great Western Sugar Co. has expended almost \$500,000 in its plants at Gering and Scottsbluff, Nebr., in equipping to produce potash from Steffens water, a by-product of sugar beets. This company has also similarly equipped plants in some of its Colorado sugar-beet factories, and while it produced at the rate of 6,000 tons of pure potash in 1918, it is prepared to greatly increase this amount in the near future. There are more than 100 sugar-beet factories in the United States, which if properly equipped might produce potash in the same proportion.

The production of potash in the United States in 1918 was 60,000 tons of pure potash. The estimated consumption for the next few years is 100,000 tons, for fertilizer purposes.

So far the Nebraska plants have yielded the largest potash production. For the first six months of 1918 the Nebraska lakes yielded 43,219 tons of potash salts, equivalent to 10,232

tons of actual potash, which shows progressive and rapid development.

Mr. Chairman, notwithstanding the generous, energetic, and loyal responses to the appeals of the Government for an increased production of potash in the United States, notwithstanding the large amounts of money invested, and notwithstanding the rapid developments made, both in the discoveries of potash resources, and especially in its increased production, the industry and the investors therein now confront bankruptcy unless legislation be granted to safeguard them against the illegitimate competition of the German potash monopoly. Besides expending their own money the investors have found it necessary to borrow large sums, and must now meet the obligations they have incurred.

Contemporaneously with the signing of the armistice the demand for our domestic potash ceased because of the prospects that the importation of German potash into the United States would soon be resumed, as had been the practice before the war, when there was no domestic product.

For a time the stronger companies tried to stem the difficulty, hoping to survive until relief could be afforded by the Congress, but several months ago even these stronger companies, who were running with very heavy expenses for production without being able to make sale of any of the product, found themselves obliged to give up further expenditures and operations and shut down their plants.

Mr. Chairman, why depend upon Germany for potash when we have an abundance at home? The reports of the hearings on the Fordney bill show that it is the opinion of experts that enough potash can be derived from the leucite rock in the State of Wyoming alone for home consumption for the next 800 years. Adding to this what may be said to be in sight in other geological resources, it is fair to say there is enough potash recoverable from the earth to last 2,000 years without counting on probable new discoveries. Then adding to geological sources the great by-products resources and the kelp resources, we are fully warranted in assuming that all these combined potash resources are abundantly adequate to meet the wants of home consumption interminably.

Mr. Chairman, I think it will be patent to all who have given the question attention that the potash industry in the United States can not be possibly resumed and continued without being safeguarded against unfair competition with the German product. Both German and Alsatian potash are now being offered in America at from \$1.50 to \$1.70 per unit. Before the war the importations were sold at about 80 cents per unit, but it is estimated that due to the higher cost of labor and increased railway freight rates in Germany, as well as an increase of ocean freight rates, that the German potash is not likely to fall back to prewar prices. In fact, it is probable that prices will be maintained for an indefinite time at a higher level than that which prevailed before the war.

As all know, the American potash industry has been developed on a war-price basis for all necessary materials and labor required, with the result that during the war the production of pure potash cost about \$4 per unit. The consequence is the American producers can not hope to break even on any surplus remaining in their hands after the signing of the armistice.

But the showings are conclusive that potash can now be produced in the United States and put on the market at \$2.50 per unit, and accordingly American producers have proposed to the Ways and Means Committee, as the hearings will show, that the legislation they seek may provide that the maximum price to be paid per unit for their potash for the next year shall not exceed \$2.50 per unit; but the act will leave it in the discretion of the Government officials or commission, as the case may be, to fix a lower price than \$2.50 per unit when it may seem reasonable to do so.

Mr. Chairman, as an admission of the existing moral obligation of the Government to preserve those who so generously responded to the appeals made for the increased production of minerals, metals, ores, and other things necessary to the winning of the war, I cite the act of Congress approved March 2, 1917, "to provide relief in cases of contracts connected with the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes." The act authorizes the Secretary of the Interior—

to adjust, liquidate, and pay such net losses as have been suffered by any person, firm, or corporation by reason of producing or preparing to produce either manganese, chrome, pyrites, or tungsten in compliance with the request or demand of the Department of the Interior, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, the Shipping Board, or the Emergency Fleet Corporation to supply the urgent needs of the Nation in the prosecution of the war, said minerals being enumerated in the act of Congress approved October 5, 1918, entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply.

Eight million five hundred thousand dollars is appropriated by this act from which to reimburse for such expenses and losses in producing the minerals, metals, and ores specified, also expenses and losses sustained by those who contracted with the Government for the manufacture of equipment, material, supplies, etc., for war purposes. Adjustments of the claims under this act are now in progress, and the awards being made are to be paid out of the \$8,500,000 appropriation. The producers of potash laudably and courageously have not sought governmental relief in the form provided by this act; but by reason of the phenomenal success they have made in the disclosures of potash resources and increased production they are convinced that the industry can be made permanent and profitable by the enactment of legislation which will preserve them from illegitimate German competition for but the short period of two years. They therefore seek the safeguarding of this infant industry in some form for this short time, and the license scheme provided in the Fordney bill will be acceptable to them.

In accordance with this commendable attitude of producers there was introduced in the Senate during the last session of the Sixty-fifth Congress Senate bill 5557 by Senator HENDERSON, and the Hon. Franklin K. Lane, the Secretary of the Interior, on February 12, 1919, wrote the chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining a letter giving the provisions of this bill his unqualified indorsement. The letter from Secretary Lane to Senator HENDERSON reads as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, February 12, 1919.

MY DEAR SENATOR HENDERSON: In reply to your letter of February 8, requesting an opinion with regard to the Senate bill No. 5557, for the encouragement of the domestic production of potash. The need for such legislation lies in the fact that national necessity and high prices have led to the investment of a very large amount of capital (a minimum of at least twenty-five to thirty million dollars) in the development of this new industry.

