

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE SIXTY-NINTH CONGRESS SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, March 4, 1925

CHARLES G. DAWES, of Illinois, Vice President of the United States, to whom the oath was administered at the close of the last regular session of the Sixty-eighth Congress, called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock meridian.

Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., the Chaplain of the Senate, offered the following prayer:

Almighty and ever-blessed God, our Father, we thank Thee for all the richness of Thy providence toward us, for every blessing vouchsafed to this our beloved land, and for all the administration of high and holy purpose in the management and conduct of our great affairs. We come this morning to Thee, recognizing the hand that has been guiding us through all these generations. Humbly would we ask from Thee Thy blessing at this hour, with the conviction, deepened and strengthened, that the days yet to come may be fraught with larger responsibility. Give unto us, we beseech of Thee, necessary wisdom in the guidance of every public and private duty.

Let Thy blessing rest, we beseech of Thee, upon this gathering here assembled and all that it means in the present as well as the future development of responsibility. Be with him who takes the chair of office, and in the administration of his duties may he find such cooperation and happy unity of purpose that his own heart shall be cheered and there may be much good accomplished.

Regard our President, we beseech of Thee, with all the favors of Thy grace and enable him always to understand that as he acknowledges God in all His ways eminent wisdom shall be afforded unto him and he shall be guided in paths where the problems are most intense and where the anxieties are perplexing and confusing.

Hear our prayer to-day, O God of Heaven. Look upon us as a people as well as individuals and may we all seek to know Thy will and be glad to do it. We humbly beseech of Thee to forgive our shortcomings. Help us to understand the privileges of life and make it more and more real to us in the understanding of the path of duty and the willingness to walk therein. May grace, mercy, and peace be our fortune. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

ADDRESS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. What I say upon entering this office should relate to its administration and the conditions under which it is administered. Unlike the vast majority of deliberative and legislative bodies, the Senate does not elect its Presiding Officer. He is designated for his duty by the Constitution of the United States.

In the administration of this office his duty is to be concerned with methods of effective procedure as distinguished from any legislative policy of the body over which he presides. It is not for the Vice President to be personally concerned with the interests of political parties or with the policies or projects involved in legislative action, save in that unusual contingency where, under the Constitution, it becomes necessary for him to cast the deciding vote in case of a tie. Nor should he, in view of that unusual contingency, assume any attitude toward prospective legislation until the contingency occurs. Any other course would inevitably lessen the weight of his influence in those impartial and nonpartisan matters with which it is his duty, under the Constitution of the United States, to be concerned.

In my conduct I trust I may yield to no Senator in fairness, courtesy, and kindness and in deference to those unwritten

laws which always govern any association of gentlemen, whether official or private. It shall be my purpose not to transgress in any way those limits to my official activity determined by the Constitution of the United States and by proper parliamentary procedure. But the Vice President, in part because he is not elected by the Members of this body, nor by a State, but by the people of the United States, and his constitutional and official relations are to the Senate as a whole, should always express himself upon the relation of its methods of transacting public business to the welfare of the Nation.

For him, therefore, to officially call to the attention of the Senate any collective duty such as an improvement in the method under which its business is carried on, so far from being an irrelevant and uncalled-for action on his part, is a supreme duty.

In past years, because the Members of this body have cherished most commendable feelings of fairness, courtesy, and consideration for each other as individuals, certain customs have been evolved. These have crystallized into fixed and written rules of procedure for the transaction of public business which, in their present form, place power in the hands of individuals to an extent, at times, subversive of the fundamental principles of free representative government. Whatever may be said about the misuse of this power under the present rules of the Senate, the fact remains that its existence, inimical as it is to the principles of our constitutional government, can not properly be charged against any party, nor against any individual or group of individuals. It has evolved as a natural consequence of the mutual confidence of high-minded men, determined that in their official association as Members of the Senate, full and fair opportunity to be heard on all public questions shall be enjoyed by each and every Senator, irrespective of whether or not they are in the minority, either of opinion or of party.

But however natural has been the evolution of the present rules, however commendable that existing desire on the part of all that the rights of each individual Senator should be observed, the fact remains that under them the rights of the Nation and of the American people have been overlooked—and this, notwithstanding that their full recognition of the rights of the Nation are in no wise inconsistent with the recognition of every essential right of any individual Senator.

What would be the attitude of the American people and of the individual Senators themselves toward a proposed system of rules if this was the first session of the Senate of the United States instead of the first session of the Senate in the Sixty-ninth Congress? What individual Senator would then have the audacity to propose the adoption of the present Rule XXII without modification when it would be pointed out that during the last days of a session the right that is granted every Senator to be heard for one hour after two-thirds of the Senate had agreed to bring a measure to a vote, gave a minority of even one Senator, at times, power to defeat the measure and render impotent the Senate itself? That rule, which at times enables Senators to consume in oratory those last precious minutes of a session needed for momentous decisions, places in the hands of one or of a minority of Senators a greater power than the veto power exercised under the Constitution by the President of the United States, which is limited in its effectiveness by the necessity of an affirmative two-thirds vote. Who would dare to contend that under the spirit of democratic government the power to kill legislation providing the revenues to pay the expenses of government should, during the last few days of a session, ever be in the hands of a minority or perhaps one Senator? Why should they ever be able to compel the President of the United States to call an extra session of Congress to keep

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in functioning activity the machinery of the Government itself? Who would dare oppose any changes in the rules necessary to insure that the business of the United States should always be conducted in the interests of the Nation and never be in danger of encountering a situation where one man or a minority of men might demand unreasonable concessions under threat of blocking the business of the Government? Who would dare maintain that in the last analysis the right of the Senate itself to act should ever be subordinated to the right of one Senator to make a speech?

The rules can be found, as is the custom in other deliberative and legislative assemblies, to fully protect a Senator in his right to be heard without forfeiting at any time the greater right of the Senate to act. The Constitution of the United States gives the Senate and the House of Representatives the right to adopt their own rules for the conduct of business, but this does not excuse customs and rules which, under certain conditions, might put the power of the Senate itself in the hands of individuals to be used in legislative barter. Proper rules will protect the rights of minorities without surrendering the rights of a majority to legislate.

Under the inexorable laws of human nature and human reaction, this system of rules, if unchanged, can not but lessen the effectiveness, prestige, and dignity of the United States Senate. Were this the first session of the Senate and its present system of rules, unchanged, should be presented seriously for adoption, the impact of outraged public opinion, reflected in the attitude of the Senators themselves, would crush the proposal like an egg shell. Reform in the present rules of the Senate is demanded not only by American public opinion, but I venture to say in the individual consciences of a majority of the Members of the Senate itself.

As it is the duty on the part of the Presiding Officer of the Senate to call attention to defective methods in the conduct of business by the body over which he presides, so, under their constitutional power, it is the duty of the Members of this body to correct them. To evade or ignore an issue between right and wrong methods is in itself a wrong. To the performance of this duty, a duty which is nonpartisan, a duty which is nonsectional, a duty which is alone in the interest of the Nation we have sworn to faithfully serve, I ask the consideration of the Senate, appealing to the conscience and to the patriotism of the individual Members.

PROCLAMATION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proclamation of the President convening the Senate in extraordinary session.

The Chief Clerk (John C. Crockett) read the proclamation of the President, as follows:

A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Whereas public interests require that the Senate of the United States be convened at 12 o'clock noon on the 4th day of March next to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive;

Now, therefore, I, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 4th day of March next, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as Members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States in the city of Washington the 14th day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-ninth.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES,

Secretary of State.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

The VICE PRESIDENT. The names of the newly elected Senators will be called, and, as their names are called they will present themselves at the desk for the purpose of taking the oath of office.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. BLEASE, Mr. BORAH, Mr. BRATTON, and Mr. BROOKHART.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. SMITH, Mr. GOODING, Mr. JONES of New Mexico, and Mr. CUMMINS, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. CAPPER, Mr. COUZENS, Mr. DENEEN, and Mr. DU PONT.