Before the war potash salts were the most bulky of all overseas mineral imports, amounting to approximately 1,000,000 tons a year. It was the most important world mineral entirely controlled by Germany. The supply for fertilizer uses in this country was practically entirely cut off at the beginning of the European war. No adequate substitute for potash has been developed during this period of shortage.

The possible sources of potash supply in the United States were not very promising from a commercial standpoint in normal times. However, exploration of deposits, the development of new processes for treatment, and the investment of large amounts of capital have now brought the industry to a state which is more encouraging for the commercial production of a large part of our requirements. Potash can be produced from a wide variety of sources, including natural deposits and as a by-product in many industries. The supply of raw materials is practically unlimited. Some of the possible sources could supply the entire requirements of the United States for many years. The natural deposits at Seales Lake, Calif., the saline lakes of Nebraska, leucite rock in Wyoming, alunite in Utah, greensands, potash-bearing shale and feldspars in the Eastern United States; the potash recoverable from the dust in cement plants and blast furnaces, and from the wastes in beet-sugar plants, and from other industries represent a wide variety of important sources. Production from many of these sources is just emerging from the experimental stage, and the dumping on the market of cheap potash from foreign sources would tend to kill an industry which with a reasonable amount of encouragement may become a large and permanent one.

I believe that the proposed bill is necessary to insure a market for the domestic product for a sufficient period of time to give an opportunity for the improvement of processes, the recovery of by-products, and the reduction of costs which will ultimately permit competition with foreign sources of supply. If such action is not taken the large amount of invested capital and the experimental work which has been done may be largely lost.

The method proposed to insure a market for the domestic output by licensing imports imposes the least financial burden on the country by permitting the import of as much foreign material as is required at the cheapest prices obtainable, while at the same time providing for the distribution of the domestic material at higher prices. The average price from the two sources should not represent any undue burden.

I believe that there are many factors which make the situation with regard to potash peculiar, and especially deserving of such action. In the case of potash the resources in the natural deposits and by-products are sufficient as a basis for a permanent industry. This is not true of many of the other war minerals. More complicated methods and more extensive plants are required for the production of potash than in those minerals where the operation is purely of a mining character, following well-known and accepted methods. The chances are better for the improvement of methods and the reduction of costs to a basis where competition with foreign material is possible. The amount of capital invested is probably greater than in any other new "war mineral" industry. The transportation problem, while an important factor, is not so acute as in many of the other minerals, and may be partially overcome by the concentration of the material into a high-grade product. Furthermore, the development of potash is important now, not as a war measure but as a peace measure for the primary purpose of increasing agricultural production as well as affording a supply for other domestic uses in the future. I am clearly of the opinion that this measure should be confined exclusively to potash.

I direct particular attention to the memorandum prepared in the Geological Survey covering the potash situation and the importance of legislation for its encouragement.

I wish to express my approval of the bill and hope that favorable action will be taken with regard to it.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE, Secretary.

HON. CHARLES B. HENDERSON,
United States Senate.

That same Senate bill also received the indorsement of the Secretary of Agriculture and the chairman of the War Trade Board, as well as the official sanctions or indorsements of the directors of the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Mines, and the Bureau of Soils.

I desire to call attention to the contents of a letter written Col. Myron M. Parker, Washington, D. C., attorney for the National Potash Association, by Hon. Willis L. Moore, for 18 years Chief of the United States Weather Bureau, and once Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, but now a farmer and fruit raiser on a large scale, with his post office at Rockville, Md. This letter expresses his firm support of the conservation of our domestic potash industry. The letter reads as follows:

MOORELAND FARM,
Rockville, Md., June 27, 1919.

Col. MYRON M. PARKER,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COLONEL: The National Grange comes closer to the farmer than any other organization of farmers. It is composed of real farmers, and its organization is extensive. I am a member of the grange at Alvey, Md.

For 18 years I was Chief of the United States Weather Bureau, and also an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and for 13 years I have owned and personally operated a large fruit, grain, and stock farm at Rockville, Md. My interests are therefore wholly with the betterment of the agricultural conditions of the Nation.

One of the things that seems to me to be imperative is that the beginning that the United States has made as a necessity of war in the manufacture of potash should continue until this country becomes independent of Germany or any other nation in the supplying of this absolutely necessary fertilizer. Every farseeing farmer will willingly pay whatever price is necessary to protect this new American industry, to the end that we may become independent of other countries and ultimately get the American product cheaper than it can be shipped to us from abroad. No doubt the Germans will sell to us as soon as trade relations are resumed at less than the cost to the manufacturer in this country, but, as a farmer, I know that as soon as the American manufacturer is driven out of business and his plants destroyed the price of the foreign potash will go to an altitude beyond that which is now necessary to protect the American producers of this farm necessity. The price of food is not only high, but it will stay high for years to come, and I know that I and other farmers can use potash at the present price at a profit to ourselves, and the home industry of manufacturing potash be developed to the time when a healthy American competition will give us this commodity as cheap as it can be produced and shipped to us from over the seas.

Above all we should not adopt any shortsighted policy that will ever again put this country at the mercy of a foreign country for our supply of this plant food, especially if that country is now an enemy or is ever likely to become one.

Very respectfully,

WILLIS L. MOORE.

The New York Sun, in its issue of June 11 of this year, contained an article earnestly advocating the preservation of our domestic industries developed by the war, including potash. It reads:

ONCE WAR, NOW PEACE, INDUSTRIES.

The Congress hearings have begun on tariff questions, which should be settled straightway. While the war was on hundreds of millions of American capital went into the manufacture of dyestuffs, because this country was destitute of them and could not obtain them in any other way. Hundreds of millions likewise went into potash, nitrate, manganese, and magnesite products. These, at the time, were war industries pure and simple. Some of them were as essential to our victory abroad and to our safety at home as shells from the munition plants and ships from the shipbuilding plants.