The VICE PRESIDENT (to the Chief Clerk). Call the names of all the Senators who are to take the oath.

The Chief Clerk thereupon called the names of Mr. EDGE, Mr. FERNALD, Mr. GILLET, Mr. GLASS, Mr. GOFF, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HARRISON, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. KEYES, Mr. McMASTER, Mr. McNARY, Mr. METCALF, Mr. NORRIS, Mr. PHIPPS, Mr. PINE, Mr. RANSELL, Mr. ROBINSON, Mr. SACKETT, Mr. SCHALL, Mr. SHEPPARD, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. TYSON, Mr. WALSH, and Mr. WARREN.

As their names were called, these Senators, escorted, respectively, by their colleagues, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

LIST OF SENATORS BY STATES

Alabama.—Oscar W. Underwood and J. Thomas Heflin.
Arizona.—Henry F. Ashurst and Ralph H. Cameron.
Arkansas.—Joseph T. Robinson and Thaddeus H. Caraway.
California.—Hiram W. Johnson and Samuel M. Shortridge.
Colorado.—Lawrence C. Phipps and Rice W. Means.
Connecticut.—George P. McLean and Hiram Bingham.
Delaware.—Thomas F. Bayard and T. Coleman du Pont.
Florida.—Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell.
Georgia.—William J. Harris and Walter F. George.
Idaho.—William E. Borah and Frank R. Gooding.
Illinois.—William B. McKinley and Charles S. Deneen.
Indiana.—James E. Watson and Samuel M. Ralston.
Iowa.—Albert B. Cummins and Smith W. Brookhart.
Kansas.—Charles Curtis and Arthur Capper.
Kentucky.—Richard P. Ernst and Fred M. Sackett.
Louisiana.—Joseph E. Ransdell and Edwin S. Broussard.
Maine.—Bert M. Fernald and Frederick Hale.
Maryland.—Ovington E. Weller and William Cabell Bruce.
Massachusetts.—William M. Butler and Frederick H. Gillett.
Michigan.—Woodbridge N. Ferris and James Couzens.
Minnesota.—Henrik Shihstead and Thomas D. Schall.
Mississippi.—Pat Harrison and Hubert D. Stephens.
Missouri.—James A. Reed and Selden P. Spencer.
Montana.—Thomas J. Walsh and Burton K. Wheeler.
Nebraska.—George W. Norris and Robert B. Howell.
Nevada.—Key Pittman and Tasker L. Oddie.
New Hampshire.—George H. Moses and Henry W. Keyes.
New Jersey.—Walter E. Edge and Edward I. Edwards.
New Mexico.—Andriens A. Jones and Sam G. Bratton.
New York.—James W. Wadsworth, jr., and Royal S. Copeland.

North Carolina.—F. M. Simmons and Lee S. Overman.
North Dakota.—Edwin F. Ladd and Lynn J. Frazier.
Ohio.—Frank B. Willis and Simeon D. Fess.
Oklahoma.—J. W. Harreld and W. B. Pine.
Oregon.—Charles L. McNary and Robert N. Stanfield.
Pennsylvania.—George Wharton Pepper and David A. Reed.
Rhode Island.—Peter G. Gerry and Jesse H. Metcalf.
South Carolina.—Ellison D. Smith and Coleman L. Blease.
South Dakota.—Peter Norbeck and W. H. McMaster.
Tennessee.—Kenneth McKellar and L. D. Tyson.
Texas.—Morris Sheppard and Earle B. Mayfield.
Utah.—Reed Smoot and William H. King.
Vermont.—Frank L. Greene and Porter H. Dale.
Virginia.—Claude A. Swanson and Carter Glass.
Washington.—Wesley L. Jones and C. C. Dill.
West Virginia.—M. M. Neely and Guy D. Goff.
Wisconsin.—Robert M. La Follette and Irvine L. Lenroot.
Wyoming.—Francis E. Warren and John B. Kendrick.

INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Sergeant at Arms will carry out the order of the Senate for the inauguration of the President of the United States on the east front of the Capitol.

The President elect, Calvin Coolidge, escorted by the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and accompanied by the joint committee on arrangements, followed by the members of the Diplomatic Corps, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps, the Members of the Senate, preceded by the Vice President, the Sergeant at Arms, David S. Barry, and the Secretary of the Senate, George A. Sanderson, the Members of the House of Representatives, and the other guests of the Senate proceeded to the inaugural platform at the east front of the Capitol.

The oath of office having been administered to the President elect by the Chief Justice of the United States, he delivered the inaugural address.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE

My countrymen, no one can contemplate current conditions without finding much that is satisfying and still more that is encouraging. Our own country is leading the world in the general readjustment to the results of the great conflict. Many of its burdens will bear heavily upon us for years, and the secondary and indirect effects we must expect to experience for some time. But we are beginning to comprehend more definitely what course should be pursued, what remedies ought to be applied, what actions should be taken for our deliverance, and are clearly manifesting a determined will faithfully and conscientiously to adopt these methods of relief. Already we have sufficiently rearranged our domestic affairs so that confidence has returned, business has revived, and we appear to be entering an era of prosperity which is gradually reaching into every part of the Nation. Realizing that we can not live unto ourselves alone, we have contributed of our resources and our counsel to the relief of the suffering and the settlement of the disputes among the European nations. Because of what America is and what America has done, a firmer courage, a higher hope, inspires the heart of all humanity.

These results have not occurred by mere chance. They have been secured by a constant and enlightened effort marked by many sacrifices and extending over many generations. We can not continue these brilliant successes in the future, unless we continue to learn from the past. It is necessary to keep the former experiences of our country both at home and abroad continually before us if we are to have any science of government. If we wish to erect new structures, we must have a definite knowledge of the old foundations. We must realize that human nature is about the most constant thing in the universe and that the essentials of human relationship do not change. We must frequently take our bearings from these fixed stars of our political firmament if we expect to hold a true course. If we examine carefully what we have done, we can determine the more accurately what we can do.

We stand at the opening of the one hundred and fiftieth year since our national consciousness first asserted itself by unmistakable action with an array of force. The old sentiment of detached and dependent colonies disappeared in the new sentiment of a united and independent Nation. Men began to discard the narrow confines of a local charter for the broader opportunities of a national constitution. Under the eternal urge of freedom we became an independent Nation. A little less than 50 years later that freedom and independence were reasserted in the face of all the world, and guarded, supported, and secured by the Monroe doctrine. The narrow fringe of States along the Atlantic seaboard advanced its frontiers across the hills and plains of an intervening continent until it passed down the golden slope to the Pacific. We made freedom a birthright. We extended our domain over distant islands in order to safeguard our own interests and accepted the consequent obligation to bestow justice and liberty upon less favored peoples. In the defense of our own ideals and in the general cause of liberty we entered the Great War. When victory had been fully secured, we withdrew to our own shores unrecompensed save in the consciousness of duty done.

Throughout all these experiences we have enlarged our freedom, we have strengthened our independence. We have been, and propose to be, more and more American. We believe that we can best serve our own country and most successfully discharge our obligations to humanity by continuing to be openly and candidly, intensely and scrupulously, American. If we have any heritage, it has been that. If we have any destiny, we have found it in that direction.

But if we wish to continue to be distinctively American, we must continue to make that term comprehensive enough to embrace the legitimate desires of a civilized and enlightened people determined in all their relations to pursue a conscientious and religious life. We can not permit ourselves to be narrowed and dwarfed by slogans and phrases. It is not the adjective, but the substantive, which is of real importance. It is not the name of the action, but the result of the action, which is the chief concern. It will be well not to be too much disturbed by the thought of either isolation or entanglement, of pacifists and militarists. The physical configuration of the earth has separated us from all of the Old World, but the common brotherhood of man, the highest law of all our being, has united us by inseparable bonds with all humanity. Our country represents nothing but peaceful intentions toward all the earth, but it ought not to fail to maintain such a military force as comports with the dignity and security of a great people. It ought to be a balanced force, intensely modern, capable of defense by sea and land, beneath the surface and in

the air. But it should be so conducted that all the world may see in it, not a menace, but an instrument of security and peace.