But, with the war over, unlike shrapnel, bayonets, and torpedoes, they still are indispensable to our national security and national welfare. Whether by war of arms or by war of trade or by whatever circumstances this Nation of 110,000,000 people, in 48 State groupings, some of them bigger, richer, and more populous than kingdoms and republics of the Old World, must never again be caught unprepared to supply itself out of its vast resources with the basic needs of industries and the basic needs of foods as imperatively required by our national life as the water we drink and the air we breathe.

If, with our tariff laws and with whatever other action may be necessary, we do not preserve forever the industries which we did not possess before the war, but which we do now possess in almost full perfection, it will not be merely political ingratitude, it will be national lunacy.

Mr. Chairman, I have used the term "illegitimate German competition," meaning in the sale of German potash in our American market. I desire to say I have so used the words advisedly, for I do not regard it as fair and just to our domestic potash industry, having been brought into existence by the circumstance of war with Germany, provoked by its own hostilities, followed by its own embargo placed upon the exportation of potash into the United States and other countries, as a war measure, coupled with the further circumstance, very repellent, that the identical potash which Germany would now ship into the United States was produced in the German mines by prisoners of war. Who dare say that competition under such circumstances would be legitimate? Unrestricted German competition is repulsive for the additional reason that, in a legal sense, Germany has maliciously endeavored to stifle the development of the potash industry in the United States by intrigue, intimidation, and dumping. The great Kali Syndicate, composed of German stockholders, with the German Government itself interested, in order to save the sacrifice incident

to a dumping policy, has tried to intimidate American investors from making developments of potash.

Mr. Harry O. Tucker, a representative of the American Trona Co., at Searles Lake, Calif., has made affidavit to the visit of one Paul Freudrichsen upon his company several times in the direct interests of this German Kali Syndicate for the Western States and Hawaii. These visits were made during the three or four months immediately preceding the declaration of war.

The affidavit further describes, in substance, the persistent efforts made by this agent of the German syndicate to both discourage and intimidate the Trona Co. from its undertaking to produce potash. I shall not take time to here read the affidavit, but it will be copied with my remarks.

[See p. 201 of committee hearings H. R. 4870.]

I, Harry O. Tucker, being first duly sworn, depose and say that I am a resident of Los Angeles, Calif., and the traffic manager of the American Trona Corporation, which owns and operates a potash reduction plant at Trona, Searles Lake, Calif., with an investment of approximately \$5,000,000; that Paul Freudrichsen, whose official title is propaganda manager for the German Kali Syndicate for the Western States and Hawaii, came into the office of the Trona Corporation at different times during the three or four months immediately preceding the United States entering the World War, and stated in the presence of Mr. Ernest Gordon, assistant secretary and assistant treasurer of the American Trona Corporation, also in the presence of the affiant, that the stockholders of the American Trona Corporation were foolish and unwise to invest their money in a potash-reduction enterprise in the United States for the reason that the German Kali Syndicate and the Imperial German Government would after the conclusion of the war absolutely destroy the American potash industry by marketing the German potash in the United States at such low figures as to absolutely preclude and bar any and all competition; that the German Kali Syndicate and the Imperial German Government absolutely controlled the potash production and market of the world, and pictured in great detail the immensity and strength of the German Kali Syndicate, governmentally controlled, and stated that it was useless and futile for any potash-reduction enterprise in the United States to undertake to compete with the German potash, for said syndicate and the Imperial German Government intended to destroy all competition; that said Freudrichsen had no apparent reason for coming to the American Trona Corporation offices except to communicate above statements on behalf of the German Kali Syndicate; that the affiant was personally present and heard above statements in at least one of the said interviews, and personally knows of said Freudrichsen making other visits to said offices for the same purposes, it being at that time freely discussed by Mr. Gordon, the affiant, and other officers and employees of the American Trona Corporation; that said Freudrichsen was, by his statements aforesaid and his general conduct and bearing and ostentation endeavoring to dishearten, discourage, threaten, and intimidate the officers and stockholders of the American Trona Corporation in the matter of their proceeding with the development of potash production from the almost inexhaustible potash deposits of Lake Searles, Calif.; that the German Kali Syndicate maintains five offices in the United States as centers of propaganda work, and that the said Freudrichsen was connected with and operated from the San Francisco office, the other offices being at New York City, Chicago, Atlanta, and New Orleans, respectively; that in affiant's judgment the aforesaid conduct, attitude, tactics, threats, and intimidations were but a part and parcel of a general, insidious, and subtle program and system of propaganda carried on and conducted by said syndicate over the United States during the war and for the purposes aforesaid.

HARRY O. TUCKER.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 7th day of February, 1919.

[SEAL.]

MYRON M. CADY, Notary Public.

One Emery, at Bradford, Pa., as far back as 1902, engaged in the manufacture of oxalic acid from potash. His production was sold in 1902 at 16 cents per pound, but dumping from Germany forced the price down to less than 5 cents per pound. Emery persisted in his efforts to survive this competition, with the result that he lost in 1902, \$28,692; in 1910, \$45,278.53; in 1911, \$12,897.18; in 1912, \$84,047.48; in 1913, \$36,936.11; and in 1914, \$56,465.67. These losses resulted in the Emery manufactory being sold at sheriff's sale.

In the testimony given by Witness Dow, of the Dow Chemical Co., of Midland, Mich., manufacturers of pure pharmaceutical potassium carbonate, he stated as follows:

In the one particular instance where we did fight the German 10 or 12 years ago we were making it very much cheaper than they were making it in Germany, but they sold it in the United States for not only less than the cost, but for practically the cost of bringing it from Hamburg and distributing it in the United States. It was not a question of realizing any price at all in Germany.

But the adjustment of railway freight rates to the exigencies of the German expenses of potash transportation have helped to make competition with them disadvantageous and unequal. The report of Thompson, of Chicago, on railway statistics shows that Germany, owning 95 per cent of her railroads, has given cheaper freight rates for the export of German productions than on products for home consumption to seaboard points. Their railway policy has been to operate for the protection of German industries, both to discourage imports and encourage exports.