This Nation believes thoroughly in an honorable peace under which the rights of its citizens are to be everywhere protected. It has never found that the necessary enjoyment of such a peace could be maintained only by a great and threatening array of arms. In common with other nations, it is now more determined than ever to promote peace through friendliness and good will, through mutual understandings and mutual forbearance. We have never practiced the policy of competitive armaments. We have recently committed ourselves by covenants with the other great nations to a limitation of our sea power. As one result of this, our Navy ranks larger, in comparison, than it ever did before. Removing the burden of expense and jealousy, which must always accrue from a keen rivalry, is one of the most effective methods of diminishing that unreasonable hysteria and misunderstanding which are the most potent means of fomenting war. This policy represents a new departure in the world. It is a thought, an ideal, which has led to an entirely new line of action. It will not be easy to maintain. Some never moved from their old position, some are constantly slipping back to the old ways of thought and the old action of seizing a musket and relying on force. America has taken the lead in this new direction, and that lead America must continue to hold. If we expect others to rely on our fairness and justice we must show that we rely on their fairness and justice.

If we are to judge by past experience, there is much to be hoped for in international relations from frequent conferences and consultations. We have before us the beneficial results of the Washington conference and the various consultations recently held upon European affairs, some of which were in response to our suggestions and in some of which we were active participants. Even the failures can not but be accounted useful and an immeasurable advance over threatened or actual warfare. I am strongly in favor of a continuation of this policy, whenever conditions are such that there is even a promise that practical and favorable results might be secured.

In conformity with the principle that a display of reason rather than a threat of force should be the determining factor in the intercourse among nations, we have long advocated the peaceful settlement of disputes by methods of arbitration and have negotiated many treaties to secure that result. The same considerations should lead to our adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Where great principles are involved, where great movements are under way which promise much for the welfare of humanity by reason of the very fact that many other nations have given such movements their actual support, we ought not to withhold our own sanction because of any small and inessential difference, but only upon the ground of the most important and compelling fundamental reasons. We can not barter away our independence or our sovereignty, but we ought to engage in no refinements of logic, no sophistries, and no subterfuges, to argue away the undoubted duty of this country by reason of the might of its numbers, the power of its resources, and its position of leadership in the world, actively and comprehensively to signify its approval and to bear its full share of the responsibility of a candid and disinterested attempt at the establishment of a tribunal for the administration of even-handed justice between nation and nation. The weight of our enormous influence must be cast upon the side of a reign not of force but of law and trial, not by battle but by reason.

We have never any wish to interfere in the political conditions of any other countries. Especially are we determined not to become implicated in the political controversies of the Old World. With a great deal of hesitation, we have responded to appeals for help to maintain order, protect life and property, and establish responsible government in some of the small countries of the Western Hemisphere. Our private citizens have advanced large sums of money to assist in the necessary financing and relief of the Old World. We have not failed, nor shall we fail, to respond, whenever necessary to mitigate human suffering and assist in the rehabilitation of distressed nations. These, too, are requirements which must be met by reason of our vast powers and the place we hold in the world.

Some of the best thought of mankind has long been seeking for a formula for permanent peace. Undoubtedly the clarification of the principles of international law would be helpful, and the efforts of scholars to prepare such a work for adoption by the various nations should have our sympathy and support. Much may be hoped for from the earnest studies of those who advocate the outlawing of aggressive war. But all these plans

and preparations, these treaties and covenants, will not of themselves be adequate. One of the greatest dangers to peace lies in the economic pressure to which people find themselves subjected. One of the most practical things to be done in the world is to seek arrangements under which such pressure may be removed, so that opportunity may be renewed and hope may be revived. There must be some assurance that effort and endeavor will be followed by success and prosperity. In the making and financing of such adjustments there is not only an opportunity, but a real duty, for America to respond with her counsel and her resources. Conditions must be provided under which people can make a living and work out of their difficulties. But there is another element, more important than all, without which there can not be the slightest hope of a permanent peace. That element lies in the heart of humanity. Unless the desire for peace be cherished there, unless this fundamental and only natural source of brotherly love be cultivated to its highest degree, all artificial efforts will be in vain. Peace will come when there is realization that only under a reign of law, based on righteousness and supported by the religious conviction of the brotherhood of man, can there be any hope of a complete and satisfying life. Parchment will fail, the sword will fail, it is only the spiritual nature of man that can be triumphant.