In the report of the committee hearings on page 129 is contained the admission of Herr Schmeddekopf, director general of the potash syndicate, that the question of forestalling or stifling the development of the potash industry in the United

States was given consideration by the German potash syndicate eight years or more ago. His statement reads:

Over eight years ago the German Kali Works definitely decided not to do anything to interfere with the development of any legitimate potash industry in the United States. This plan has been strictly adhered to. (See pp. 129, committee hearings, H. R. 4870.)

I quote next the statement made by the eminent German scholar, Mr. Wilhelm Ostwald, winner of the Nobel prize in 1909:

America went into the war like a man with a rope around his neck, which is in the enemy's hands and is pretty tightly drawn. With its tremendous deposits, Germany has a world monopoly in potash, a point of immense value, which can not be reckoned too highly when once this war is going to be settled. It is in Germany's power to dictate which of the nations shall have plenty of food and which shall starve. Germany is in the position often realized by Bismarck, to handle the long arm of the lever. The dearth of potash as well as the ever-increasing results of the U-boat war is working in Germany's favor.

From the showings made and much more that we know besides it seems clear that it has been and will be the purpose of Germany to stifle the potash industry in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, it ought to be self-evident that the development of the potash industry in America will be competition making. In fact, that is just what Germany would prevent and what America needs. But some seem to fear that with our domestic product gaining the ascendancy over that imported from foreign countries a monopoly in the industry may be created here at home. I am frank to say, for my part, if a monopoly in the industry is to occur anywhere I should rather patronize an American than a foreign monopoly. But my purpose is to call attention to the strong improbability that any monopoly in the production of potash would ever develop in the United States, even with foreign importations wholly shut out.

The difficulty in the way of monopoly in the United States is that the resources of this mineral are so widely distributed geographically over the United States. The mineral has been found in the East, Northeast, Southeast, West, Southwest, Northwest, and on the Pacific coast. The differences in the distances for transportation to consumers afford bases for competition. But another feature is the variety of sources from which potash salts are derived. Hitherto it has been extracted principally from the alkaline waters in the Nebraska and California lakes, but later large contributions will come from what is taken from potash mines. Besides this, sugar-beet factories, cement plants, and blast furnaces will make their contributions from their by-products, and last, but not least of any, we have overlooked the kelp source, which is being developed by Government appropriations. Now, is it not plain that this great variety of conditions must constantly preserve a strife to excel respectively?

Mr. Chairman, America's neglect to promote development of a variety of its mineral resources before the war was the less excusable because of the magnificent results achieved by the policy of fostering in their infant stage the manufactures of steel, tin-plate, beet sugar, and other industries.

Long since America became the greatest producer, both of steel and tin plate, of any nation, and its home market for both is admittedly the greatest of any in the world.

Due to the start given the production of beet sugar by fixing a bounty, paid by the National Government, also by some of the States for its production, and subsequently by a duty imposed by Congress upon its importation from foreign countries, the growing of beets and their manufacture into sugar, after an unsuccessful struggle of from 60 to 70 years, gained a permanent foothold in the United States.

Without these three industries thus developed America would have been placed at a still greater disadvantage in the World War than what proved to be the case. It is plain that without our great steel factories we could not have constructed for war purposes, as we did, so many miles of railways in France, equipped with the best quality of steel rails and the highest class of rolling stock for freight. Without our tin-plate manufactures we could not have commanded the tin plate required for the manufacture of receptacles with which to carry meats, vegetables, and other foods to our soldiers overseas.

And while passing we should not forget those large pay rolls of the steel and tin-plate manufactures and the relatively smaller, though yet large, monthly or weekly pay rolls in the aggregate of the more than 100 sugar-beet factories in the United States. Such productions and such pay rolls contribute to the contentment of labor, happy homes, and national prosperity.

Mr. Chairman, it is plain that the same fostering policy accorded to potash must produce the same rich results.

It is reliably estimated that the United States for the next year would be able to produce about one-third of the potash required for our domestic consumption, and the Fordney bill contemplates that licenses would be granted under the act for the importation of the remaining two-thirds, conditioned that

the importer be required to buy of the American product an amount equal to 50 per cent of the amount imported at a reasonable price, to be ascertained by the representative of our Government.

In other words, that two units of the foreign potash at the price of \$1.50 per unit be combined with one unit of American potash at \$2.50 per unit and the potash then be sold to the American consumer at the average price of the three units, which would be \$1.83 per unit. Figuring on this present basis of prices of foreign potash at \$1.50 and domestic potash at \$2.50, both of which prices will be inevitably reduced before long, the American industry can be preserved and become permanent. This means that it would cost the American consumer 33 cents more per unit for the time being than if permitted to buy imported potash at \$1.50 per unit.

Mr. Chairman, is it not to the financial interest of every consumer of potash to pay a price therefor adequate to protect our own infant industry in order that we may become independent of foreign countries, and thus in a short time buy the home product cheaper than it would be shipped to us from abroad? Of course, with the American industry effectually strangled, the price of the foreign product will be as high as our consumers will stand.

But under the license scheme provided by the Fordney bill, the price of the combined American and German productions will gradually become reduced, and if the same should start upon the enactment of the measure at the price of \$1.83 per unit, that price is sure to be gradually reduced, and it might be at the end of a year reduced to \$1.50 per unit, and at the end of two years to possibly \$1 per unit. It is plain that the enforced commercial combination of the American and German products would not tend to promote effort for a joint monopoly. The strife for a survival of the fittest would yet exist, with the hope in each for ultimate ascendancy in the American market.

I here quote from an impartial authority in the form of an excerpt taken from a report made by the Bureau of United States Geological Survey. It is headed "Statement showing the almost inexhaustible American potash deposits by processes recently developed will in two years enable American producers to successfully compete with German potash syndicate."