It seems altogether probable that we can contribute most to these important objects by maintaining our position of political detachment and independence. We are not identified with any Old World interests. This position should be made more and more clear in our relations with all foreign countries. We are at peace with all of them. Our program is never to oppress, but always to assist. But while we do justice to others, we must require that justice be done to us. With us a treaty of peace means peace, and a treaty of amity means amity. We have made great contributions to the settlement of contentious differences in both Europe and Asia. But there is a very definite point beyond which we can not go. We can only help those who help themselves. Mindful of these limitations, the one great duty that stands out requires us to use our enormous powers to trim the balance of the world.

While we can look with a great deal of pleasure upon what we have done abroad, we must remember that our continued success in that direction depends upon what we do at home. Since its very outset it has been found necessary to conduct our Government by means of political parties. That system would not have survived from generation to generation if it had not been fundamentally sound and provided the best instrumentalities for the most complete expression of the popular will. It is not necessary to claim that it has always worked perfectly. It is enough to know that nothing better has been devised. No one would deny that there should be full and free expression and an opportunity for independence of action within the party. There is no salvation in a narrow and bigoted partisanship. But if there is to be responsible party government, the party label must be something more than a mere device for securing office. Unless those who are elected under the same party designation are willing to assume sufficient responsibility and exhibit sufficient loyalty and coherence, so that they can cooperate with each other in the support of the broad general principles of the party platform, the election is merely a mockery, no decision is made at the polls, and there is no representation of the popular will. Common honesty and good faith with the people who support a party at the polls require that party, when it enters office, to assume the control of that portion of the Government to which it has been elected. Any other course is bad faith and a violation of the party pledges.

When the country has bestowed its confidence upon a party by making it a majority in the Congress, it has a right to expect such unity of action as will make the party majority an effective instrument of government. This administration has come into power with a very clear and definite mandate from the people. The expression of the popular will in favor of maintaining our constitutional guaranties was overwhelming and decisive. There was a manifestation of such faith in the integrity of the courts that we can consider that issue rejected for some time to come. Likewise, the policy of public ownership of railroads and certain electric utilities met with unmistakable defeat. The people declared that they wanted their rights to have not a political but a judicial determination, and their independence and freedom continued and supported by having the ownership and control of their property not in the Government but in their own hands. As they always do when they have a fair chance, the people demonstrated that they are sound and are determined to have a sound government.

When we turn from what was rejected to inquire what was accepted, the policy that stands out with the greatest clearness is that of economy in public expenditure with reduction and reform of taxation. The principle involved in this effort is that of conservation. The resources of this country are almost beyond computation. No mind can comprehend them. But the cost of our combined governments is likewise almost beyond definition. Not only those who are now making their tax returns, but those who meet the enhanced cost of existence in their monthly bills, know by hard experience what this great burden is and what it does. No matter what others may want, these people want a drastic economy. They are opposed to waste. They know that extravagance lengthens the hours and diminishes the rewards of their labor. I favor the policy of economy, not because I wish to save money, but because I wish to save people. The men and women of this country who toil are the ones who bear the cost of the Government. Every dollar that we carelessly waste means that their life will be so much the more meager. Every dollar that we prudently save means that their life will be so much the more abundant. Economy is idealism in its most practical form.

If extravagance were not reflected in taxation, and through taxation both directly and indirectly injuriously affecting the people, it would not be of so much consequence. The wisest and soundest method of solving our tax problem is through economy. Fortunately, of all the great nations this country is best in a position to adopt that simple remedy. We do not any longer need war-time revenues. The collection of any taxes which are not absolutely required, which do not beyond reasonable doubt contribute to the public welfare, is only a species of legalized larceny. Under this Republic the rewards of industry belong to those who earn them. The only constitutional tax is the tax which ministers to public necessity. The property of the country belongs to the people of the country. Their title is absolute. They do not support any privileged class; they do not need to maintain great military forces; they ought not to be burdened with a great array of public employees. They are not required to make any contribution to Government expenditures except that which they voluntarily assess upon themselves through the action of their own representatives. Whenever taxes become burdensome a remedy can be applied by the people; but if they do not act for themselves, no one can be very successful in acting for them.

The time is arriving when we can have further tax reduction, when, unless we wish to hamper the people in their right to earn a living, we must have tax reform. The method of raising revenue ought not to impede the transaction of business; it ought to encourage it. I am opposed to extremely high rates, because they produce little or no revenue, because they are bad for the country, and, finally, because they are wrong. We can not finance the country, we can not improve social conditions, through any system of injustice, even if we attempt to inflict it upon the rich. Those who suffer the most harm will be the poor. This country believes in prosperity. It is absurd to suppose that it is envious of those who are already prosperous. The wise and correct course to follow in taxation and all other economic legislation is not to destroy those who have already secured success but to create conditions under which everyone will have a better chance to be successful. The verdict of the country has been given on this question. That verdict stands. We shall do well to heed it.

These questions involve moral issues. We need not concern ourselves much about the rights of property if we will faithfully observe the rights of persons. Under our institutions their rights are supreme. It is not property but the right to hold property, both great and small, which our Constitution guarantees. All owners of property are charged with a service. These rights and duties have been revealed, through the conscience of society, to have a divine sanction. The very stability of our society rests upon production and conservation. For individuals or for governments to waste and squander their resources is to deny these rights and disregard these obligations. The result of economic dissipation to a nation is always moral decay.

These policies of better international understandings, greater economy, and lower taxes have contributed largely to peaceful and prosperous industrial relations. Under the helpful influences of restrictive immigration and a protective tariff, employment is plentiful, the rate of pay is high, and wage earners are in a state of contentment seldom before seen. Our transportation systems have been gradually recovering and have been able to meet all the requirements of the service. Agriculture has been very slow in reviving, but the price of

cereals at last indicates that the day of its deliverance is at hand.

We are not without our problems, but our most important problem is not to secure new advantages but to maintain those which we already possess. Our system of government made up of three separate and independent departments, our divided sovereignty composed of Nation and State, the matchless wisdom that is enshrined in our Constitution, all these need constant effort and tireless vigilance for their protection and support.

In a republic the first rule for the guidance of the citizen is obedience to law. Under a despotism the law may be imposed upon the subject. He has no voice in its making, no influence in its administration, it does not represent him. Under a free government the citizen makes his own laws, chooses his own administrators, which do represent him. Those who want their rights respected under the Constitution and the law ought to set the example themselves of observing the Constitution and the law. While there may be those of high intelligence who violate the law at times, the barbarian and the defective always violate it. Those who disregard the rules of society are not exhibiting a superior intelligence, are not promoting freedom and independence, are not following the path of civilization, but are displaying the traits of ignorance, of servitude, of savagery, and treading the way that leads back to the jungle.

The essence of a republic is representative government. Our Congress represents the people and the States. In all legislative affairs it is the natural collaborator with the President. In spite of all the criticism which often falls to its lot, I do not hesitate to say that there is no more independent and effective legislative body in the world. It is, and should be, jealous of its prerogative. I welcome its cooperation, and expect to share with it not only the responsibility, but the credit, for our common effort to secure beneficial legislation.

These are some of the principles which America represents. We have not by any means put them fully into practice, but we have strongly signified our belief in them. The encouraging feature of our country is not that it has reached its destination, but that it has overwhelmingly expressed its determination to proceed in the right direction. It is true that we could, with profit, be less sectional and more national in our thought. It would be well if we could replace much that is only a false and ignorant prejudice with a true and enlightened pride of race. But the last election showed that appeals to class and nationality had little effect. We were all found loyal to a common citizenship. The fundamental precept of liberty is toleration. We can not permit any inquisition either within or without the law or apply any religious test to the holding of office. The mind of America must be forever free.