New and more economical methods of potash reduction recently developed have revolutionized the American potash production, which is now in the transitional stage from the old to the new processes, and if the industry be safeguarded temporarily it can in two years successfully compete with the German potash syndicate.

I submit this is a very encouraging statement. The fact that it is purely official and not prepared for the occasion should give it great weight. This same paper further shows that the total American potash production in 1918 was about 60,000 tons of pure potash, or one-fourth of the total prewar importation of 240,000 tons, of which 180,000 tons were used with fertilizers. But it must be remembered that the production was greatly reduced by reason of many plants shutting down after the expiration of the first six months of 1918, due to the prospects of early importations of German potash.

Lower prices will be promoted of our domestic product, both by increased productions, improved processes, and better economies in every detail. For instance, it has been argued to the Ways and Means Committee that one reason why the American product can not compete with foreign importations is because of the greater cost in railway rates from the interior of the United States to the consumer than the amount of short-distance railway rates in Germany and France to the seaboard, thence low ocean rates to Atlantic seaboard points. It is true the cost per ton in the shipment of potash salts in Nebraska to the terminal market points in the East has been \$13 per ton; but, surprising as it may seem, 75 per cent of this freight cost can be eliminated, and this will be accomplished by the separation of the pure potash from the gross potash salts, which pure production will weigh but one-fourth of the gross. Lower-priced coal and oil used as fuel, and lower-priced machinery and materials of all kinds, will contribute to a lowering of the price of the domestic product. The authority can be invoked under the license system to reduce the price as often and as fast as the cost of production may warrant. All competent authorities who have investigated the subject concur that by increasing productions and improving modes of operation in general and with lower cost of freight and materials, the American product can be made to compete successfully with the foreign product.

Mr. Chairman, it is a regrettable fact that when the war began there was no American production of potash, and it required almost two years before a single American plant passed beyond the experimental stage to a commercial basis.

It is plain that while the deft hand of Germany had been insidiously at work securing a strong grasp on our industrial pursuits, America was asleep to its own opportunity and wel-

fare while its birthright was being stolen by the country then and thereby preparing to be its enemy in the most gigantic and dreadful war the world has ever known. It will be patent to everyone that the American money paid for German potash constituted a contribution to the purchase of guns, munitions, and submarines wherewith to wage war, and that the United States became correspondingly less prepared for war by having no domestic potash industry of its own.

Mr. Chairman, while America may be pardoned in a measure on account of its ignorance of its potash resources for not developing the industry before the war, to now with knowledge of its extensive potash resources refuse to preserve the industry would constitute unpardonable economic folly and prodigality.

If the home industry by reason of ruthless German competition is to be shut out of our American market, the effect is to favor German labor at the expense of American labor. All the millions paid to Germany for its potash will be promotive of idle labor in America and greater prosperity in Germany.

Mr. Chairman, in my judgment the United States has become thoroughly committed to the development and manufacture of potash as a permanent industry by what it has done therefor during the war, but I urge that we had equally pledged our country to make the production of potash permanent before the war, and before war with Germany was expected. In 1911 we began in earnest to make explorations for potash in its natural form in the earth through the Bureau of Geological Survey, making annual appropriations of \$20,000 for the direct search of potash alone. At the same time annual appropriations were made for investigations to be conducted by the Bureau of Soils how to ascertain the best mode of producing potash upon a commercial basis, including experiments in extracting potash from kelp. Appropriations for these two bureaus for this purpose have continued to be made annually since 1911 to the present time, including \$175,000 appropriated for experiments with kelp by the Bureau of Soils made in 1917, with a reappropriation made this session of the unexpended portion of this \$175,000 for further experimenting with kelp.

Mr. Chairman, how would it look, what kind of a record would it make, after all of these investigations, experiments, and many expenditures, to now yield up to Germany the production of the potash America is to consume? Why make all this great effort and large expenditure to discover how the industry may be developed and "put upon a commercial basis" if it was not the purpose to utilize the ascertainment? Why learn how to do it if it is not going to be done?

Mr. Chairman, I maintain the Government is morally obligated to now safeguard the industry, developed and advanced pursuant to the appeals made and the inducements held out by the administration so to do that we might win the war, including the appeals made by Cabinet officers, the heads of bureaus, the three acts of Congress which I have already specified, and the proclamations of the President made in accordance with the same. The act passed to provide relief in cases of contracts connected with the war, and authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to liquidate and pay net losses suffered by persons by reason of producing manganese, chrome, pyrites, and tungsten, and providing \$8,500,000 therefor, is in point in principle.

Mr. Chairman, the alternatives are, on the one hand, adequate restrictions upon importations from Germany to permit of the development of the industry in America, or, on the other, that we permit Germany to reestablish and enjoy a perpetual potash monopoly in the United States.

Will not America preserve its national self-respect by emancipating its agriculture, now involved, from slavery to Germany? Shall we prefer the prosperity of labor in Germany to the welfare of labor in America? Shall we have potash "made in Germany" or potash made in America? Shall we prefer the profit of the German merchant marine rather than to sustain our present unprofitable American railways, with their employees now asking an increased wage or a lower cost of living? Shall we stand for American industrial independence or for slavery to Germany?

Mr. Chairman, protection of our domestic potash industry is bound to be sooner or later afforded in some form. To prevent the loss of millions, relief should be afforded now. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KING].

Mr. KING. Mr. Chairman, there have been in the history of the world three great and memorable speeches made and all at certain crises. One was the speech of Mark Anthony over the dead body of Cæsar; the other was the famous speech by Patrick Henry, wherein he evolved and brought forth the beautiful idea of liberty or death; the third speech I am about to read in the time granted to me by the chairman of the committee.

I read:

A WORD OF WARNING FROM THE DEMOCRATIC SOUTH.