It is in such contemplations, my fellow countrymen, which are not exhaustive but only representative, that I find ample warrant for satisfaction and encouragement. We should not let the much that is to do obscure the much which has been done. The past and present show faith and hope and courage fully justified. Here stands our country, an example of tranquillity at home, a patron of tranquillity abroad. Here stands its Government, aware of its might but obedient to its conscience. Here it will continue to stand, seeking peace and prosperity, solicitous for the welfare of the wage earner, promoting enterprise, developing waterways and natural resources, attentive to the intuitive counsel of womanhood, encouraging education, desiring the advancement of religion, supporting the cause of justice and honor among the nations. America seeks no earthly empire built on blood and force. No ambition, no temptation, lures her to thought of foreign dominions. The legions which she sends forth are armed, not with the sword, but with the cross. The higher state to which she seeks the allegiance of all mankind is not of human but of divine origin. She cherishes no purpose save to merit the favor of Almighty God.

At 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m., the Senate returned to its Chamber, and Mr. WATSON took the chair as Presiding Officer.

HOOR OF DAILY MEETING

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 1) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

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

SIGNING OF ROSTER BY SENATORS

Mr. JONES of Washington. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. REED of Missouri. I ask the Senator to withhold his motion for a moment.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I withhold the motion.

Mr. REED of Missouri. I trust that new Senators may be permitted to sign the roll in open session, so that they can appropriately take their seats in the body.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I understand that they have all signed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed by the clerks at the desk that the Senator from Arkansas is the only one who has not signed, and he will approach the desk and sign the roll.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, this is an important matter. Not only has a Senator a right to sign the roll in the Senate whilst it is in session, but it is his duty to do so; it is a part of the oath he must take. We could no more dispense with his signing in the presence of his fellow Senators the roster of Members than we could interrupt the oath whilst it was being administered to him.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The Senator from Arkansas having now signed the roster, I renew my motion that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate (at 1 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, March 5, 1925, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE

THURSDAY, March 5, 1925

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

Our gracious and ever blessed Father, we, the children of Thy grace and mercy, look unto Thee for guidance and help through the day and its work. Be very loving and tender in Thy regard for us and help us to realize our dependence upon Thee. We ask in Christ Jesus' name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings.

Mr. CURTIS. I ask unanimous consent that the formal reading of the Journal be dispensed with and that the Journal stand approved.

Mr. HALE obtained the floor.

Mr. REED of Missouri. Mr. President—

Mr. HALE. I decline to yield.

Mr. REED of Missouri. I do not ask the Senator to yield. I am rising to a point of order. I make the point of order that there is no business before the Senate and no matter subject to discussion at this time.

Mr. HALE. I rose to speak on a question of personal privilege as a member of the committee on arrangements for the inauguration.

Mr. REED of Missouri. If the Senator is speaking on a question of his own personal privilege, I withdraw the point of order.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, in this morning's papers I have seen certain criticisms of the Vice President of the United States for not returning to the Senate yesterday at the close of the inaugural ceremony in order to preside over that body. I think I can explain the reason why he did not return to the Senate, and I think it is my duty to do so.

After the President had concluded his speech yesterday, the President and Mrs. Coolidge, the Vice President and Mrs. Dawes left the stand and went to the automobiles, which were waiting to take the President and party to the reviewing stand. The President started off with Mrs. Coolidge and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS]. The Vice President then turned to me and said, "I must return to the Senate to preside over that body. How do I get there?" I replied that he was not to return to the Senate, but that he was to go with the President to the reviewing stand and review the parade. This was due to a misunderstanding on my part. The Vice President was in the hands of the committee on arrangements and he had to follow out their instructions. If any blame of any kind attaches, it rests entirely upon my shoulders.