[Speech on league of nations by Hon. Thomas Watson, of Georgia, before 10,000 people at Harlem, Ga., reported in Columbia Sentinel, Harlem, Ga.]

"In the league, the great charter is engulfed, the sovereignty of the people disappears, and a universal monarchy is at last established.

"The council of the league will absorb within itself judicial power, legislative power, and executive power.

"It will be a supreme court of the world, a supreme legislature of the world, a supreme executive of the world.

"It will evolve its own army, its own treasury, its own system of finance, its own civil service.

"It will have in its hands both the purse and the sword, and nowhere on earth will there be a power to veto its measures or resist its usurpations.

"It will be another Venetian council of ten, meeting in secret, and despotically ruling not one small State but every State.

"It pretends to assimilate the yellow race, the brown race, the black race, and the white race.

"It pretends to harmonize democracy with imperialism, the kings with the republics.

"It pretends to reconcile the Buddhist with the Confucianist, the Mohammedan with the Christian.

"It pretends to make a seamless garment out of 33 variegated pieces.

"It pretends to expect international melody out of 33 discordant national notes.

"If its real purpose is to put an end to just such disorder as the American colonists created, and the French created, and the South Americans created when they broke the yoke of tyrannical kings, then the league will be a success.

"If the real purpose is to create an international guaranty and collection agency for the great bankers and bondholders of indebted nations, then the league will be a success.

"If the real purpose is to permanently fasten the yoke of the conquerors upon Egypt, Asia Minor, Africa, India, Oceania, and the greater part of China, then the league will be a success.

"The President of the United States had no authority to make a new government for this country—but so far as his signature and official conduct could commit you to it he has done so.

"Sworn to defend, protect, and preserve your supreme law, he has usurped the authority to make a new law which your supreme law must obey, which your Government must obey, and which the people must obey.

"He, your agent, sells you into foreign bondage.

"He, the representative of your Government, signs away your Government into subordination to foreign Governments.

"The President admits that we will lose our independence in the league. Therefore he himself admits that he went to France and surrendered the very thing that our soldier boys fought and died to maintain. The martyrs of the Revolutionary War died in vain; the 50,000 martyrs of the Great War of 1914 died in vain. One man has betrayed everything that those martyrs won!

"The President says he will appeal to the country against the Senators who are battling to save our constitutional liberties and our national independence.

"An appeal to the country is just what the country wants.

"The country wants just such an appeal to it as Washington and Madison made in 1787, when they asked authority to amend the articles of the old confederation.

"The country wants such an appeal to it as was made when the present Constitution was referred to the States for discussion and ratification.

"The country wants an appeal to it similar to those made when each of the amendments were adopted by the votes of the people.

"Give the people a chance to vote on this league!

"The question can't be settled by speeches; it must go to the polls!

"The President says he will appeal to the country by making 50 speeches.

"Dadburn his 50 speeches!

"The whole world is sick and tired of his everlasting speeches.

"What the people want is a fair chance to make some speeches themselves.

"They've been bulldozed and gagged so long that they have an accumulated surplus of speeches to dispose of.

"Plague on this eternal flow of presidential rhetoric!

"We want to vote!

"Why is President Wilson afraid to refer this change of government to the people whose vital interests are involved?"

"Let him divide the questions, because they are two different propositions.

"Let him separate the league from the treaty!

"The two have no business together.

"It was an artifice, and a very dishonest one, to so entangle the peace treaty with the league that they can hardly be separated except by the men who entangled them.

"Let the treaty stand on its merits in the Senate, and let the league go before the people as a separate proposition.

"What objection can be urged?

"They may say a popular vote on the league would delay the treaty; but one answer to that is that our Government went swiftly into the war, on a congressional resolution; and if it wants to it can quickly come out in the same way.

"Besides, American independence, which cost a war of seven years, ought not to be surrendered as hurriedly as though it were never worth the Revolutionary struggle.

"It is high time the voters of this Republic were allowed to take a hand in their governmental affairs.

"We have never had an administration whose methods were so full of secrecy, duplicity, favoritism for the lords of special privilege.

"No other administration ever showed such a fixed purpose to shut out the people from knowledge of what was going on behind the scenes, and to shut them off from any real influence over the policies of the Government.

"The people are now told that they shall have no chance to vote on the league, no right to self-determination, and no opportunity to effectively antagonize the men who propose to transfer our independence to a supreme council seated in Europe.

"Already Wilson has bound us to keep an army on the Rhine for 15 years. Already he has sent America to the Danube. Already he has sent an army into Silesia and another into Siberia.

"Already President Wilson is spreading the American Army over Europe and into Asia.

"In the name of the Creator that made us, when and where is this Wilsonian madness to stop?

"Never before in the history of the human race has any one man arrogated to himself the right to revolutionize the government of a people, unless he came as a foreign conqueror with a sword in his hand.

"It is an amazing thing, a monstrous thing, an almost incredible thing, that a President of the United States should appoint himself a minister to a European peace conference, should leave the country and be gone seven months, should secretly spend a hundred million dollars of the people's money while secretly juggling with foreign politicians, and should then come home bringing what he calls a peace treaty, but which is in reality another government to be imposed upon this people.

"It is the most astounding betrayal of trust that history records.

"Suppose President Wilson should tell you that during his private conferences with the kings and the capitalists of Europe he became convinced that the American colonists made a huge mistake when they fought to free themselves from European control.

"Suppose he should tell you that his Tory kinsfolk in England were right in opposing our Whig kinsfolk in America!

"Suppose he should say that we must undo what our Revolutionary forefathers did, surrender to foreign control the Government they established, and renounce the principles for which they sacrificed their lives!

"Suppose he should declare that the most dramatic and conclusive evidence of our sudden change of heart on this subject would be to make a public bonfire of the Declaration of Independence!

"Suppose he should declare that the most emphatic proof we can offer Europe of the fact that we have repudiated the time-honored policy of our Government would be to let the British ambassador publicly burn Washington's Farewell Address at the foot of the Washington Monument!

"Should he say such things as these, he would create a tempest of indignation throughout this Union, and his impeachment would be demanded.

"But his deeds since his second election can not be translated into any other words.

"What he has done is immensely more than equivalent to the destruction of the documents which contain the Declaration and of the Farewell Address.

"He has signed away independence itself; he has signed away the Americanism of the Farewell Address; he has surrendered what our forefathers gained under the shadow of a European crown.

"We, the people, are the sovereign. We, the people, wear the crown.

"That crown shall pass on to the next generation untarnished in its luster and radiant with every gem of Anglo-Saxon liberty.

"We can read our titles clear! By the light of the Revolutionary camp fires we can read our titles clear!

"Usurpers have moved our land lines and seized upon field after field that is ours; but by the God that made us, we will drive out the trespassers and regain full possession of our blood-bought inheritance."

[Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. TOWNER, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8078) to regulate the importation of coal-tar products, to promote the establishment of the manufacture thereof in the United States, and, as incident thereto, to amend the act of September 8, 1916, entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. EAGAN, for three days, on account of important business.

To Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana, for 10 days, on account of important business.

To Mr. STEENERSON, indefinitely, on account of duties in connection with the Post Office Commission.

To Mr. OLIVER, for five days, on account of important business.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the reading of the Journal next Wednesday and the disposition of the business on the Speaker's table I be permitted to address the House for not to exceed 30 minutes on the industrial unrest in our country to-day.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would suggest to the gentleman from Ohio that the rule requires that on Calendar Wednesday business can only be suspended by a two-thirds vote. The Chair is disposed to think that it is necessary, first, to dispense with the regular business on Calendar Wednesday. It has been the uniform policy of the Chair—not this Speaker but previous Speakers—to so rule. Can the gentleman make it some other day?

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, can you not do anything by unanimous consent? Can you not dispense with Calendar Wednesday by unanimous consent?

Mr. WALSH. No; you can not.

The SPEAKER. You can dispense with Calendar Wednesday by unanimous consent.

HOUR OF MEETING TO-MORROW—11 O'CLOCK A. M.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-night it adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, let me ask the gentleman from Wyoming if he expects to have Calendar Wednesday stand this week?

Mr. MONDELL. I think we will probably take up Calendar Wednesday business. I can not say positively at this time, but it occurs to me if we meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning the gentleman from Ohio could submit his request and have his time to-morrow morning, and then the gentleman could go on with the dye bill.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The reason why I asked that question is it is probable that we shall not complete the consideration of the dye bill to-morrow.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, is my request objected to?

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. COOPER. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the routine business to-morrow morning I may be permitted to address the House for not to exceed 30 minutes on the industrial situation.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to address the House for 30 minutes to-morrow immediately after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of the business on the Speaker's table. Is there objection?
There was no objection.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. RAMSEY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 6410. An act authorizing the city of Boulder, Colo., to purchase certain public lands.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to joint resolutions and bills of the following titles:

S. J. Res. 75. Authorizing the appointment of an ambassador to Belgium;

S. J. Res. 95. Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan to the city of Atlanta, Ga., tents, cots, horses, and saddle equipments for the use of United Confederate Veterans in their convention from October 7 to 10, 1919;

S. 276. To amend sections 4 and 5 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916;

S. 277. To authorize absence by homestead settlers and entrymen, and for other purposes; and

S. 2624. To provide travel allowances for certain retired enlisted men and Regular Army reservists.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. RAMSEY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on September 20 the committee had presented to the White House for the approval of the President of the United States the following joint resolutions:

H. J. Res. 175. Joint resolution to provide for the payment of travel pay upon discharge to men of the Regular Army enlisted prior to April 2, 1917; and

H. J. Res. 211. Joint resolution tendering the thanks of the American people and the Congress of the United States to Gen. John J. Pershing and to the officers and men of the American Expeditionary Forces.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. FORDNEY. Now, Mr. Speaker, I renew my motion that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the House adjourned, pursuant to the order, until to-morrow, Tuesday, September 23, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, private bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the Committee of the Whole House, as follows:

Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 202) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent in fee simple to the county of Huron, in the State of Michigan, for a certain-described tract of land for public-park purposes, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 329), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. EDMONDS, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 1694) providing for the refund of taxes collected for stamp tax on certain policies under the emergency-tax act of October 22, 1914, under the proviso to which act such policies were exempt, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 330), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 9394) granting a pension to William Merritt; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 8044) granting a pension to Samuel L. Lilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 6388) granting a pension to Oma Durham; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KAHN: A bill (H. R. 9412) to authorize the Secretary of War to transfer free of charge certain surplus motor-propelled vehicles and motor equipment to the Department of Agriculture, Post Office Department, Navy Department, and the Treasury Department for the use of the Public Health Service, and certain other surplus property to the Department of Agriculture, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 9413) making available additional moneys for the reclamation fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 9414) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the village of Bellmore, in the State of New York, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 9415) making available additional moneys for the reclamation fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. LUFKIN: A bill (H. R. 9416) prohibiting the issuance of papers of declaration of intention to become citizens or final papers of citizenship to certain aliens who claimed exemption from military service in the present war, and providing for the deportation of certain aliens who surrendered their first papers of citizenship in order to escape military service; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. KING: A bill (H. R. 9417) to change the school system of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 9418) to amend an act entitled "An act to pension the survivors of certain Indian wars from January 1, 1859, to January, 1891, inclusive, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 9419) providing for the recording of mortgages on vessels and notation thereof on certificates of registry or enrollment and license; creating jurisdiction in the district courts of the United States for the foreclosure of such mortgages, and providing procedure in connection therewith; also providing for maritime liens upon vessels for necessities, etc., and their enforcement, and subordinating the same to the liens of mortgages; repealing all conflicting acts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 9420) for the construction, erection, maintenance, and protection of guideposts on rural post roads; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. HAYDEN (by request): A bill (H. R. 9421) to authorize the construction of the Lower Colorado River reclamation project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HASTINGS: Resolution (H. Res. 303) for the relief of James A. Duffy and Louise Harris; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. RODENBERG: Resolution (H. Res. 305) for the appointment of James Clark as special messenger in the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas: Resolution (H. Res. 306) authorizing the printing and binding of a synopsis of procedure in the House of Representatives, by Clarence A. Cannon; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BUTLER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 213) continuing temporarily certain allowances to officers of the Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HUDSPETH: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 214) authorizing the Secretary of War to loan the city of Marfa, Tex., cots and blankets and to give to said city authority to purchase sufficient wood from the Government for barbecue purposes for their celebration from October 2 to 3, 1919, in honor of returning soldiers who participated in the late war with Germany; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DRANE: Memorial of the Legislature of Florida, requesting passage of laws for deportation of foreigners who evaded military duty by claiming to be subjects of foreign countries; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of Florida relative to the postal-zone system; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of Florida, relative to return of cotton tax, collected by the United States Government, 1860 to 1867; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of Florida, relative to the centennial celebration of the purchase of the Territory of Florida; to the Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: Memorial of the Legislature of Florida, asking Congress to participate and to invite foreign nations to participate in celebration of the centennial of the purchase of Florida; to the Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of Florida, advocating construction of a canal from Cumberland Sound through the St. Marys River and Suwannee River to St. Marks, on the Gulf of Mexico; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of Florida, asking repeal of postal zone law; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of Florida, asking for the deportation of aliens who, although enjoying the blessings of this Government, at the outbreak of the World War refused to fight for the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of Florida, asking refund of taxes levied and collected on cotton from 1863 to 1868; to the Committee on War Claims.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 9422) granting an increase of pension to Jackson Vail; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CRAGO: A bill (H. R. 9423) granting an increase of pension to John L. B. Breighner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9424) for the relief of Aaron Schmulovitz; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CRAMTON: A bill (H. R. 9425) granting a pension to Walter E. Crackel; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ELLIOTT: A bill (H. R. 9426) granting an increase of pension to John C. Leonard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 9427) granting an increase of pension to Walker Anderson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9428) granting a pension to Esther M. Openshaw; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9429) granting a pension to John A. Shaw; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOUGHTON: A bill (H. R. 9430) granting a pension to Stephen L. Tobey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9431) granting a pension to Charles E. Cortright; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. IRELAND: A bill (H. R. 9432) granting a pension to Mary L. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9433) granting a pension to William L. Meister; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9434) for the relief of John E. Ramsden and Mary D. Ramsden; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 9435) granting an increase of pension to John Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 9436) granting a pension to William Bays; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 9437) granting a pension to William C. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PURNELL: A bill (H. R. 9438) granting an increase of pension to Warner L. Cole; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAMSEYER: A bill (H. R. 9439) granting a pension to Kate Bressler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REBER: A bill (H. R. 9440) granting an increase of pension to Susanna Noll; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 9441) granting a pension to Mary Sheridan; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. VESTAL: A bill (H. R. 9442) granting a pension to Mary M. Dillier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9443) granting a pension to Laura Adams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9444) granting an increase of pension to John W. Skiff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WEAVER: A bill (H. R. 9445) granting a pension to John F. Ritter; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WOODYARD: A bill (H. R. 9446) granting an increase of pension to Henry Stahl; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WELTY: A bill (H. R. 9447) granting a pension to Margaret P. Black; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

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

By Mr. BURKE: Petition of 300 members of St. Michael's congregation, of South Side, Pittsburgh, Pa., opposing the passage of the Smith-Towner educational bill; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. CAREW: Petition of Northwest Daily Press Association, of Minneapolis, Minn., protesting against the repeal of the present postal-zone system; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of Retail Dry Goods Association, of New York, protesting against Senate bill 2904 and House bill 8315; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa: Petition of Jefferson County Community Club, of Fairfield, Iowa, opposing the Plumb plan for railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Jefferson County Community Club, of Fairfield, Iowa, opposing bills introduced into Congress in their present form, bills proposing universal military service and augmenting the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of John R. Given and Albert J. Shields, of Baltimore, Md., favoring a bonus of \$360 to all ex-service men; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Petition of Knights of Pythias Domain of New York, pledging earnest support of the Government against Bolshevism and anarchy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MANSFIELD: Petition of retail merchants of southern Texas, favoring the passage of the Kenyon bill for the regulation of packers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of D. E. Hemley Co., of New York, favoring the amendment of Senate bill No. 641, submitted by the New York Board of Trade and Transportation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of War Camp Community Service of New York City, favoring the enactment of Senate bill 2535; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Corrugated Bar Co. (Inc.), of Buffalo, N. Y., favoring the enactment of House bills 5011, 5012, and 7010; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. VARE: Petition of National Association of Hosiery and Underwear Manufacturers, protesting against the passage of the Longworth bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. YATES: Petition of the Springfield Commercial Association, Springfield, Ill., containing protest against the Jones bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Dan Williams Beckwith, Danville, Ill., protesting against the Jones bill, S. 2904; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Hon. J. H. Kimble, Port Deposit, Md., urging the early passage of House bill 7348; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Stewart-Warner Speedometer Corporation, Chicago, urging the early passage of House resolutions 5011, 5012, and 7010; to the Committee on Patents.

Also, petition of Everett J. Buswell, Kewanee, Ill., urging the early passage of the Gronna-Baer bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, September 23, 1919.

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

Almighty God, we have built up a great spiritual democracy out of the precepts of Thy holy Word. The entering in of Thy Word giveth light. We pray that as we face the problems of this day we may be enabled to apply those unchanging principles of divine truth, and that the outcome of it all may be for the permanency of our institutions and the blessing and welfare of all the people. For Christ's sake. Amen.

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